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Mercersburg Review;

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CHRISTOLOGICAL, HISTORICAL AND POSITIVE

THEOLOGY.

EDITED BY
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Unus Christus Jesus dominus noster, veniens per universam dispositionem, et omnia in semet ipsum recapitulans.—IRENÆUS.

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THE

MERCERSBURG REVIEW,

JANUARY, 1874.

ART. I.—APOLLOS: OR THE WAY OF GOD.

BY PRESIDENT J. WILLIAMSON NEVIN, D. D. LL. D.

WE introduce our notice of Bishop Coxe's respectable work, lately put forth under the above title,* with the following characteristically Episcopalian passage in regard to it from the CHURCHMAN:—

"It sometimes, in the course of Divine Providence, turns out that works done out of mere self-will, serve as an occasion, in the exigency of affairs, of accomplishing much good. It also turns out that a work wrought by a devoted servant of God for the good of the Church, does, in the Divine ordering of things, meet a crisis in affairs with a surpassing adaptation for which its projector had not dared to hope. It may be well enough to note two such undesigned adaptations at the present time.

"The Evangelical Alliance met, did what was given it to do, and dispersed. A great number of godly and well-learned men, deeply impressed with the evils of the present schismatic state of Christendom, assembled in the fear of God, to devise a remedy. It would be unwise as a mere matter of prudence, if from no higher motive, to say witty or unkind things about these men. There is not so much goodness in the world as to warrant us in passing severe judgment upon a great and well-meant effort. The testimony of so large a number of men, however mistaken, who by their character would be an ornament to any age of

* APOLLOS: OR THE WAY OF GOD. A Plea for the Religion of Scripture. By A. Cleveland Coxe, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1873.

the Church, to the felt want of Christian union, is worth a great deal to mankind. No good Churchman could, for a moment, adopt the ideas of these men; but all can share their aspirations. Noble aspirations lift up people. A failure to realize them conveys no moral contamination, but marks an error of judgment. Such an error of judgment, we think events have already shown, was manifested by the prevailing opinion in the Alliance, that corporate union was neither possible nor desirable, but that a union in spirit and in aim was all that in any case ought to be attempted, and that this already existed to a satisfactory degree. This we believe to be not only an error, but a very mischievous, and, for the hope of the world, *deadly* error,—an error in reality not less deadly in its ultimate effects than the existence of the papacy itself. The Church has survived twelve hundred years of the papacy, but it could not survive twelve hundred years of the universal adoption of this error. We do not believe that this opinion fully gratifies the noble longings for Christian union which the members of the Alliance do themselves the honor of showing to the world that they entertain.

"It was necessary that something should occur to demonstrate to the world the baselessness of this idea of Christian union, and so to demonstrate it as to point with significant meaning to the true basis of Christian union, and this, too, so effectively, as to awaken general discussion of this basis. This want has been supplied; supplied in a dreadful way —in a way that can cause only sadness to any good Churchman. It must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh. The apostacy of Dr. Cummins, like the falling of a star, has filled good men with amazement. It came so soon after the adjournment of the Alliance, and so confessedly as a result of it, as to beget the apprehension that judgment had begun upon this woful travesty of Christianity that could call schism by the name of union. The way is now open for a discussion of the real question that ought to have engaged the Alliance.

"The first want was supplied by a mere act of self-will. Nothing could have occurred so effectively to stir up discussion concerning the very ground of the Church's Apostolic order. It has been the occasion of doing that which all Churchmen desired to be done,—that is to demonstrate the falsity of the ideas of Christian union entertained by the Alliance, and to open up discussion of that which the Christian world has, in all ages, held to be the one and sole external bond of organic union. Discussion having been turned to this subject, there is a felt want for a treatise on Christian union, written in these times, and for these times, by a Churchman of acknowledged genius, and of representative character. Such a treatise has been prepared. The Bishop of Western New York, in his parochial visitations, was painfully impressed with the desolating effects of sectarian divisions in his own diocese. He found hundreds of

little villages and country neighborhoods where numerous sects were represented, but none of them strong enough to sustain constant service; where the little strength that existed, would if combined, have been equal to the comfortable maintenance of religion. Grieved to the heart he felt moved to the preparation of a treatise upon the subject, conceived in a new spirit, and such as might under the blessing of God, arrest the attention of those who by their very divisions had cut themselves off from the ministrations of the Gospel. This book was originally published serially in THE CHURCHMAN. It awakened a good deal of interest at the time. Readers of THE CHURCHMAN for the last few years need not to be told that 'Apollos: or the Way of God' is the treatise to which we refer. But they may, perhaps, need to be told that in its present form it has been largely rewritten and retouched throughout. It is the best book that the Bishop has yet written. It is wondrously effective. It is conceived and executed in an exaltation of spirit, that irradiates and glorifies the whole subject. Mistaken views never prompted so pure an enthusiasm. The exalted strain of its eloquence must captivate all readers."

There is an air of lordliness in all this which, if we understand at all the heart and mind of the Bishop of Western New York, he would hardly be willing to assume as his own. It is not in harmony at least with the professed animus of his book. The book breathes humility, Christian love and peace; the article from the *Churchman* is full of intolerant bitterness and bad humor.

We say nothing now of the temper shown toward Bishop Cummins. We notice only in brief the uncharitable judgment fulminated against the Evangelical Alliance; a judgment all the more offensive in purpose, as it is but in keeping with much spleen going before on the same subject, which might seem to have simply come to the height of its exacerbation here from the vinegar poured upon it by the "apostacy" of the quondam Bishop of Kentucky. "This came so soon after the adjournment of the Alliance," we are meekly informed, "and so confessedly as a result of it, as to beget the apprehension that *judgment had begun upon this woful travesty of Christianity that could call schism by the name of union.*" The whole quarrel of the *Churchman* with the late Evangelical Alliance Conference proceeds on the assumption, that it came together to

declare in some way a final union of the several Protestant denominations, and yet did not at once go into the question of a general common organization by trying to settle the only true basis first of all on which the union should take place. Need we say that no such object was proposed in the calling of the Convention, and that nobody in the Convention was so insane as to speak or even dream of it as the end of its being brought together? One object of the meeting was indeed to *exhibit*, as it was said, the substantive oneness of the Evangelical Christian world, *notwithstanding* its present unhappy division into sects; and some possibly may have had the thought that this was all that the idea of Church unity required. But most assuredly no such thought as this was in the mind of the members of the Convention generally. They desired far more than this, and looked upon their fraternization as far as it went, as serving only to open the way toward such ulterior end, without being able to see or to say at all how that end should be brought to pass.

And are we to be told now that this was all wrong? Can there be in truth *no* concord of faith or life among Christians, outside of a common church organization, worth talking about, worth coming to the consciousness of, worth exhibiting and showing forth to the world, or worth making use of in the way of earnest thoughtful discussion for coming to a full solution, if possible, of the difficulties that still keep the Churches apart? So thought not the clear-minded and warm-hearted Dean of Canterbury, when he came over the Atlantic to proclaim the theme, *Unity consistent with Diversity;* not meaning thereby certainly to justify the divisions of Protestant Christendom as being absolutely right and good, but owning in them nevertheless the presence of a common actual life and power of Christianity, which all who love the kingdom of our Lord should be willing to join in helping onward to its own completion in the full ideal of the Church, wherever that may lie and however it is to be finally reached. Just here would seem to have been the true significance of the Alliance, that it was such a gathering of good men from all parts of the Protestant world, *not* to discuss a plan of union, and still less to stul-

tify themselves by declaring no farther union necessary or desirable—but to confess before the world and to one another the sad wrong of their divisions, and to do what in them might lie, through such testimony and confession and mutual brotherly provocation in love, to stir up in themselves and in others the full measure of zeal that is required to do away with the sectarian evil through earnest consultation and study of the things that make for unity and peace. The Convention may have been—no doubt was indeed—largely one-sided and defective in its constitution; and a fair proportion of crude and shallow talk may have found place in its proceedings, as how in such a body could it well have been otherwise; but for all that, the work with which it was employed was a great and noble one, and such as deserved to command, as it did while it was going forward, the respect and reverence of men generally.

But all this with the *Churchman* goes for nothing. The Convention had in it "a great number of godly and well learned men, deeply impressed with the evils of the present schismatic state of Christendom." Their testimony too to the felt want of Christian union "is worth a great deal to mankind." Their aspirations are entitled to regard; all *good* Episcopalians can share them, though not capable for a moment of having anything to do with any such movement as this, for getting toward the end thus breathed after in their souls. For in spite of all allowances in favor of the members of the Alliance, they labored under a grand hallucination, and their work has turned out a self-convicted failure. They met to organize unity (so the *Churchman will* have it persistently), and they did no such thing; did not even talk of it seriously, as a thing practicable there and then; and so they brought forth only wind. Worse still, there was an error in their machination, from the beginning, plain to all sound churchmanship, which in fact, though they knew it not, was "a very mischievous, and for the hope of the world *deadly* error—an error in reality not less deadly in its ultimate effects than the existence of the papacy itself." It was in truth, for the *Churchman's* vision, of one sort seemingly with the profane attempt to build the tower of Babel; insomuch

that as that was visited with the divine judgment of the confusion of tongues, so the late meeting of the Evangelical Alliance is considered to have been convicted of like profanity by the close sequence of a like startling judgment—not lighting directly indeed on the Alliance itself, but so related to it nevertheless on the outside as to be very much the same thing. It was necessary that something should occur to show the baselessness of the whole idea of Christian union with which these builders of Babel were impiously amusing themselves; and it came "in a dreadful way," namely, "the apostacy of Dr. Cummins," which "like a falling star" (the apocalyptic *Wormwood* perhaps) "has filled good men with amazement." This dire omen speaks for itself. "It came so soon after the adjournment of the Alliance, and so confessedly as a result of it, as to beget the apprehension that JUDGMENT had begun upon this woful travesty of Christianity that could call schism by the name of union."

And what now is the ground of all this heavy indictment against the Evangelical Alliance? In what sense was it schismatic, in pretending to deplore schism, and in trying ostensibly to bring it to an end? The *Churchman* is at no loss for an answer. The first step toward Christian union for all Protestant denominations outside of the Episcopal Church, is that they should go into the question of a *jure divino* ministry, and settle this at once in favor of Episcopalianism, as it happens to exist under non-Catholic character here in America; which of itself must imply their immediate unqualified submission to the authority of the *Church* in that would be Catholic form. That is the one only method of unity in the case. The Episcopal Church is the one true Church all ready to start with in welding Lutherans, Presbyterians, Reformed, Methodists, Congregationalists, and others into one; and all that these bodies have to do is simply to throw themselves as repentant truants into her bosom. Then all will be well. They are now dissenters, schismatics, heretics and apostates. Then they will be in the ark. Then there will be one shepherd and one fold. Here the Evangelical Alliance should have set out in its work of Church union; and because it did not do this, its work was conceived

in sin and born in iniquity. So at least runs the oracular sentence heard from the tripod of the *Churchman*.

The serene self-complacency of all this is something to be astonished at, for any one who has looked seriously into the precarious character of the foundation, historical and theological, on which these lofty pretensions in the case of our American Episcopacy are found to rest; but we have no mind here to go into any controversy on the subject. We have no wish at all to quarrel with the Episcopalian Church. We regard it with high esteem. We honor its bishops. We respect its order. We love its liturgy. We sympathize largely as is well known with its sacramental and churchly spirit; having suffered more indeed for our testimony to what are rightly known as Church principles, than most so called high churchmen in the Episcopal Church itself. We desire the prosperity of the Episcopal Church, and pray God to bless it in its appointed work and mission. But with all this, we feel bound to say that the dream of the *Churchman*, and of the school for which it is the spokesman, in regard to this mission, is utopian in the extreme. The question of Church unity as the world now stands involves immeasurably more than the government of the Church by bishops. It is theological first, and then ecclesiastical; not ecclesiastical first, and then theological. And the sooner Episcopalians come to see this, and so join themselves with the earnest friends of Christianity in other Christian bodies (without forsaking their own communion) in trying to make our common theology fairly answerable to the demands of the present age (which it now is *not*), the better it will be for our sorrowful divisions and distractions all round.

With these prolegomena, bearing directly on the general subject in hand, we pass on now to a direct consideration of the book which forms the title of our present article; reciprocating at the outset, from the bottom of our heart, the expression of the author's "particular regard" in the copy with which we have been kindly favored from his hand. We honor him for his father's sake as well as for his own, recognizing in him indeed much of his father's Presbyterian and even Quaker peculiarity,

through the superimposition, as the venerable father himself might say, of the son's later Episcopal life. The book itself is worthy of high commendation both for its matter and its spirit. It is a polemical *eirenikon*, we may say, designed to operate, like the smiting of the righteous, as an excellent oil on the head of evangelical Puritanism, not breaking it, but reconciling it softly and sweetly to the idea of episcopacy. The argument is ingenious; the method clear; the style sprightly; the intention, as all candid readers must feel, transparently honest and most earnestly sincere. In these respects, the volume is a model of Christian controversy on the principle, *Come, let us reason together!* It aims to speak what it holds to be the truth in love. We have full faith in its sincerity, as well as deep sympathy also with what may be termed the burden of its subject; and we shall try at least to meet its challenge in a temper friendly, frank, and honest as its own.

The evil state in which we are through our existing sect system is described by Bishop Coxe in scorching terms, which however are only a fair picture of the truth. "There is as really need for a great awakening," with our Christianity, he tells us, "as there was in the days of Wickliffe. The scandals of our times are different from those of the Middle Ages; but I am forced to believe that they are not less hateful to Christ. A fragmentary Christianity; 'a house divided against itself;' time, wealth, energy, zeal, immense resources and facilities wasted by Christians, in contending one with another; innumerable moral evils bred of this state of things—evils which, because of these things, cannot be rebuked, much less corrected; this is a reality which everywhere confronts us. And, correspondingly, what is the case? Missions paralyzed; infidelity rampant; and after three centuries of boasted 'reformation,' the greater part of Europe and America still enslaved to the superstitions of the feudal era, and all its demonstrated imposture!" Again: "The dissensions of the reformers stopped the progress of reform in the sixteenth century; and here, in America, they are reproduced in such countless forms of mingled truth and error, that unbelief becomes the rational resource

of millions, who argue that if truth exists, they have neither the time nor the facilities to discover it amid so many discordant sounds. Christians see and feel all this; but they take no steps to correct the gigantic evil, and are contented to see each his own sect flourish. Nobody mourns, like a Daniel or a Nehemiah, over the broken walls of the temple; over the dust and ashes of the glorious city of God."

Strongly and graphically spoken; but true, every word of it. We agree with it, of course, for it is only what *we* in our Reformed, non-Episcopal way, have been writing and preaching for many years past—a testimony starting with our two tracts, *The Anxious Bench* and *Antichrist, or, The Spirit of Sect and Schism*, and reaching down continuously to the present time.

In these circumstances, Dr. Coxe feels himself called to a sort of prophetical office in the service of his generation. His spirit, like that of Paul, is stirred in him at seeing the whole Christian world given over to ecclesiastical madness. The fire kindles, and he speaks: "Somebody," he says, "must break the stolid apathy of the times on this behalf. God grant that mightier voices may follow. I speak boldly, however, because I speak for God; and I speak nothing but what I shall draw from His Holy Word. May He save me from any mistake, and from all confidence, save that which His Holy Word inspires."

To shield himself from the charge of presumption, he takes refuge in the case of Aquila and Priscilla, mentioned in the 18th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, who, in the exercise of the common priesthood of believers as it stood at that time, undertook to instruct the great and mighty preacher Apollos, expounding unto him the way of God more perfectly than he had known it before. Apollos stands for learned, pious, gloriously gifted teachers of Christianity, outside of the Episcopal Church. The bishop, for the nonce, lays aside his episcopal dignity, and speaks as a common man. These outsiders or dissenters (men like Dr. Adams, Dr. Hodge, or Henry Ward Beecher) may know much of "the way of the Lord," may be

mighty in the Scriptures, evangelical, eloquent, and all that; but still there is wanting with them a farther something, of which they are not aware, to make them complete in their ministry; and the office of furnishing this additional something is all that the humble-minded bishop assumes under the guise of "such a one as Ananias, the tentmaker."

It so happens at the same time, that this story of Apollos admits of an easy accommodation to the service of the main question with which the argument of Dr. Coxe's book is concerned; and it is wonderful, accordingly, how glibly for his lively fancy it is made to play from all sides into the merits of that question. What Apollos needed when he came to Ephesus, we are told, was a proper knowledge of the Church constitution already established by the Apostles; he was evangelical, but not churchly; an exact case, therefore, of what the same opposition means now with our modern sectarian Christianity; and so all that Aquila and Priscilla did was to expound to him more perfectly the way of the Lord, the true outward law of God's kingdom in regard to this matter.

But we must beg leave respectfully to demur to the exegesis, which puts into the text here such a meaning as this. Our imagination is too dull to catch even a glimpse of anything of the sort. What Apollos, the Jew—coming from Alexandria, well taught in the Old Testament Scriptures, but knowing as yet only the baptism of John—needed still to make him a competent Christian teacher, was something more, certainly, than indoctrination simply in the outward order of the Church. It was a deeper insight than he had yet gained into the interior power and glory of Christianity itself, as determined by the full meaning of Christ's person and work. According to Alford: "He knew and taught accurately the *facts* respecting Jesus, but of the *consequences* of that which he taught, of all which may be summed up in the doctrine of Christian baptism, he had no idea."

Fanciful as it may be, however, to find in the case of Apollos a real historical example of what Dr. Coxe is bent on exposing as respectable evangelical Christianity of the modern type,

disjoined from the way of the Lord more perfectly expounded in the sense of apostolic order, there is of course room still for this distinction in itself considered; so that his general argument with regard to it, otherwise taken, may still hold good, or at least deserving of respectful attention. The loss of Apollos need not damage it essentially, however it may interfere here and there with its vivacity of representation, and its pleasing, rhetorical embellishment.

We cannot pretend at all to follow the argument in this general character into its particulars; we feel constrained to say, however, that viewed as a plea in favor of Episcopacy over against the reigning popular Puritanism of our land, outside of that form of church government, it is to our mind by no means satisfactory. In other words, it is not of a character to shut up outsiders of the thoughtful, conscientious sort, to the conclusion that all the miseries of the present broken and disordered state of the Church are referable wholly to *their* denominational distinctions, and that the one single panacea for the evil is to own Episcopacy for the first and great commandment of the Christian law, as if there could be no deeper or more vital question possibly than that involved in the problem of bringing our common Christianity back into right order and form. There are many outside of the Episcopal communion, we are well persuaded, who see and deplore the present evil condition of things quite as clearly as Bishop Coxe does, and sigh also just as sincerely as he does for the deliverance of the Church from the Babylonish captivity of the sect system, who yet cannot be brought to fall in with his short and easy method of ending the trouble. Not from any prejudice against Episcopacy as such; they would be glad to take refuge in it, if it could show itself truly equal to the task of the times; but just because they feel the method to be too short and easy for this. It does not reach to the true bottom of our difficulties. It is too external and mechanical, and so at the same time too superficial also, in its way of seeking to heal the hurt of the daughter of God's people. The cure it offers is too slight for the disease. The malady which

is now upon the Christian world needs deeper probing, and calls for more fundamental help.

Dr. Coxe is generous enough in his concessions to evangelical Puritanism. Sectarian Christianity, as he calls it, has in it much that is good. In its better forms, indeed, he is with it largely in his heart and mind. Its "exemplary piety and noble achievements" command his honest admiration. There is no *theological* discrepancy between him apparently and the religious theory of the self-distinguishing brotherhood of the so-called evangelical churches. They are substantially right as far as they go in doctrine and practice. But the difficulty with them is, we are told, that they do not go far enough. Like the evangelical Apollos (rather a sorry case of *Christian* experience, it must be confessed), they stop short in a mere half of Bible truth; while another half of it, just as plainly taught in the sacred volume, they fail to see altogether. It is there all the time, but their eyes are turned away from it, and it is for them as if it did not exist. This unregarded and overlooked side of Bible truth has to do with religion in its general character, as something different from individual or personal piety; to which it stands related, however, as its necessary complement. Individual piety is sufficiently provided for by the evangelical system; but to continue itself properly in the world, it must be organized into fixed general form. Without this, it is liable to grow erratic, and run itself to waste. Hence the constitution of the Christian Church, in which a scheme of law and order has been established by Christ Himself, and His Apostles, to conserve the Christian tradition, and to hand it forward from one age to another in a sure way. Let now this Apostolic order (as we see it exemplified in Episcopacy), be conjoined with the other half of the gospel as we find it with righteous Presbyterians and Puritans, and all will be well. We shall have then a whole Christianity, and sectarianism and schism will cease to torment the Church. So runs the dream of our book, *Apollos: or, The Way of God.*

"The half Christianity of our day," the author tells us, "never gets any farther than this; its bare idea is, if one can

get to heaven with such an imperfect gospel as he may possess, what need of more perfect knowledge?" "This they willingly are ignorant of: that there is another half of Christianity which has respect to other souls than one's own, and to unborn generations. The gospel has not done its work in getting *you* and *me* to heaven: there are yet millions to be saved besides us; ages to come must be provided for."—"There is something in a *whole* Christ which this generation sees not." The twofold or double character of the whole Christ is illustrated, throughout nature, in everything "whose seed is in itself." It has in it an individual end and a general end. So, for example, with a bushel of wheat. It is both "bread for the eater" (individual use), and "seed for the sower" (general use). The full idea of the gospel is the same. It must be at once both bread *and* seed, seminal as well as personally experimental. Here it was that Apollos learned the way of God more perfectly. He had an imperfect gospel before that might have sufficed to save his own soul and the souls of those that heard him; "but the divine plan for the preservation and propagation of the entire gospel, and for the ultimate evangelization of the whole world, must have been defeated, had not St. Paul and his disciples insisted on teaching him and others the way of the Lord more perfectly."

We have taken some pains to bring into view distinctly Bishop Coxe's notion of the two sides, which are required to make Christianity whole and complete; and we need not say that we agree fully with his general conception of such a necessary duality in the constitution of the gospel. But our immediate object here is to notice what seems to us to be his defective way of putting the case, in illustration of our remark already made with regard to the too mechanical and external character of his scheme in general, for the proper cure of our church difficulties. The two sides of Christianity with him stand out of each other, each separately complete for its own end, and they are only brought together by divine ordination to make sure of both purposes at the same time. There is no real intussusception of the two forms of life into each other; and

so far as this is the case, the true idea of organization is not reached in their union. Their relation is that of one thing made to fit in with another in an outward way. It is made intimate and necessary through God's wise plan. Individual Christianity is one thing; corporate Christianity is altogether another thing, thrown around the first for its protection and defence, and its proper propagation in the world.

Need we say that this wrongs the true conception of religion in the most serious manner? It flies in the face at once of the analogy brought to illustrate it from the natural world. There, wherever we have life, in animal or plant, its twofold sides, the individual and the general are joined together indissolubly, inwardly and essentially, as one life. Can less be required for the unity of life in its higher and infinitely more glorious Christian form?

Episcopalianism is fond of harping on its Apostolical Order. "There is a Way of God," we are told, "as well as a Word of God." Christianity is a rule to be obeyed as well as a doctrine to be believed. But the idea of this order, method, rule, in the book before us, never gets beyond the form of an abstract, outward scheme. We must have organization, the book says, to save us from the chaotic Christianity of sects which destroys itself. "We want a clear and candid exhibition of organic Christianity," we are told, "as opposed to the multiplication of sects." But, alas, what we get in the case after all is not an organism, but simply a mechanism. The two conceptions are totally different. A mechanism is a mere external system, a putting together of things to serve a design which is not in the things themselves. An organism implies life, and is the union of its parts as organs in the constitution of this life. There is law, necessity, order, in both cases: but in one case, the order is rigidly fixed and dead, like that of the grave; in the other, it is indefinitely flexible and free. So through the whole natural world. Animals and plants obey their fixed typical forms, which nevertheless spring forth with endless diversity from their individual lives. Even the hard shell of the lobster is the outgrowth of the animal's flesh. It comes not by accretion

from without, but by concretion from within. And just so it is also in the moral world. Virtue, righteousness, truth, good, hold for men only in the character of universal identical law; while yet they can be this only as they are born at the same time out of the inmost peculiarity of each separate human life. Good is not measurable arithmetically; truth is not to be taken into the soul automatically; virtue is not reducible to standing rules and maxims; and righteousness working in the harness of a mere outward casuistry is no righteousness at all. It would seem to be a fair presumption now, that the same order should be found to reign in the economy of Christianity, the spiritual life of the Church; that this too, out to its ultimates in ecclesiastical polity, should be a whole or entire constitution, organically, and not just systematically, joined together in all its parts. But the church polity recommended to us by Dr. Coxe, as a remedy for our chaos of sects, holds no such inward relation to the animating soul of Christianity. It is a divine contrivance rather, which is made to inclose this in an outward way; heaven's gracious machinery, we may say, superadded to the Christian life otherwise considered, to make it work right, and to protect it from heresy and schism. Is not this to degrade in fact what the argument seeks to exalt?

But this is not all. We cannot help feeling that the Word of God, in the hands of Dr. Coxe, is wronged very much in the same way with the Way of God. It is regarded as a text book simply of divine origin, from which men are to draw the truths of religion in an external rational way, each for himself as he best can, under the supposed guidance of God's Spirit. In other words, we see no difference between Dr. Coxe here and the sects he is trying to put down. We know to what such private judgment in their case comes. They can make the Scriptures mean anything they please; for the letter of the Word in them is capable of being sundered entirely from the spirit of the Word, and then it takes into it of course any sense which the spirit of the human expositor—be he Methodist, Calvinist, Unitarian, Political radical, or what not else—chooses to put into it. This Dr. Coxe sees and condemns; but

then makes his appeal to the law and to the testimony in what seems to us to be precisely the same mechanical and arbitrary style.

Who now, however, is to assure us again that the learned Bishop may not himself go wrong in thus handling the Bible for our instruction? For he claims no infallibility for his prelatical dignity, either as belonging to him in his own office, or as flowing into him mysteriously from the general hierarchy, in which he holds so honorable a place. He is himself aware of such vulnerableness in his Bible argument, and tries to cover it as he best can; but the help, to our mind, is vain. "Why am I so sure," he asks, "that what I see in Holy Scripture is really there?" To which he answers. "I subject myself to a test which can easily be applied. I have appealed to the Bible, to nothing but the Bible. I have searched the Scriptures,* and find 'that these things are so.' But a Jesuit, for example sees, it differently. I turn to the Jesuit, then, and I say to him, Show that I am mistaken by an appeal to historic facts."—"Confidently do I throw out this challenge to the Jesuit. Scripture is all I need; but he proclaims that I misinterpret the Scriptures. Very well. I am willing to go with you to the interpretation of the first ages; I will meet you there, and will abide by the result." That is, the *nothing but the Bible* must be supplemented now by another rule, namely, the authority of antiquity or early church tradition. Here again, of course, we are out upon a sea of conflicting opinions as before. But what we have to do with just here is the hard externality once more, that oppresses us through this whole Episcopal scheme. Its use of tradition is like its use of Scripture, and like its idea of Apostolical order, an attempt to build up Christianity from mere outside elements, when it is only the presence and power of the divine life which is immanent organically in Christianity itself, which can make these elements ever to be of any account.

* As the Pharisees did too in the time of Christ, thinking to have in them eternal life (John v. 39), and yet found nothing there but their own private blindness, because they had not God's word abiding in them.

It follows necessarily, from what has been said, that we are not satisfied with the view which the scheme before us takes of Christian obedience and faith. They both suffer, we think, from the general mechanical and unfree character of the scheme. The test of obedience is made to be too much simple unquestioning submission to "ordinances," because they *are* ordinances; whereas it should be borne in mind that it is the "obedience of faith" which the Gospel requires, and the essential character of this is to be always, not darkness, but "light in the Lord." And so then, on the other hand, we are made to feel that faith itself is reduced too much here to the character of a reception of different religious truths propounded of God in an external way; in the sense commonly put upon that famous word "the faith once delivered to the saints," not only by Episcopalians, but also by Romanists, Lutherans, Baptists, Scotch Seceders, and Evangelicals generally, each body construing it in conformity with its own creed. We must get beyond every such notion of a dead mechanical *traditum*, if we are ever to do justice to the true idea of faith as the central organ of the Christian life.

We wish it to be distinctly understood that in thus criticising the Episcopalian basis of church unification presented by Bishop Coxe, we are not opposing his positions in a controversial way. Our object, on the contrary, is amicable discussion only in the prevailing spirit of his own book. We too, as already said, mourn with him over the sect system, and desire most sincerely to see it brought to an end. We agree with him also in his general view of what he regards as the egregious one-sidedness of our reigning Puritanic, non-episcopal Christianity. It sees one side of the Gospel, but overlooks entirely for the most part another side of it no less essential to its perfection. We would not call this other side exactly the seminal interest, that which regards the propagation of Christianity, God's way or *plan* for keeping the Gospel—viewed as being in itself otherwise all that it needs to be—from dying out, or losing itself, as we say, in the sand. We have been accustomed to speak of it rather as the objective side of the Gospel, that

which has to do with the historical verities of the Christian salvation going before subjective or personally experimental religion, and making room for this through faith, in the only form in which it can ever be a truly divine power, coming into men from beyond themselves, and so raising them out of themselves in the way that the idea of religion requires. Such objective Christianity is of course general or universal in its nature in difference from all simply private experience, and it draws along with it of itself—by a rationale which we need not now stop to explain—what is to be understood by a sense for the sacramental, the liturgical, the churchly, in Christian life and worship. We have it in the Apostles' Creed. We have it in the idea of the Christian Year; where all turns first, from Advent to Trinity, on the objective outwardly historical view of the world's redemption, running its course through the mystery of the Incarnation out to the full glorification of the Son in the Father; and where only then room is made for the subjective experience of this grace to run *its* course also (starting as regeneration, where the other ends, in the Holy Trinity), through the second half of the year, out to its full and proper conclusion. All this *we* hold to be the needed complement of evangelical sectarianism, its great missing *desideratum*, quite as earnestly as Dr. Coxe, and in a view, we think, that goes more into the life of the subject than his view of "seed for the sower" as well as "bread for the eater."

And therefore it is, that we have no quarrel at all, as just said, with the points he insists upon as necessary for the effectuation of true church union, in themselves considered. Most certainly, this can never be reached in a purely ideal form. It must involve objective actualities, outward historical system. In particular, there must be for it divinely appointed order, method and rule: a "way of God" as well as an outwardly spoken word of God; and there must be for it along with this also, a continuity of tradition connecting it historically with the beginning of the Church in Christ and His Apostles. We are not disputing these points as urged in this book, *Apollos, or the Way of God*, when we object to the manner in which they

are here presented. Our criticism is only to show that as thus presented they are not sufficient for their own purpose. They do not set the "way of God" before us, in a form commensurate with the exigencies of the case which it is required to meet; in a form suited to convince the deeper religious thought of the age, that English and American Episcopacy is all the Protestant Christian world now needs to bring itself right. We wish most heartily it were otherwise. But the book is not equal here to its own task. Its notion of apostolical doctrine and order, its ecclesiastical methodism we may call it, is too mechanical, too extrinsical to the only effectual principle of unity in the interior life of Christianity itself, to allow the thought. It dualistically divides in truth, and holds at arms-length apart, the very interest—life and form—which it proposes to join into one. Aiming to be systematic, it makes no account of being organic; and thus destroys on the one hand, what it industriously labors to build up on the other.

This is what we mean by our altogether friendly criticism. The question is not just how far certain elements of external authority shall enter into the constitution of the Christian Church; but this rather: In what way shall they enter it? Shall they be for it pure externalism simply—apostolical machinery, faith once delivered, cut-and-dry tradition—made to environ its internalism in mechanical fashion; or shall the last appear as the living soul of the first? There is no necessary antagonism between these seemingly opposite terms. All life, on the contrary, supposes and demands their union: objective law, namely, from beyond itself, and its own actualization of the law, nevertheless, from within itself. Of this no proper account seems to us to be made by our modern Anglo-American Episcopacy; and therefore it is, that we are sorrowfully sure that it is not of itself, as it now stands, a last answer to the great and solemn question: How shall the health of the daughter of God's people at this time be recovered? The question, we are very certain, is too deep for that. We must go farther for its sufficient answer.

Dr. Coxe, of course, includes the government of the Church

by bishops, in his scheme of things necessary to make out his idea of the Apostolical way of God. He tells us indeed at the outset, in language we like, that he desires a truce of controversy on the subject. "I am tired," he says, "of the stale word-fights of centuries; I have no taste for controversies, involving old grudges and issues of the dead past. I know nothing more distasteful than the endless changes rung upon the words 'bishops, priests and deacons,' and the discussions thereon, which have filled so many books. Not even the droning, dreary debate about the measure of water involved in the word *baptize*, is more unutterably sickening to my soul." To this *our* soul also groans from its inmost a hearty *amen*. We detest the whole thing—not because we hate either bishops, priests or deacons, but because we love the truth of the Gospel and the peace of Jerusalem more. "The broad subject which I would bring before my brethren," says our author, "is that of the family of Christ in its organic forms and features; and I would view it, freed entirely from all colorings of historic and controversial theology, in the simple light which is shed upon it by Holy Scripture."

With all this, however, the argument of the book, as just said, contrives to take in bishops as one of the unquestionable "first principles of the oracles of God," without which there can be no right Christianity; and it does this only the more easily, by thus tabooing beforehand the "word-fights of centuries" on the subject. Anglo-American Episcopacy, of the high church type, is accustomed to assume in this way a good deal that it cannot prove. For example: That the episcopate is the direct continuation of the apostolate; that there was anything like a regular episcopal ordering of the Church before the destruction of Jerusalem; that Timothy, Titus, Silvanus, Marcus, Clemens, Epaphras, Epaphroditus, and other such apostolical delegates and fellow-workers, were regular diocesan bishops belonging to this order; that the stars and angels of the seven churches in the symbolism of the Apocalypse mean just so many unsymbolical bishops of Asia Minor of the same empirical sort. Postulates like these transcend the measure

of our credulity. Rothe's *Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche*—the best historical argument, by the way, in favor of Episcopacy, we have ever read—makes it clear, we think, that whatever of elementary preparation there may have been for it in the previous state of Christianity, the episcopal system, as such—in the form in which we find it universally established in the second century—came in only after the destruction of Jerusalem; being a wise provision at the time, brought in by the counsel and advice of such of the Apostles as were still living—particularly St. John—and having for its object the unity of the Church in the new critical stadium on which it was then entering.*

This, however, merely by the way. Our object here is not to go into the controversy about the origin of bishops, but simply to show that here again, as in its other elements already noticed, the Episcopal cure for schism presented in Dr. Coxe's book is too much for the surface of things, and too little for the inward heart of things, to meet effectually the wants of the case as it now stands. The crisis through which the world is at present passing—in morality, learning, politics and religion—calls for far more than any such simply external application, whether human or divine. The mechanism of the papacy in such view is not what the sick world needs to make it well; but neither is it, any more than this, the high-church mechanism of episcopacy by divine right—a mechanism, which can come to its full sense and right end at last, unquestionably, only in the Roman idea of a *jure divino* infallible centre. What we mean is, that if either popery or episcopacy be essential to the being of the Christian Church, it must be under the view of their

* Of apostolical origin in such humanly historical way, the episcopate was of course an outbirth also of the life of the Church; and in this view there is force in the remark of Dr. Rothe, that we may see a divine providence in the circumstance of the obscurity—the absence of outward observation—which marks the coming in of the institution. "The Christian world," he says, "was to be guarded thereby from the temptation of regarding the episcopate as an *ex jure divino* institute, and of looking upon a temporary measure of purely human wisdom as a divine ordinance, having in itself fixed and necessary permanent force, so as to lay upon itself in this way a self-imposed yoke for all time."

being in some way, along with their outward ordination, a true concretion or outbirth from the inward life of the Church. Any other view is becoming more and more intolerable for the self-consciousness of the age in which we live. The world has got beyond *that* notion of the "obedience of faith," and can never more get back to it in its historical life, whether in Vatican or Laudean form.

As mere externalism, or supposed divine machinery, the high church Episcopalian pretension here seems to us—we are bound to say—even less rational than the Roman pretension. For what is the meaning of the regimen of bishops in either theory? Is it not that of a bond, apostolically contrived, to hold the Church together in all its parts? This of course implies unity in the episcopate itself, for how can a dismembered episcopate make the body of the Church one, any more than a dismembered presbyterate or a system of independent church synods?

Who then is to bind together the visible bond of unity represented by the bishops? The Vatican Church answers the question consistently, by providing for the visible bond a very visible and material sort of knot in the bishop of bishops who sits enthroned as the successor of St. Peter at Rome. And all ecclesiastical honesty requires us to admit, that this agrees with the idea that underlies the Episcopal institute, from the time it first comes before us in the second century under this view of a necessary bond of Christianity. We feel it in Ignatius; it comes to full blossom in Cyprian; it is Romanism out and out in Augustine. Nothing can well be more rigorously logical and consequential than the way in which it thus runs its course from the second century to the fifth. The principle of the argument is clear. A bishop can be worth nothing for unity, except as a member of the whole body of bishops; for even an Apostle could be of no apostolical authority in truth, except as he stood in conscious union with the college of the Apostles collectively taken. Hence the episcopate must be visibly one, and only in that character of organized solidarity can any part of it deserve the least respect as a defence against schism;

for outside of such solidarity, is it not seen at once to be itself the very quintessence of schism?

We have shown twenty years ago—in our articles on Cyprian, published in the *Mercersburg Review* for 1852*—how far that great church father in particular, reflecting the sense of his age, carried this idea of corporate solidarity as essential to any divine significance in the office of a bishop. The idea of a bishop outside of a true catholic or whole episcopate—a bishop, prating of his apostolic succession as a mere fractional prerogative, cut off from the succession in its entirety—was worse in his view than a puerility—it was the very sin of Korah, Dathan and Abiram. There were bishops enough of such outside apostolical succession in the early Christian times—schismatical and heretical bishops, Novatian, Arian, Donatist—representing together more than half the nominal Christian world; but that only served to show, for men like Cyprian and Augustine, of how little account the office was for its own end, in any such abstract shape. There was no magic in the thing; even as a divine institute it was worth nothing, save as an organic power joined organically with the one whole life of the Church itself.

No bishop, according to Cyprian, can be said to be the organ and representative of Christ, in virtue of what he is simply in his single and separate capacity. To be such an organ he must be comprehended, believingly and consciously, in the *whole* organism of which Christ is the Head. His office can never be of force, except in union and harmony with the entire office of which it is only a part. That is the plain meaning of the famous dictum: "*Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur;*" which meets us again in the formula: "*Episcopatus unus, episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus.*"

And so we repeat here very deliberately what we said a score

* Articles which offended many at the time by their fidelity to simple *historical* truth, although nobody, so far as we know, has ever pretended to meet them with even the ghost of an answer. But the world has moved considerably since then, and there is nothing so ugly about them now.

of years ago. The Cyprianic doctrine of the Church is not modern Protestantism. It is not this, of course, in Lutheran or Presbyterian form. But neither is it this in the Protestant Episcopal form, however fashionable it may be with a certain class of Episcopalians to claim a historical resting-place for the foot-sole of their faith away back on this mythological basis. Anglican Episcopalianism is not the Episcopalianism of the third and fourth centuries; and the difference is more than accidental or circumstantial. "Its theory of the Church is not that of Cyprian. Whether right or wrong, this last makes no room for the legitimate entrance of any such fact as the Reformation, owns no possibility whatever of a valid hierarchy aside from the unity of the apostolical succession as a solid whole, and asserts with unfaltering precision the presence of supernatural powers objectively at hand in the Church and to be found nowhere else."

To the question thus, *Who is to bind into one the visible bond of Church unity represented by the bishops*, the Roman Catholic answer is plain, as is also the answer of the third century. The answer is wrong, as we have taken pains to show in our article of last April, on *The Old Catholic Movement;* only, however, because the premises on which it is based are to be considered wrong. But what are we to say now of our modern high church Episcopalian answer, which starts from the same premises—all coming together in the idea of a *jure divino* visible hierarchy made necessary by Christ for the very being of His body the Church—and then for the needful unity of this hierarchy itself remands us to the purely invisible presence of Christ promised to be with the Church to the end of time? No one is more ready than our excellent and much honored Christian brother, Bishop Coxe, to exclaim against the idea of a visible centre of unity in the Vatican view. It is in his eyes a monstrous and blasphemous assumption; while yet he loses no opportunity at the same time of hammering the sects, as he calls them, for not accepting the like visible means of unity set before them in the divine institution of Episcopacy. We cannot help feeling that there is serious contradiction in this. The

Episcopalian theory, so put forward, is either too little or too much; too little, if earnest is to be made with the Cyprianic doctrine in which it professes to start; and altogether too much, if it is to be passed off upon us, in its character of a mere fraction of that doctrine, as if the fraction were the whole.

There is something in fact, well nigh ludicrous in the modern Protestant High Church Episcopalian notion of the charm there is supposed to be in the apostolical succession of bishops, to preserve sound doctrine and right order in the Church, when one brings to bear upon it the calcium light of the ancient doctrine of Cyprian and Augustine, in the view particularly of what they insist upon, as the necessary unity and solidarity of the episcopal office regarded as a whole. In our modern system, if we understand it, this idea of solidarity has slipped very much out of mind. Anglicanism has been, since the Reformation, what Cyprian graphically pictures as "a sunbeam cut off from the sun, a bough torn from a tree, a stream sundered from its fountain;" but this has not been felt by the system itself as a fatal break in its apostolical succession; the only question of account in the case being simply to establish the validity of the original English ordinations, thus fractionally considered, in their own separate form. Any rivulet of Episcopal derivation from the general succession is supposed to have been enough for that. And so it is wonderful now, how far in the judgment of many the merest minimum of such aphoristic apostolicity can go to make all things right, if only there be in it a grain of true episcopal blood. That puts all the Oriental sects in catholic position. That saves Swedish Lutheranism, while the Lutheranism of Germany is considered to be no Church at all. A single stray bishop, lighted upon in Berlin, happily gave the Moravians a right start, without which they would have been no better than Continental Protestantism generally.* The so-called Jansenist secession in Holland has been held in connection with the Apos-

* In organizing his new Church at Herrnhut, Count Zinzendorf got himself introduced into the ministry, in 1734, by Lutheran ordination. His missionary plans, however, required that other brethren with small education, should also be ordained as ministers. This was not to be expected from any Lutheran consistory;

tles similarly by a very small thread indeed down to our time, until finally through the death of Archbishop Loos of Utrecht, this also was reduced to a single precarious filament in the person of Herman Heykamp, Bishop of Deventer. That filament, however, has proved quite sufficient, as we know, to convey the magic force in full of a true apostolical succession, in spite of Rome, onward to the newly elected bishop of the Old Catholics, Joseph Hubert Reinkens—saving thus that otherwise sectarian movement from the sin and misery of egregious schism.

We quote these instances merely to set in its true light that high church Episcopalian view—not shared in by either Moravians or Old Catholics—which hangs the entire weight of a true apostolical succession in the life of Christianity, on the single peg of a supposed separate apostolical succession in the episcopate—the office of diocesan bishops; and then, nevertheless, allows that the episcopate itself may be broken into a thousand fragments, and each fragment be able still to carry away with it the full and entire life of the succession just as if no such schism had taken place! Cyprian would have scouted such a thought with derision, and it stultifies, we are very sure, the whole conception of what the office was intended to be as a bond of unity in the beginning.

And so we come back to our main thesis; namely, that the cure for the divisions of Christendom, as the world now stands, is not to be found in the outward order simply which is offered to us by the Anglo-American Episcopal Church. The crowning element of the Church, its episcopate itself, think what we may

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and he was not willing, like Wesley, to take the matter into his own hands. Here was a difficulty. But it so happened that there was in Berlin an aged bishop, of previous Moravian emigration—Jablonsky by name—officiating at the time as court preacher in the service of the Lutheran Church; and now by a happy thought, it was resolved to call in his aid for the emergency. Zinzendorf commended David Nitschman to him as worthy of being consecrated to the episcopal office; Jablonsky cheerfully consented to convey to him the apostolic succession still quietly immanent in his own person; and so David Nitschman became the first Bishop of the New Moravian Church. Some time after, Zinzendorf himself was consecrated to the same office by the same obliging hands. The Church thus had its own modest prelacy now, and could make ministers and missionaries to suit itself.

of it otherwise, is no better for such purpose than its other elements, viewed in this abstract outside way. The problem calls for a deeper solution.

Bishop Coxe seems himself mournfully aware that his Church —"all glorious within" as he considers it to be for those who are in it—is not after all what he would fain have it to be as the "way of the Lord" for restoring the captivity of His people. "It has been common among us Anglicans of the Anglo-American communion," he says with a tone of pathetic sadness toward the close of his book, "to flatter ourselves that our Apostolical claims are destined to prevail, and to win over the reflecting and the educated among all Christians of other names. Far be it from us to deny or affirm any such thing, in view of the 'signs of the times.' The real issues become complicated and mysterious every day. The German immigration, the Chinese irruption, the African problem, the menaces of Jesuitism—all these and other features of the age, to say nothing of materialism, sensualism, and communism, teach us to be very humble, and to wait on the Lord in patience of hope, and in the fulness of faith. I frankly confess, and I avow it with a due sense of my accountability to my dear brethren in the episcopate, but with a deeper sense of my accountability to the Master, that I dare not boast of any such expectations as in past years many among us have ventured to adopt. I love our Church with a deeper love than ever; I believe in her more than ever; but I feel that God has chastised our proud spirit, and rebuked our too confident words."

This is a good confession, and it lies in the same direction exactly with the general object of our present article; which as we have said, is not to antagonize Episcopalianism as such, but merely to show that it is not in and of itself the power that is needed at this time to actualize in full the true idea of the Holy Catholic Church, the coming down of the New Hierosolyma from heaven.

It does not relieve the case at all, that we are not able to refer to any other existing order of church life as having in it more of promise or power for that glorious end. On the con-

trary, this only makes it so much the more a sacred duty for all who love the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ to look the whole truth solemnly in the face. Certainly, what we miss in Episcopacy here, we miss at the same time also in other denominations. Why should we try to deceive ourselves? The Shiloh to whom shall be the gathering of the nations in the Church of the Future is not in Romanism; but just as little in Presbyterianism, or Lutheranism, or Methodism, or Puritanism of whatever shape or form. His coming is not heralded even remotely as yet in any of the Oriental Churches; nor may we dare to acknowledge it in the Old Catholic Movement. These systems severally, along with Episcopalianism, are at best but partial Christianity, and not whole Christianity; and, alas, they are not organic parts, but divided, broken, reciprocally schismatic parts, each virtually pretending to be the whole, and in its particularity excluding the others. But what then? Does it follow that these systems should be for this reason all at once abandoned as a first step toward general unity, in the way the "*Churchman*" virtually assumes in taxing the Evangelical Alliance with abetting the sin of schism? Only in one view could this be rationally demanded—that which in fact underlies the *Churchman's* severe crimination of non-Episcopalian Christianity throughout; in the view, namely, that Anglo-American Episcopalianism, as a mere outward *via media* between Romanism on the one side and Sectarianism on the other, offers in itself what all the world should see to be God's ordination, carrying with it immediately whatever is needed to make the Church one and complete. But this, we have seen, is an untenable assumption. The question of Church union, to whose claims the Evangelical Alliance is trying to awaken the attention of the Christian world, is not to be met and answered in any such summary, superficial way as that. The Alliance has not yet found the right answer to it; has not indeed pretended to have done so; but neither has it been found, we feel very sure, by Episcopalianism. This may have, and we trust has, an important part to contribute toward the reintegration of the confessional divisions of Christendom; but other confes-

sions have *their* gifts to bring also, according to such a man as Döllinger, no less essential to the idea of a full and whole Christianity. The Episcopal Church—in spite of her self-distinguishing title of "*The* Church"—is in truth at last a section only, or sect, of the Church Catholic, and not by any means the wholeness of its proper life. All the Evangelical Protestant Churches are in this respect, we repeat, in like condemnation, as not having in them the true full law and power of Christian unity; and the sooner this is seen and felt by all, the better. Then we shall not have Episcopalians—because they have bishops—refusing to talk with other denominations on the subject of Church unification because these have no bishops, and saying to them in substance: 'This question of unity is for you, and not for us; *you* are in schism; *we* are the Church; repent—believe—enter the mechanism of our communion, and all will be at once made right." Instead of this, the question will be seen to involve immeasurably more than any such pitiful issue as that; and the mind and heart of the whole Christian world may be expected then to flow together more and more, from all sides, under the influence of God's Spirit, seeking the true answer to it in a deeper, more inward, and far more comprehensive form.

How that blessed end—the growing desire now of all nations, the true second coming, perhaps, of our Lord Jesus Christ—shall be ultimately accomplished, we, of course, know not and pretend not to say. We may safely mention some ways, however, in which it certainly will *not* come.

As we have already intimated, it will most assuredly not come on the platform of any existing church organization as it now stands. Among them all, no single one can be named that is broad enough, or deep enough in its foundations, to serve this purpose. What Protestant body—however it may have pleased itself with such a wild fancy in the beginning—now seriously dreams of being the very "pattern in the mount," to which all Christendom must conform itself in order to become one? And yet, how hard it is for any of these bodies to see and own steadily the practical force of the thought

that they are, at most, parts only of the full Christian idea, and that "when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away." It were an immense stride gained in the right direction, only to have this single truism clearly before the vision of the Church on all sides. It would be, of itself, the power of catholic unity already at work.

The union we speak of, will not come on the basis of any one confessional scheme of doctrine now known in the world. No such scheme, Romanist or Protestant, may, without vast presumption, pretend to be the full sense of Christianity. The full sense of Christianity indeed, the faith once delivered to the saints, is not capable of being imprisoned in any logical sarcophagus of this sort; just because it *is* living, and not dead; and it is no derogation from the proper worth of any one of our theological confessions, therefore, to say that it is not all that is required to set forth that faith in true universal form. Neither the Lutheran nor the Reformed symbolical books are fitted to become the end of all strife and division in this way. The ultimate unity of the Church will not be built on the Augsburg Confession, nor on the decrees of the Synod of Dort, nor on the Westminster Catechism, nor on the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England. Who, from his inmost heart, can seriously believe any such thing?

Neither will this unity be brought about, however, by diplomatic inter-denominational negotiation of any sort, having for its object the bringing of the separate Churches into one, in a merely outward way. The Evangelical Alliance, if we looked upon it simply in that view, might well be set down for a failure; especially in the extremely partial and one-sided character under which it appeared at its late New York Convention; but that, we have already seen, is not the right view to be taken, either of its work or of its reigning mind. No mere confederacy of denominations in the way of concordant discord, and no counsels or plans looking simply to the reduction of differences to a common platform of doctrine and order, can ever bring to pass the end here proposed; just as little as the decrees of kings or popes. "Not by might, nor by power, but

by My Spirit, saith the Lord," applies to all such *ab extra* compulsion in either form.

It is a vain imagination again, to expect the coming of the Lord to build up Jerusalem from the repristination, simply, of any past period of Church history. As if the new here was to be nothing more than the old! As if the living were to be sought only among the dead! What is needed is something vastly greater than any mechanical return to the theology and life of the sixteenth century, whether in Lutheran or Reformed type, whether in Germany, Switzerland, France, Holland or England. Something far beyond any falling back to the piety of the Middle Ages. Something unspeakably better than a general retrogression to the Nicene period, or to any portion of the Patristic time going before. It is a delusive vision—this dream of bringing all things right by an unhistorical pilgrimage of our whole modern Christendom to the tombs of the fathers, martyrs and confessors, who fell asleep in the Lord fifteen hundred years ago; this fond conceit of putting an end to all heresy and schism by setting ourselves, as Dr. Coxe phrases it, "to work back to the precise position in which the Churches would have continued, had the Papacy never disturbed the primitive constitutions." God be praised, that the early Christian world was doomed to no such stagnation as that! And God forbid, that the Christian world now should try to work itself back to it by any such crab-like process! We cannot do it, if we would; we should not wish to do it if we could. God has "provided some better thing for us," we feel very sure, than this. If ever there was a time in the history of the world, when the deliverance and redemption of men, whether in the political or religious light, demanded progression, and not retrogression, that is the character of the present time. Our age is in a crisis like that of the Red Sea; and the voice of Jehovah-Jesus may be heard plainly sounding through it as of old to Moses: "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they GO FORWARD!" We must face the realities of our own age, as they are in their own nature. We must grapple with the world-problem of the nineteenth century, in the bosom of

the nineteenth century, and not by skulking into the dim religious light of the fifth century. Christianity must conquer the modern world in the midst of its own conditions, if it is to make good its claim to true catholicity—if it is to be a *Church* in the end, and not simply a school or sect.

The error thus rejected, is only one pole of the unhistorical spirit in religion; there is, of course, another pole of the same spirit—the seeming opposite of this, though only its obverse complement in fact—to which it is, if possible, even more vain to look for any effectual escape from the acknowledged misery of our present ecclesiastical divisions. We have it in the growing disposition which is shown with some, on all sides, to come to a full rupture with the historical past of Christianity; to get clear of its dogmas, mysteries and supernatural peculiarities, out and out, at one stroke; and thus to win at once free room, as they imagine, for a new birth of the gospel, that will leave behind forever the endless *isms*, as they say, which it is found impossible to reconcile or harmonize in any less sweeping way. This is Humanitarian Christianity; exalting itself against all that is called God, in the very temple of God; and pretending to save Christ, through the destruction of Christ.

The negatives which we have now briefly noticed, make of themselves, of course, no positive, in answer to the question before us: "When or how shall the Son of Man come, and what shall be the sign of His coming?" But they go far, we think, to bring into view what *must be* the general character of the positive, through which only the idea of this glorious advent can be realized in the end. Christianity, to be truly historical, must revert again—not just to the period of the Reformation, nor to the Nicene period, as if the stream in either case could give us the wholeness of the fountain—but back to the very fountain-head itself, so as to descend from this afresh, through all the following ecclesiastical ages, down to our modern time, freighted with a depth and wealth of meaning, such as is not to be met with either in any one age, or even in all ages together, going before.

All the signs of the present—far beyond the signs of any past time since the first coming of Christ; apocalyptic signs, we may call them, felt now by all the deep thinkers of the world; signs in the moral and political heavens, no less than in the world of Christianity itself; signs, which it is felt no extravagance now to symbolize as the "shaking of the powers of the heavens," or as a universal giving way and breaking up of what has seemed to be, heretofore, the established order of nature; all these signs, we say, go to show that Christianity is in fact, in such a vast fundamental crisis as we have mentioned, and that it needs, therefore, nothing less than such a whole renovation as we now speak of—starting from the Lord, and taking hold upon the deep places of the earth spiritually considered—to carry it triumphantly onward in its mission.

We cannot go farther here into the question of this new dispensation of the Church; a question that is much in our heart and mind; but take leave of it at present by simply referring to our paper, *Christianity and Humanity*, read before the late Convention of the Evangelical Alliance, and published in the last number of this Review. Which itself, however, is only a synopsis, as all can see, needing a commentary for every separate thesis.

Bishop Coxe complains with good reason, as we have seen, of the one-sidedness of Evangelical Puritanism in holding itself all the time to one class of texts in the Bible, while it overlooks and ignores entirely another class of texts, just as plainly there, which go to favor Episcopalianism. It is the object of his work, we are told, to bring this neglected side of Scripture to its proper rights; which is done, however, as we have seen, in a strangely external way. "I come with half truths," he says, "which are not thought of by many of my pious countrymen, and I propose to join them to the half truths which are almost universally accepted by them, and which are mistaken for integers." "The two halves united, present a perfection and beauty which proves that they were not meant to be put asunder." The charge thus preferred against Evangelical Puritanism is just; it is at best but a partial Gospel; but is

Dr. Coxe quite sure that all it needs to make it the Gospel in full is that it should be pieced out by what he proposes to add to it as another partial Gospel? What if these two "halves," as he calls them, in order to become inwardly one, demand a still more interior view of the Gospel as the proper ground of their wholeness? Then we should have yet another class of "neglected Scriptures," in the case of which both Puritanism and Episcopalianism would stand alike convicted of being in the same wrong. And just this now, it seems to us, is the actual truth of the matter, and nothing less than this. Plainly there is a whole vast order of thought and statement in the Scriptures, which as yet has found no sufficient attention from either Roman Catholic or Protestant exegesis; while at the same time the more it is considered, the more it must be felt to deserve and demand such attention. For it has to do with the inmost and deepest life of Christianity; and falls in wonderfully also with what we have just seen to be the great need of the Christian world at the present time, in the vast and mighty crisis through which it is now passing. We look upon it accordingly as one of the most significant among the "signs of the time," that there is coming to be an awakened interest in these mysterious oracles heretofore so much overlooked, and that the question *What think ye of Christ?* around which they all revolve, is beginning to be lifted up in such sort as to draw all men toward it, so that even the infidelity of the age is forced to do homage to it, more and more, no less than its faith.

The oracles we speak of are very numerous; far more so than those ecclesiastical Scriptures, "which the Continental reformers neglected," according to Dr. Coxe, and which it is the object of his book now to rescue from the hands of the Romanists, who have made it their business, he says, to "appropriate and abuse them with a malevolent triumph." For "him that hath an ear to hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches," the oracles we speak of form indeed an under-tone running through the whole Bible, so that the voice of the Lord in them is felt as "the sound of many waters." We can but notice them here in the broadest and most general way.

They include all that range of Scripture, in which the idea of *revelation*, or the simple making known of God to men—through His Word at large, and then specifically through His Son Jesus Christ—is represented as being identical with the idea of redemption and salvation. The Old Testament is full of this thought, and so also is the New Testament; all culminating in that word of our Saviour's last pontifical prayer: "This is life eternal, that they might KNOW THEE THE ONLY TRUE GOD, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." This it is that we are to understand by what has been called the "*offenbarungs-bewusstsein*" of the first centuries, in distinction from the mere "*erlösungs-bewusstsein*" of the 16th century. The two conceptions are not contradictory; each is in the other; but there is a necessary order in their reciprocal relation, and that order requires that the fact of revelation—not as a theorem, of course, but as a living power—should go before the fact of redemption, for the consciousness of faith—should underlie it—should be for it in truth nothing less than the very womb from which it is born. "God hath shined in our hearts," says St. Paul, "to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ;" and that inshining of God, we now affirm, is itself salvation.

Along with this goes necessarily the idea, that what the Scriptures mean by salvation is nothing less than true and real conjunction with the divine life itself; in the image and likeness of which man was originally made, just that he might be capable of union with God through his intelligence and will—the proper substance of his being—in such actually living and not merely notional way. And who needs to be told, what a world of "neglected Scripture," in both Testaments, is occupied with this high and holy mystery, in which the natural and carnal mind is so prone to see only its own carnality, stigmatizing it perhaps as transcendentalism or pantheism? Take only one text here: "God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is IN HIS SON." It is but a specimen of a vast armory of other texts, reiterating in every variety of way the same stupendous thought.

Then follows another class of these oracles of the living God, wherein the Scriptures themselves, and all the facts of redemption, are set forth as having their origin and full deep force only in the actual spiritual world that lies beyond the present world, and in which the whole sense of the present world is all the time comprehended as a fleeting shadow. The economy of salvation being the intensely realistic *life* we have just seen it to be, it *must* have its actuating soul everywhere in the life of eternity, and not in the life of time. So much is signified by the symbolism of the ark of the covenant, overshadowed by the cherubim, behind the veil, in the old Jewish Sanctuary. Divine powers, the very "powers of the world to come," are made to challenge our faith in every part of the Bible. Its words are "spirit and life." The *aura* of an actually present divinity stirs within it, and breathes forth upon us from its pages, if only we come to it in the spirit of little children. Simply to read the 119th Psalm, with right spiritual receptivity, is to come under the force of this strangely mysterious afflatus almost in every verse.

And so finally we have a fourth class of the much neglected Christological (more than Puritanically experimental, and more also than merely churchly) declarations of Scripture, in whose behalf we have here undertaken to speak; namely, that wide chapter, in which faith—the faith that justifies men and saves men—is made to be first of all direct correspondence with the divine life, whether in the Bible or in Christ—both being in this view the presence of the same Word, whose life is the light of men—making room thus, through its own constitution, for the entrance of that life substantively into the believer's spirit. We need not repeat here what we have said on this point in our article on *Christianity and Humanity*, but offer it as a mere corollary following necessarily from the points going before.

We owe it to the Bishop of Western New York, whom we honor in the Lord, to say in conclusion, that his position with regard to the Christian world outside of his own communion, if we understand it rightly, is by no means so ex-

clusive and intolerant as the argument of his book might appear at times to imply. "What I propose," he says, "involves no supercilious claim that my own Church needs no reformation; nor does it involve the folly of saying to others: 'Accept unity by accepting her communion in place of yours.' By no means." To a devout brother of the Lutheran or Presbyterian communion, pleading a sense of duty for staying where he has been providentially placed, his charitable answer is: "I can only say with the prophet, 'Go in peace.' The conditions of modern Catholicity do not permit me to speak as I must have done in the days of Cyprian. This is felt so deeply that the tone of a Cyprian, in these days, excites disgust. It is illogical and impertinent. The only answer is, 'Physician, heal thyself.' Till we illustrate our own principles more practically, it becomes us to be very modest." And so in the end, we feel as if the bishop's stand-point were wholly our own, and are ready to join with sympathetic heart-beat to every word he utters, when we hear him winding up as follows: "What then? The first thing is a general concession that the existing state of things is temporary, and only tolerable till a return to unity can be wrought out by the power of the Spirit, and under the guidance of His providence. Let every Christian look upon the disorganized state of Christendom with sorrow of heart, and yearn and pray and labor for restoration Then, when the servants of God take pleasure in the stones of the old temple, and 'favor the dust thereof,' then God Himself shall arise and have mercy upon Zion; the time to favor her, yea, the set time will have come; so the heathen shall fear the name of the Lord, and all the kings of the earth His glory.' Would to God every Christian who reads these words would agree with me to pray daily in the use of this Psalm, adding, 'Thy kingdom come!' This is the end for which I write; it is much better than proselytism."

To which what can we do better than to add, as we do from our inmost heart, the Apocalyptic response: "Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus; come quickly."

ART. II.—THE BIBLE AND SCIENCE.

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THE end or aim of divine revelation, of which the Bible is the infallible record, is not to teach natural science. Revelation, in itself, is a connected series of supernatural events, of divine words and works, culminating at last in the mystery of the Word made flesh, which is the central and energizing idea of the whole process, and in the establishment of the Christian Church, as the sphere of Christ's perpetual presence in the world, by the Holy Ghost, for the salvation of men. Of this the Bible is the documentary record for all time. The design of the Bible is, therefore, not to teach philosophy or natural science, but to communicate spiritual truth, and guide men in the way to a blessed life. Beyond what may be necessary in order to the fulfilment of this design, it takes no interest in those truths which properly form the object of science, whether in the department of physics or metaphysics. Hence it touches upon matters related to scientific questions only incidentally; and it would, therefore, be manifestly impossible to construct scientific theories, of Astronomy, for example, of Geology, Physiology, Psychology or History, from the statements of the Bible.

But while this is admitted, it must be maintained nevertheless that the Bible is throughout in essential harmony with the results of true science. The Bible and science can not contradict each other. Revelation is from God, and the world of nature is from God. The Bible is one book of God, in which are manifested His gracious counsel and will towards man; and nature, the world of "things that are made," is another book of the same God, in which are manifested His eternal power

and Godhead. These two books, proceeding from the same divine mind, cannot be supposed to contradict each other. The testimony of the stars, and the testimony of the rocks, and the records of history, when correctly read and interpreted, must be in harmony with the testimony of God's word, when rightly understood. A conflict here would be possible only in case of a misunderstanding and misinterpretation of one or both of the great books of God, nature and revelation. A false interpretation of the statements of the Bible bearing upon matters related to natural science may be in conflict with a true interpretation of the facts of nature; or conversely, a false interpretation of the facts of nature may be in conflict with a true interpretation of the statements of the Bible; or finally, a false interpretation of the Bible may be in conflict with a false interpretation of nature. Other cause of opposition or contradiction we cannot conceive, if we admit that the Bible is the record of an actual revelation or communication from God, and that the world is in a real sense a creation of God, embodying the thoughts and purposes of His mind and will.

The apparent contradictions of the past, which are now happily solved, at least so far as no longer to disturb any one's mind, all resulted from one or other of these causes. A brief discussion of a few of these supposed contradictions, will serve to confirm the above propositions, and will also, besides, throw light upon the general question concerning the relation of the Bible to scientific thought. There was a time, as all know, when it was generally imagined that the Copernican system of astronomy involved a flat contradiction of the Bible. The Bible was regarded as being forever wedded to the Ptolemaic theory, which supposes the earth to be stationary in the centre of the universe, and the sun, moon and stars to be revolving around it, in what used to be called crystalline spheres. Does not the Bible say that God "laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be removed forever?" Does it not constantly speak of the rising and setting of the sun, moon and stars? The sun "is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoices as a strong man to run a race. His coming forth is

from the end of heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it." And did not Joshua command the sun to stand still upon Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Aijalon? Does not that prove that the sun and moon are moving bodies in the sense of the Ptolemaic theory, and that any other view of them must involve treason to the Bible? So men actually reasoned; overlooking the fact, of course, that it is not the design of the Bible to furnish an infallible system of astronomy. However, in consequence of such reasoning, Galileo of Pisa was condemned for heresy by the Roman inquisition, and graciously offered the choice between abjuring the new theory of Copernicus and losing his head. And a century after the time of Galileo, leading orthodox theologians of the Reformed Church of Holland counted this also among the heresies of Cartesius, "that he reckoned the earth among the stars; that he ranked the sun, which hitherto had been regarded as a planet, among the fixed stars, and the earth among the wandering stars; that he changed the moon into a kind of earth, to which he attributed mountains and valleys; and finally that he transferred to the earth the motion which for so many thousand years had been regarded as belonging to the sun."

But the theory which was thus resisted at first as an enemy of revelation, was essentially true, and finally, after a long struggle, gained for itself the approbation of all the philosophers and scholars of Christendom. And what has meanwhile happened to the Bible? Has it lost any of its credit, or fallen in the estimation of believers? By no means. It was not the Bible that had to give way, but only a false interpretation of a comparatively small number of texts; and the result has been a positive gain to our knowledge of the Bible and to the cause of revealed truth. We now understand the relation of the Bible to natural science and philosophy better than it was understood three hundred years ago. The Bible is not committed to any scientific theory, or to any philosophical system, and is, therefore, above all theories and systems. It speaks no scientific language—no language formed in the schools. In speaking of the earth, with its mountains and valleys, its oceans and

rivers, or of plants, and trees, and animals, it does not employ the language of Geology, Botany and Zoology, but the language of common experience and life. And so, in speaking of the phenomena of the visible heavens, it does not use the technical terminology of any Astronomical theory, but the language of common perception or sense, so that all men, whether they are Astronomers or peasants, can understand it. To our senses the earth seems to be stationary, while the sun and stars seem to be moving through the sky; and we will, therefore, always speak of their rising and setting, in spite of our knowledge that the reality is considerably different from the sensuous experience which determines the form of our language. It would, therefore, be as easy to make out a case of opposition between sensation and science, as between the Bible and Science. Yet the eye is not convicted of falsehood by the fact, that the sun, which to our unaided vision appears to be only a few feet in diameter, is, by mathematical calculation, proved to be a body of vastly larger size than this great globe which we inhabit. For such calculation is possible only on the basis of the facts furnished to the mind by the activity of the eye; and the validity of such calculation depends, therefore, upon the validity of the perceptions of the eye. If the validity of our sense perceptions were denied, there would be an end of all science of the outward world. The activity of the eye, moreover, is not affected by any theory of the visible heavens. The Astronomer's perception of the stars, after having abandoned his instruments, is not essentially different from that of the untutored peasant. There is only this difference between the two, that the Astronomer's theory is a more rational and more consistent explanation of the facts of vision, than the crude notions of the peasant. In this view the eye, or the faculty of vision, is superior to any theory or explanation of the heavens. Theories and systems may change, but the eye changes not. And just so the Bible, using no scientific phraseology or technical terminology, but the language of common sense and experience, when referring to the phenomena of the visible heavens, is superior to all scientific theories of these phenomena. A

change of theories requires, therefore, no change of the Bible, just as it requires no change in the sense of vision, upon whose perceptions all theories must ultimately be based. The Bible might be read in the light of the Ptolemaic theory without disadvantage to the spiritual truth which it is intended to convey, and without disadvantage to the peculiar religious view of the world, which it is intended to produce in the mind of the reader. And the same Bible may be read in the light of our more enlarged and more accurate knowledge of the mechanism of the heavens, without any sense of discord between its statements and that knowledge. Nay, more. As our present science is a more rational explanation of the facts or phenomena of vision, than the crude theories of the past; so also is it a more rational explanation of the statements of the Bible. The Bible, like the perceptions of sense, not only admits, but demands such an explanation, in order to its own consistency. And it may well be made a question, whether our present Astronomical science has even yet sufficiently advanced to explain all that the Bible has to say of heaven, and the heavens, and the heaven of heavens. There may be very much here still, that science has yet to learn; and in the end the Bible will no doubt be found to have been far ahead of science all along, instead of being behind it or beneath it.

But the imaginary conflict between the Bible and Astronomy was scarcely ended, when a new enemy seemed to appear in the young science of Geology. The discoveries which Geology has made in the rocks composing the earth's crust, seemed at first to involve a contradiction of the Mosaic account of creation. How can the existence of stratified fossiliferous rocks, making a total thickness of ten miles, and containing the petrified remains of vast myriads of strange plants and animals, all of which must have lived and died long ages before the appearance of man upon the earth, be made to harmonize with the idea of a creation of the world in six literal days, not quite six thousand years ago, as the language of the Mosaic account was commonly supposed to teach? In reply to this it must be said in the first place, that the aim of that account is not to teach

the principles of Geology, but the principles of Monotheism—the eternal existence of God, and His relation to the world, as its free Creator and Preserver. In other words, the aim of that account is to teach just what the Christian professes to believe in the first article of the Creed. God alone is eternal, infinite, absolute and unconditioned. The existence of the world is temporal, finite, relative and conditioned. It has the ground of its existence, both as to matter and form, not in itself, but in the omnipotent will of the eternal God. God is the supreme and free Author of its matter as well as of its form. The present form of the world, however, was not originated simultaneously with the matter of which it is composed. The cosmos, as we know it now, is not the product of a single, instantaneous stroke of divine omnipotence, but the product of a series of creative acts, and of a series of progressive stages of development, of longer or shorter duration, arising from those creative acts. First matter is originated in a state of chaos, without form and qualitative determinations. Then there follows a series of creative fiats, each starting a new movement, or a more complicated process, in the onward progress of the world's genesis, these movements or processes being so linked together that the lower always forms the basis and necessary condition of the next higher; and the result of all this is the production, in order, of chemical, mineral, vegetable, animal and finally, human nature. These we suppose to be the fundamental ideas of the Mosaic account of creation, when divested of the sensuous and symbolical form in which they are presented, which form is due, no doubt, to the manner in which the history of the creative work was first revealed to man, or to the state of mind, namely that of ecstacy or vision, in which the revelation of that work was received. And with these ideas nothing that Geology has ever brought to light, or ever will bring to light, is in conflict.

On the theory hinted at already by Augustine, and now universally accepted, that the six demiurgic days were not literal days of twenty-four hours, but periods of indefinite extent, whose duration cannot be determined by any modern measure-

ment of time, there is no discrepancy between the Mosaic account of creation and the discoveries of modern Geology. On the contrary, the order of creation as described by Moses corresponds, at least as to its leading features or grand outlines, to the order indicated by the organic remains found imbedded in the stratified rocks of the earth; and prominent naturalists as well as theologians have shown how the successive ages of Geological formations may be parallelized with the successive days or creative periods of the sacred record. Of course, when such attempts at parallelizing or harmonizing are carried too far, so as to run them out into minute details, there arise difficulties, which with our present knowledge we may not yet be able to solve in a satisfactory way. Indeed the simple optical or phenomenological form of representation of the creative process in Genesis, seems to forbid a minute comparison with the results or conclusions of natural science. And yet a sufficient degree of correspondence can already be pointed out to convince us, that the record of the rocks and the record of Scripture are in essential harmony with each other. Indeed the very difficulties of the Scriptural narrative of creation, like the mentioning of light on the first day, and the making of the sun, moon and stars on the fourth, subsequently to the production of vegetation, are evidences of its divine or supernatural origin, and ought to inspire us with confidence in its truthfulness; for these are mostly of such a character as an uninspired writer, recounting simply his own natural impressions and reflections, would no doubt have avoided. No heathen cosmogony would have removed the formation of the sun so far from the beginning of the world, and placed it after the creation of vegetation; and yet modern science, both from the stand-point of Astronomy and of paleontological Botany, has fully justified the Biblical order in this particular.

Nor is the theory, which regards the creative days as periods of indefinite extent, as Prof. Tyndall imagines in one of his letters concerning the prayer-test, an abandonment of the Mosaic account. It is simply an abandonment of the dry and spiritless interpretation of that account, inherited by the

Church from the later lifeless Jewish theology, and the substitution of a better interpretation. This new interpretation is not felt to involve any violence to the sense intended by the words of the Mosaic account. That account, in connection with other Scriptural statements bearing upon the same subject, will not only admit such an explanation, but demands such an explanation in order to the expression of its own proper sense. Its words are not like the characters or numbers of an arithmetical problem, which must be taken strictly at their face value, but like those of a parable, or of a prophecy rather, which convey a deeper meaning than that expressed by their literal form and sound. In all languages the word *day* has a figurative as well as natural sense; and that it is the figurative sense which is intended in the first chapter of Genesis, seems to be evident from the fact that the present Astronomical relation of the earth to the sun, by which the succession of day and night is produced, was fixed only on the fourth creative day, as well as from the fact that, in the recapitulation of the second chapter, the six days are called one day: "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth when they were created, in *the day* that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens." Hence St. Augustine, long before the science of Geology was born, saw that the six days cannot be explained literally. "What kind of days these were," says this great father, "it is extremely difficult, or perhaps impossible for us to conceive, and how much more to say! We see, indeed, that our ordinary days have no evening but by the setting, and no morning but by the rising of the sun; but the first three days of all were passed without sun, since it is reported to have been made on the fourth day."* At the time of Augustine there were no philosophers who had learned to read and interpret the record of the rocks. Indeed the very existence of that record was unknown; and Augustine was, therefore, not driven to his conclusion by any extra-biblical science or speculation, with the results of which he might have endeavored to make his exegesis square. It

* Civ. Dei, xi. 6.

was the Biblical record itself which, deeply pondered, made upon him the impression that, whatever those days might mean, they could not be taken to have been ordinary solar days like those to which we are accustomed now. And now this *presentiment* of Augustine, as we may call it, has become a well settled and universally accepted theory; so that no theologian any longer apprehends damage to the Christian faith from the revelations of Geology. Geology has not overthrown the Bible. It has only occasioned Theology the trouble of reconsidering and reconstructing a few of its traditional opinions concerning the teaching of Scripture in regard to the *method* of creation; but the result, in many respects, has been worth more than all the trouble it has cost, and the labor thus expended is, therefore, not to be regretted. The Christian faith has remained unshaken; and the Bible, we believe, has lost nothing, but gained much from the very trial to which it was subjected. Here also it has turned out that the Bible was not behind science, or opposed to science, but really in advance of science. Though it tells what it has to say in regard to the method of creation, or in regard to the origin of the world, in a style and language that are intelligible to all men, of whatever degree of education or culture they may be, thereby proving its adaptation to the purpose for which it is designed; yet beneath that simple style and language there is a depth of truth, that no scientific thought has yet fathomed to the bottom.

And as the Bible has thus come forth triumphantly from the ordeal to which it was subjected in relation to Astronomy and Geology, so also will it come forth from the ordeal to which it is now subjected by the discussion, so eagerly maintained, concerning the *antiquity of man*. The Bible, indeed, is not a manual of universal history or of anthropological archæology. If it were that, it would, of course, be seriously defective; for there are large and important portions of the human race, which it passes over without so much as a single notice. It deals with matters of universal history only in as far as they come into contact with, and have a bearing upon the history of salvation. Its single aim is to declare that man was originally

created in the image of God, with a view to a blessed life in communion with God; that through the instigation of the prince of evil spirits, a fall has occurred, which has disturbed man's original relation to God, and subjected him to the punishment of death; and that after the fall, God initiated a process of salvation, a remedial economy, which after extending through many ages of preparation and waiting, was completed, in the fulness of time, in the mystery of the incarnation, by which humanity is reunited with God, and the original end of man's creation secured among them that believe. In relating the history of this soteriological process, from its first beginning in Paradise, the Bible, however, presents also historical data and chronological statements, which seem to fix the age of man upon the earth at about six thousand years. But here modern science has raised doubts. The discovery of stone implements in the drift deposits and peat bogs of Europe, and of human bones, in caves, commingled with those of extinct animals, like the mammoth, gigantic deer, woolly-haired rhinoceros, cave-bear, cave-tiger and cave-hyena,* which flourished in Europe during the early part of the post-tertiary age of Geology, seems to point to a much higher antiquity of man, than that allowed by the sacred record. The difference apparently is one, not simply of hundreds, but of many thousands of years.

How the problem here presented may at last be solved, it would now perhaps be impossible to predict. There is much that is still doubtful on both sides of the question, and that must yet be cleared up before a true solution can be given. In the first place, Biblical chronology is still in a state of confusion. There is, at the very outset, the perplexing difference between the numbers furnished by the Hebrew text, the Septuagint, and the Samaritan version; the Septuagint, for example, making the time between Adam and Abraham 1,366 years longer than the Hebrew original. Which of these versions now is to be regarded as the more genuine and reliable in a chronological view? During the patristic age the preference

* A good account of these discoveries is given in the annual report of the Smithsonian Institute for 1867.

was generally given to the Septuagint, while since the Reformation the decision has commonly been in favor of the Hebrew, though the former also has had able advocates in such scholars as Jackson of the last, and Seyffarth of the present century. But even supposing the Hebrew text to be the only genuine one, the chronologist will still encounter difficulties enough in this, to make him doubt the possibility of determining with any thing like precision the year of Adam's creation; as must be sufficiently evident from the varying, and often contradictory, results at which those have arrived, who have made the trial. But apart from all difficulties of this sort, there is a considerable degree of uncertainty also in regard to the *meaning* of the chronological numbers found in the early part of the Bible. Are they literally historical, or are they perhaps symbolical, like the days of creation? Do they signify literal solar years, or do they signify periods or cycles of time, of longer or shorter duration? "If one were lucky enough," says Roesch, "to discover the Ariadne thread through the labyrinth of Biblical chronology, and so to determine the first year of Adam according to the numbers contained in the Bible, there would be found lurking immediately behind such discovery the disturbing question, whether the time thus fixed upon is after all any thing more than an *imaginary epoch.* If it be true that traces of human labor and art have been found at a depth of thirty feet beneath the alluvial deposits of the delta of the Nile, which place the existence of human civilization 17,000 years before our era; if the age of the rock, in which Pourtales is said to have found petrified human bones, has been correctly computed by Agassiz at 10,000 years; if the flint implements found in Picardie and England are really productions of human workmanship, whose history extends beyond the present Geological period; if the age of a fisherman's hut excavated in the neighborhood of the Bothnian Gulf must be estimated at 12,000 years; if the discoveries of American Geologists in the delta of the Mississippi really prove this to have been the abode of men for at least 57,000 years; if, finally, it be true that the human race is of the same age as the Alluvial strata, the period of whose deposition

must be computed at from 80,000 to 100,000 years; then Adam, if he is to be regarded as the *protoplast* of the race, and as such he is presented in the Bible, must in reality be much *older* than the Biblical numbers would seem to make him, and these, in as far as they start from him, can therefore, to a certain extent, not be *historical* in their *present* form."*

But there is, to say the least, much also that is still doubtful on the side of science. Does the discovery of flint implements in the drift deposits of certain parts of Europe after all demonstrate that the men who made and used them, lived during, or even immediately after, the drift or glacial epoch? Might not their presence in the places where they are found, be accounted for also in a hundred other ways? So also in regard to the human bones found in the same caves with those of extinct animals. Must we necessarily assume that the men, whose skeletons have been found in the caves of Aurinag and Fontaine, or in the grottos of Valieres, and Arcy-sur-Yonne, were contemporaries of the huge animals of the post-tertiary or alluvial age whose bones are imbedded in the dust and rubbish of those same caverns? But even if these questions must be answered in the affirmative, that after all does not settle the question concerning the age of man in a chronological view. Suppose that man made his appearance upon the earth shortly after the commencement of the post-tertiary age—and no one pretends that there are evidences of his existence here at any earlier epoch; the question then immediately arises, when did this age begin? Has it really been as long as some have imagined? In regard to this point the best authorities greatly differ. While some have estimated its duration at 380,000 years, Sir Charles Lyell and others have reduced the number to about 35,000. These figures are obtained by means of calculations based upon the slow formation of river deltas, the gradual progression of cataracts, etc. The cataract of Niagara, for example, has retreated from a point near Queenston to its present position, a distance of about seven miles, *since the close of the glacial epoch;*

* Herzog's Encyclopedia, Art. *Zeitrechnung, biblische.*

and judging the rate of recession to have been on an average one foot in a year, the time required for the entire movement would be about 35,000 years, and this then would be the duration of the post-tertiary age. But now Prof. N. H. Winchell, State Geologist of Minnesota, advances a different theory, and comes to a conclusion much more favorable to the chronology of the Bible.* His theory concerning the cause of the intense cold of the glacial epoch is based upon Astronomical facts, especially the precession of the equinoxes, and the consequent occurrence of the winter solstice in aphelion at intervals of 21, 356 years; and he accordingly, calculates that the last glacial epoch, that which separated the post-tertiary from the tertiary age, occurred in the northern hemisphere in the acme of its intensity at a period 11,300 years ago. Now, if this theory be correct, and it is to say the least highly plausible, then the advent of man upon our planet can after all not be placed much earlier than the date allowed by the Hebrew chronology. And thus it may be that science will in the end, when it comes more thoroughly to understand its own facts and discoveries, be forced to cease its talk of myriads of years, and come back to the more sober dates of Scripture. Here, accordingly, the mistake may at last be found to be on the side of the interpreters of nature, as in other cases it was found to be on the side of the expounders of Scripture. But, however the problem here in question may finally be solved, of this we may be sure in advance, that the Bible will lose nothing in the conflict. Whether we shall have to modify our explanations of certain portions of the Bible, or whether science will have to take back many of the assertions which it now boldly puts forward, matters not so far as the honor of the Bible is concerned. It will maintain its place and office in the Church, and continue to point weary sinners to the land of glory above, though it may refuse to tell how many generations of such sinners have wandered in the wilderness here below.

From the cases now discussed Theology and the Church

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* In a paper published in "Popular Science Monthly" for July, 1873.

ought to learn the lesson of bearing somewhat patiently with scientific theories and investigations, at least so long as they do no violence to the fundamental articles of faith, even though they may not be in full accord with traditional notions concerning the teaching of the Bible in regard to matters pertaining to the domain of science. They need not, for that reason, be necessarily in conflict with the sense and spirit of the Bible. The inevitable conclusion from all that we have said thus far is, that the true relation of science to Scripture is not one of outward subordination to the letter. If it be true that the primary aim of the Bible is to inculcate religious and moral truth, and that all its statements, whether historical, prophetical or poetical, are directed toward this aim; then there remains a vast world of being which is not covered by its teaching, and here science has a relatively independent domain in which to exercise itself. If the Bible professed to teach all truth that can be known, or that is worth knowing, the case would of course be different. But it makes no such profession or pretense. It professes to teach all that is necessary in order to the attainment of eternal life, but passes by many truths, both in the world of nature and of mind, which man is capable of discovering for himself, as soon as he has need for them. It teaches, for example, that in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, and that all things exist and are governed by His almighty and everywhere present power; but it does not unfold to us the method of creation on its natural side, nor does it disclose the laws and forces by which the phenomena of nature are determined and regulated, and here science, like Mathematics and Astronomy, Chemistry and Geology, Botany and Zoology, Anatomy and Physiology, may have much to teach us. And a relation similar to that holding between the Bible and physical science, holds also between the Bible and the philosophy of mind. It has, of course, much to say of the constitution of man and of the faculties and powers of his mind, especially in their relation to sin and grace; and a "Biblical Psychology" is, therefore, not as much of an anomaly as a "Biblical Geology" would be; and yet a Psychology based

upon *purely* Scriptural data, we believe, would be an impossibility too. These departments of knowledge are all outside of the sphere of direct Biblical teaching; they are referred to only occasionally, and then only in popular style, pretending to no scientific accuracy or precision. Hence also the scientific spirit must here claim for itself the right of an independent procedure, and cannot suffer itself to be subordinated to the mere letter of Scripture; which would in the end after all amount to a subordination, not to Scripture itself, but to a simply fallible interpretation thereof. And it would manifestly be no service to the cause of Scriptural or scientific truth, if the Church were to insist on such subordination; on the contrary, it would without doubt result in much injury to both, though the Bible would probably suffer more damage in the end than the interest of science. The inquisition did not advance the cause of the Bible by compelling Galileo to recant his philosophical opinions. He was not convinced that he was wrong, by being made to undergo that humiliation; for after having abjured his scientific faith, he is said to have stamped upon the earth and to have muttered, "It does move nevertheless." And all know what capital has been made of his case by the spirit of infidelity ever since. The danger of attempting to rule science by the statements of the Bible applied in this outward way, always consists in this, that scientific minds who have inwardly broken with the spirit of the Bible already—and such minds there are in every age—are led to think that their conflict really is with the Bible itself, instead of being perhaps with a merely fallible interpretation thereof; and to imagine that, when they have achieved a victory over such interpretation, they have actually convicted the Bible itself of falsehood. This is the constant assumption of the infidel thinkers of our own time, in regard to the conflict now ended, between Theology and Astronomy, as well as Theology and Geology. It behooves Theology, therefore, to be more cautious in the future, and to determine more accurately the aim and scope of the Bible, as well as its relation to the world of truth beyond itself, with which it does not profess directly to deal. Nor ought science itself to be abandoned to

the Philistines. "All things are yours," says St. Paul. Philosophy and science belong to the Church, no less than Theology. And the only way in which the Church can hope to bring back the scientific spirit of the age from its tendency to materialism and bald unbelief, and to engage it again in her own service, is not simply to grumble at the existence of such a spirit, or to indulge in doleful lamentations, but to take earnest possession of the field of science herself, and to cultivate it thoroughly in the spirit of the Bible and of her own faith.

This we conceive to be the true relation of science to the Bible: subordination, not to the *letter*, but to the *spirit*, not to *single texts*, but to the *whole*. And where this relation exists, there all conflict, even with the letter, must cease. There is a spirit of the Bible with which the letter, in its outward form, is not strictly commensurate. The Bible presents a view of the world that is independent of all theories of inspiration and of all interpretations of single passages. No method of dealing with the first chapter of Genesis can change the faith of the Church in regard to God's relation to the world, as she daily utters it in the first article of the Creed. No explanation that may be given to the standing still of the sun upon Gibeon, or of the moon in the valley of Aijalon, can change the Church's faith in providence or in the possibility of miracles. In particular the miracle of all miracles, that of the incarnation of the Son of God, as well as the miracle of His resurrection from the dead, no amount of Biblical criticism, and no interpretation of single passages, can blot from the faith of the Church. She has the testimony to these fundamentals of her faith in her own history, and in the spiritual experience of her members. Against this "rock of ages" all the waves of criticism and doubt will forever beat in vain. And now to this faith of the Church, and to her peculiar view of the world as a whole, all true science must willingly hold itself in subordination; by this lamp it must walk, or else it must lose itself in darkness. Wherever science undertakes to emancipate itself from this dominion of faith, or in other words, from the spirit of the Bible, it misses its own end, loses itself in empty speculation or crude vagaries, and becomes simply "science falsely so-called."

A single example may serve to illustrate this proposition. Take the "evolution hypothesis," which is at present making such a stir in the scientific, as well as religious world. This is not so much a theory, complete in itself, and resting upon an independent induction of facts, as the exponent of a theory wider and more comprehensive than itself. The fundamental ideas of the materialistic-pantheistic school of philosophy, from Compte to Herbert Spencer, demand such a theory in order to the explanation of the present phenomena of the world; and out of this demand, whether consciously or unconsciously, we believe the theory to have grown. It is not only consistent with, but inwardly and necessarily related to, a pantheistic mode of viewing the world as a whole; being in the sphere of the understanding and science, what Ovid's "Metamorphoses" are in the sphere of the imagination and poetry, and presupposing the same paganistic conception of the universe. Hence also Strauss has at last adopted it as the crowning summit of his philosophical thinking. The theory, therefore, violates not merely a few single texts, which might perhaps be susceptible of another than the common explanation, but the whole spirit and genius of the Bible. It does not simply deny that God created plants and animals *after their kind*, and man in His own image, but it denies that He created them at all. The philosophical school, whose outcome the theory is, knows of no creation and, indeed, of no living, personal God, as distinct from the world. God and the world are one. The evolution of the world is the evolution of God. The primordial essence of the world, whether this be regarded as matter, or force, or both, is God in possibility; and the present form of the world, with man at its head, is God in actuality or self-consciousness. God, therefore, as actual, is simply the result of the self-evolving world-process, not its cause. From this conclusion such thinkers as Strauss do not shrink. It is easy to see that such a conception of the world demands something like the evolution hypothesis to account for the existence of the present races of plants, and animals, and men. Man is the last product of the spontaneous, self-moving world-process, which, in

order to reach this height, had to pass through an infinite series of lower stages or formations. All who hold to the evolution theory may, indeed, not accept the pantheistic world-view which it presupposes, their faith being still better than their science, but whether they do so or not, the theory itself is fully consistent with no other view.

And what now is the value of the theory in a scientific view? Is it borne out by the facts of nature and history, and does it serve to explain those facts? The philosophers who advocate it admit of no source of knowledge but experience. And yet experience does not confirm it. As far as human experience or observation goes, plants are not transmuted into animals, nor animals into men. True there is a close resemblance between the highest species of the vegetable and the lowest species of the animal kingdoms, as also between the different genera and species of the same kingdom, indicating unity of plan in the constitution of the world, and thereby proving it to have proceeded from one mind. But no transition from one kingdom or one genus to another *has ever been observed.* There is as wide a distance between man and the monkey now as there was in the days of Solomon. Has the process of evolution stopped? And if so, why? According to the fundamental principles of the theory, the process of change ought to go on forever, and the successive generations of monkeys ought to show at least some signs of improvement. But as far as experience testifies, there is no such process of change or transmutation going on now, nor has there been at any time since the commencement of history. If the theory be true, there must have occurred, at a time very remote, some fatality to check the process of development, for which the theory fails to account. Some species of plants and animals, indeed, may to a certain extent be improved by means of cultivation, but when this ceases, they revert again, after a few generations, to their original state. One species cannot be transmuted into another. However closely they may be related to each other, and whatever resemblance they may bear to each other, there seems after all to be a great gulf fixed between them, which

they cannot pass. And the same impassable gulf is proved by Geology to have existed in all past Geological ages. "Species do not shade into each other," says Dana, "as if they had originated by transitions from one another. For example, the post-tertiary mastodon and elephant of North America do not pass into one another or into other earlier species; or the apes into the species man; or any mollusks or articulates, through a series of stages, into fishes; or any sea-weeds into ferns or the earliest land plants," etc. The evidence of Geology, then, supports the Biblical statement, that God created every plant and animal after its kind; and "the advocates of a development-hypothesis," as Dana says further, "do not question this evidence; but they argue that the records are very imperfect; full of long breaks; and, again, that only a small part of the world has been searched for its truths, and that part not thoroughly." The theory, then, being unsupported by facts, except perhaps such as are of the most trivial sort, is a mere *a priori* guess, and therefore violates the dictates of true science no less than the dictates of the Bible. It offends against the rules of the *novum organon*, of which the philosophers who maintain it commonly make so much account, no less than against the principles of Scripture. We have not the space, nor would it be consistent with our present purpose, to speak of its shortcomings in other respects. Its results may be valuable as showing the unity of plan in the world, but it does not account for the phenomena of the world as it is.

The case shows that a science which has broken with the spirit of revelation, must necessarily be inadequate to the world of truth with which it proposes to deal. Hence it is not only for the interest of the Church and of religion, but also for the interest of science itself, that her attitude towards the Christian faith should be one of humble subordination. Science can never hope successfully to explore and explain the mysteries of the world of matter, or the mysteries of the world of mind, unless she suffers herself to be guided by the torch of supernatural revelation. Without this the world is, and must forever remain, an inexplicable riddle. If man be the crown-

ing head of the world of nature, the centre in which all its lines and rays converge, the end towards which all its movements and processes look from the beginning, as even the development theory assumes, then it must follow also that no one can understand the world of nature without first understanding man. The study of man is the key to the philosophy of nature. But who can understand man without contemplating him in his relation to morality, to religion, to the world of spirit, to God? And how is this possible without the light which revelation sheds upon his origin, nature and destiny? Without this light man, with his moral and religious ideas and emotions, his intuitive beliefs, his hopes and fears, his longings and expectations, would himself be a perfectly inexplicable riddle. Revelation, then, is the key to the proper science of man, and, therefore, also the key to the proper science of the world, without which the science of the world would be a very narrow and crippled affair. The scientists of our own time, who have cast away the torch of faith, themselves confess that they can tell nothing about the efficient or final cause of the world, that they are only dealing with phenomena and their laws, without pretending to be able to explain the *why* and the *wherefore;* and within this narrow circle they would forever confine the intellectual activity of the human mind. But a science that stops short with simple phenomena and their so-called laws, however valuable it may be in certain regards, can never satisfy the human mind. We want to know more. We want to know what is behind those phenomena, and whence those laws proceed. We want to know the cause of the world and of ourselves. Whence is the world, and what is its destiny? Whence are we ourselves, why are we, and whither are we going? The answer to these questions science must take from faith; and if it refuses to accept them from this source, it must become cold and dry, lean and poor, and must fail to satisfy man's deepest longings and desires after truth.

It would, therefore, not be sufficient if science should occupy a position of *indifference* merely over against revealed truth, confining itself simply to laws and phenomena, without affirming

or denying anything in regard to their ultimate cause or ground. Some imagine that this is all that should be required of it, and that in this way ample justice would be done to the interests of religion and the Bible. But this presupposes an abstract separation between the natural world and the supernatural, which in the view of Christian faith does not exist. It might be consistent with the dualism of some oriental religions, but it is not consistent with the religion of the Bible. The Bible itself does not regard the world of nature as a *profane* sphere, to which the supernatural sustains no relation, and with which the religious spirit can have nothing to do. "Nature and the supernatural form one system." They are organically related to each other, and interpenetrate each other as complementary parts of one harmonious whole. The Bible, therefore, claims the natural world as testifying to the same God whom it proclaims itself. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handiwork." "The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead." This reciprocal relation between the natural and the supernatural, we believe, forms the basis of our Lord's parables. "This entire moral and visible world from first to last," says Trench, "with its kings and its subjects, its parents and its children, its sun and its moon, its sowing and its harvest, its light and its darkness, its sleeping and its waking, its birth and its death, is from beginning to end a mighty parable, a great teaching of supersensuous truth, a help at once to our faith and to our understanding." Could any science of nature, then, be complete that refuses to recognize anything in nature but phenomena and laws? Is not such science, notwithstanding its parade of experiments, and inductions and demonstrations, after all unworthy of the name? The mind which can perceive nothing in nature but matter and force, no divine ideas, no evidence of divine wisdom, or power or goodness, no intimations of an invisible supernatural world, we believe to be by the very fact unqualified for the proper pursuit of the science of nature. The man who reads in the stars

only the glory of Newton and Laplace, must be said to have studied Astronomy to little purpose. But if "the undevout Astronomer is mad," so also is the undevout Chemist or Geologist, Botanist or Zoologist. "Wisdom crieth aloud" in all places of the earth; and they who have no ear for her voice, have no right heart either for the office of interpreters and priests in the temple of nature.

The true scientist is also the true Christian. This is the conclusion of the whole matter. As it is the heart that makes the Theologian, so it is the heart also that makes the true philosopher of nature. When the world of nature is studied in the light of Christian faith, then there will be no conflict between science and the Bible, though there may be no subjection of science to the outward letter of the Bible. The bearing of these remarks upon the position that ought to be assigned to the Christian religion in literary and scientific institutions, is at once evident. It is plain that what is required in order to save the student from the snares of materialism and infidelity, while in the pursuit of natural science, is not simply an occasional compliment to the Bible, or an occasional lecture on the harmony between science and the Bible, but the whole positive power of Christianity in living, concrete form.

ART. III.—MAN'S RELATION TO NATURE AND TO THE SUPERNATURAL.

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MAN stands in connection with two worlds. Through his bodily existence, he is closely united to the world of nature, while through his spiritual being, he is intimately allied to the world of spirits and to God. On the one hand, he is, at least to some extent, one with the insensible rock and with the sluggish clod; on the other, he bears upon himself plainly the impress of Deity. He sustains thus peculiar relations, both to the material and to the immaterial world. We propose in the present article to consider somewhat briefly the nature of these relations as they are set forth in the Sacred Scriptures. In doing so, we shall notice, first, what these relations were in man's original state, and then, how they have been affected by the two main facts in the history of time—by man's disobedience in the garden of Eden, and by the incarnation of the Son of God.

We begin with the relation which man sustains to nature. In the book of Genesis, we are informed that after God had created the heavens and the earth, the sun, moon and stars, together with the vegetable and animal kingdoms, He last of all, "formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7); and He blessed him, saying, "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth" (Gen. i. 28).

From this simple statement, we draw a number of inferences

with reference to the relation which man really sustains to the natural world. We infer, first, that man, as to the material part of his being, is one with the earth; secondly, that in his person matter is brought into union with a higher element, towards which, from the beginning, it looked, and in which it attains its proper end; thirdly, that man stands at the head of the natural world; and, fourthly, that he should gradually make nature subject to himself.

Of the truth of the first of these inferences, science affords us ample proof. The constituent material elements of man's body, it has been abundantly demonstrated by scientific experiments, are the same as those which constitute the material substances by which he is surrounded.

With respect to the second inference, though its truth is not now acknowledged by all, yet we firmly believe that finally it will also be incontrovertibly established. That man's spiritual being is essentially different from his physical, is unquestionably taught in the Sacred Scriptures. According to them, mind, as we find it in man, is in no respect a mere flowering of matter. Whether man's physical structure was formed in the way of evolution, may be an open question. Should the Darwinian theory of man's descent be established as regards his body, it would not necessarily, we think, contradict the teaching of the Scriptures, as the especial manner in which the Almighty formed the body of man out of the dust of the earth is not stated, although it must be confessed that the representation given does not seem to favor this theory. But, as regards the origin of man's higher being, it is quite otherwise. The Sacred Scriptures clearly attribute it, as already asserted, to a different source from that of the body. It is not represented as formed of the dust of the earth, or as in any way evolved out of it, but as a direct inspiration of the triune God. And this difference as to the origin and nature of soul and body runs through the whole Scriptures. Thus, we read that "The dust shall return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it" (Eccles. xii. 7). This difference is also clearly implied in the doctrine of a conscious

existence of the soul after the dissolution of the body, which we find in both the Old and the New Testament. If mind and body were but different phases or states of one substance, if thought and the moral sense in man were only the result of certain arrangements and combinations of protoplasm, then, when the body returns to earth, conscious existence must necessarily cease.

But, though man's physical and spiritual being are essentially different, yet they are, nevertheless, most intimately allied—most closely bound together. So intimate, indeed, is the relation subsisting between them, that whatever affects the one also necessarily affects the other. The cares of the mind always weigh heavily upon the body, and the pains and disorders of the body invariably impair the powers of the mind. Their union is not simply mechanical, but organic. The body is not merely the shell of the soul,—a casket in which it is kept, and from which it might be altogether separated and placed into another, without injuring or destroying it. Body and soul are both essential to man's existence, and constitute an indissoluble unity. The Scriptures know nothing of a perfection of the one, apart from the other. Though they teach the conscious existence of the soul after the death of the body, yet they just as emphatically teach that the soul will not reach the consummation of its being until the body does also. Only when the body has become incorruptible and immortal, and is again fully united to the soul, will the soul attain to a state of complete blessedness and glory.

But if that which is physical and that which is spiritual in man, are thus closely united, then, inasmuch as the elements which go to make up the physical, or material, part of man's being, are the same as those of matter generally, it follows that there must be in matter an inherent fitness, or capacity, for such union. If there were not, no such union could have come to hold in the case of man. In the fact of such union, moreover, we have, also, the proof, that matter looks toward it as its end, since in it it reaches its highest uses. From the beginning of the creation of the material world, everything, according to

the account given in the book of Genesis, looks forward to man, and all that precedes his creation is in the way of preparation for it.

As regards our third inference, that man stands at the head of the natural world, this is not only taught in the account which is given us of man's creation, but also in various other portions of Scripture. The Psalmist declares, "Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet" (Ps. viii. 6), and the same thought underlies what St. Paul says in that sublime passage of his epistle to the Romans, in which he declares, that, "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now * * * waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body" (Rom. viii. 22, 23). Science, likewise, assigns this position to man; for her universal testimony with reference to him is, that in him all the powers of nature culminate. Now, with respect to man's headship we yet observe, that like the union between his soul and body, and indeed, we may say, in virtue of this, it is organic. As the head is related to the various members of the human body, so is man, only in a more general way, related to the whole order of nature. Whatever, therefore, seriously affects the natural world, must also necessarily affect man; but still more must what affects man affect the whole natural world. Man, the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral, are but parts of the same grand organism; and consequently when one part suffers, all suffer with it, and when one part rejoices, all rejoice with it.

But though made to be the head of the natural world, nature was not at once actually made subject to man, but only potentially. Man was, as we have stated it in our fourth inference, gradually to subject nature completely to himself. What takes place in the development of the individual, was designed to repeat itself in the development of the general organism of nature. As man first comes into the world, he is not in actual possession of all the powers which belong to him. The infant has the same bodily members that the adult has, but they are not subject to it in the same way. It has feet and limbs, but it can-

not walk; it has the organs of speech, but it cannot converse. It is only gradually that man comes into full possession of all his bodily powers, and that his members become completely subject to his control. And so only gradually was it intended that he should subject the natural world to himself; and this for the same reason that he comes only by slow degrees into possession of all the powers of his body. Had man maintained his integrity, all nature, in due course of time, would have become completely subservient to his will. He was made to stand at the summit of the natural world and to exercise universal lordship over it, to gather up its various powers and properties in his own person, and to raise them above the world of time and sense into a higher and more glorious state of existence.

But man sustains peculiar relations not only to the world of nature, but also to the world of spirits and to God, or to what is designated the supernatural world. With respect to his relation to the world of spirits, but comparatively little is taught us directly in the Sacred Scriptures. From what is told us in them, however, in reference to the angelic hosts, we are led to infer, that they sustain very much the same relation to man's spiritual being, as the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms do to his physical. Mentally and morally the angels are endowed, according to the statements of the Sacred Scriptures, with the same properties as man. Thus they are represented as knowing some things and not knowing others, as being able to converse with men, and as having possessed the power of choosing between good and evil. As to the constitution of their nature, the Sacred Scriptures also, appear to teach, that the angels are inferior to man. This, we think, is evident in the use which the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews makes of the words of the Psalmist: "What is man, that thou art mindful of him? or, the son of man, that thou visitest him? Thou madest him a little lower than the angels; thou crownedst him with glory and honor, and didst set him over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet" (Heb. ii. 6, 8). With Ebrard (Com. on Hebrews) we hold that the phrase rendered "a little lower" is to be under-

stood in the sense of time, as signifying "for a while lower;" and that the object of the writer "is to prove from the passage in the Psalms, that man was indeed made lower than the angels, but only for a short time, not forever; rather, that precisely to man, and not to the angels, is the dominion over the *οἰκουμένη ἡ μέλλουσα* ascribed." That man in his present state is represented as being inferior to the angels does not militate against his finally occupying the higher position. Because animals generally, when only a few days old, manifest more sagacity and power than infants of the same age, we do not maintain that they are constitutionally superior to man. Why, then, should we be compelled to do so in the case of the angels in view of the same facts? There are animals whose organism in some respects is superior to that of man and yet as a whole is inferior. Why may not this be the case with the angels? We, indeed, are inclined to believe, that it is so, and that this is really implied in the statements of the Sacred Scriptures on this subject. Moreover, the Sacred Scriptures also, we think, teach that the angels look toward man as in some sense their intended lord. We infer this from the fact, that they are generally declared to be "all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to those who are heirs of salvation" (Heb. i. 14); and from what St. Paul states when he says, "Know ye not that ye shall judge angels" (1 Cor. vi. 3); as well as from the quotation from the Psalms to which reference has already been made. In the case of the angels, as in the case of the various kingdoms of the natural world, it was designed, however, that man should only through a process of development attain to supremacy over them, and come thus actually to have all things in subjection to him.

As regards the relations which subsist between man and God, these we learn, both from the Sacred Scriptures and from the testimony of our own consciousness, to be the very reverse of those which subsist between man and nature. In other words, the relation which nature sustains to man is, in some respects, typical of that which man sustains to God. Thus, as there is a certain oneness between nature and man, so is

there also between man and God. This is taught in the account which is given us of man's creation, when we are told that God made man in His image, after His likeness, and that He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Moreover, as there is in nature an inherent capacity for union with spirit in man, so also is there an inherent capacity in man for union with God in the incarnate Word; and as nature looks to the former union as its end, so does man to the latter. This becomes evident in the fact of the Incarnation itself. If there were no inherent capacity in man for union with God, then could not the only begotten Son of God have assumed the nature of man. The assumption of man's nature by the Logos we hold, therefore, as a sufficient proof of the existence of such a capacity, and the existence of this capacity itself, we consider incontrovertible evidence that such union was from the beginning designed as the end towards which creation looked, and in which alone it could reach its consummation. Again, as nature looks to man as its head and was designed to become gradually completely subject to man in every respect, so does man look to God as his proper head in the Word become flesh, and so was it designed that man gradually, in a conscious and willing way, should become subject to God, and so enter into union with Him, that he could no longer entertain any thought or desire but what was in harmony with the will of God.

Such we believe the teachings of the Sacred Scriptures to be in reference to the relations which man originally sustained to nature and to the supernatural. Had man remained true to the design of his creation, he would, in the onward flow of the ages, have attained in a perfectly normal way, and without any pain or misery, to complete union with God, and to the attainment of the actual lordship of the whole creation under God. All that was necessary to this end was originally bestowed upon man by his beneficent Creator, in his natural capacities and in the supernatural supplies at hand in the fruit of the tree of life. Man need but have made a proper use of these means, as they were at first placed in his possession, and then he could not have failed to attain, in a perfectly peaceful and joyful way, to his true destiny.

But, through his disobedience in the garden of Eden, man made it impossible for him to reach the proper end of his existence in this manner. By seeking to make himself independent of God, and by making his own will, instead of the will of God, the rule of his life; and thus forcing himself from the true centre of his being, he placed himself in a false relation to God, to the angels, and to nature. He destroyed, in a great measure, his oneness with God, by sundering himself from God. He deprived himself of the supernatural means which were at hand in the tree of life for the purpose of enabling him to actualize complete union with God, and thus rendered it impossible for him to realize such union, save through grace. In consequence of thus sundering himself from God, man also necessarily arrayed against himself the hosts of heaven and the powers of nature, so that the stars even literally may be said to fight against him in their courses, and the forces of nature continually arise in hostility to him. Moreover, he brought disorder and confusion into his own being, so that all his works are more or less tainted with falsehood.

That man since the fall is by nature at variance with the Supreme Governor of the universe, is most plainly taught. "The carnal mind," we are expressly told, "is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be" (Rom. viii. 7). So too, we are taught, that "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men" (Rom. i. 18); and that "death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned (Rom. v. 12). "Even over them that had not sinned, after the similitude of Adam's transgression death reigned" (Rom. v. 14). Men sometimes speak of children as innocent, but the Scriptures reckon them also as guilty before God, because they possess a fallen and sinful nature with which God is terribly displeased as well as with actual sin. The objections which are sometimes made to the justice of God's thus dealing with children, all spring out of a wrong conception of the relation which mankind universally sustain to Adam. To him who properly grasps the Scripture idea of the unity of mankind, to the truth of which the deeper life of humanity continually

testifies, there can be no difficulty on this ground. With the representations of Scripture in regard to man's relation to God since the fall, the general consciousness and experience of mankind, indeed, fully agree. All men have by nature an unaptness to good and an inclination to evil, and in consequence a dread of God, and a sense of unfitness to come into His presence, which can in no way be satisfactorily accounted for except on Scriptural principles.

By the Adamic fall man is also, the Scriptures evidently teach, brought into abnormal relation to the world of spirits. The holy angels, who originally were designed to be ministers to man for good only, through the disobedience of our first parents, became messengers of judgment and of wrath to the children of this world. Thus we are informed in Genesis that God sent angels to destroy the wicked cities of the plain (Gen. xix. 13); and in the Apocalypse angels are represented as pouring out the vials of God's wrath upon the earth (Rev. xvi). It is true, we have also accounts of angels appearing on errands of mercy, but they only appeared to those, who through repentance and faith had turned to God, and the blessings which they announced and brought to the faithful, were always, at the same time, judgments upon the ungodly. Moreover, the evil spirits, whose influence it was originally designed that men should resist, since the fall, have come to be the successful tempters and even confederates of the ungodly, to lure them on to greater guilt and misery. They are represented as taking possession of the bodies of men and making them their instruments, and as in every way seeking to destroy men. The interposition of good and evil spirits in the events of human history in this way, is, indeed, most clearly taught in the Word of God, and, therefore, we believe, though many may ridicule the thought, that, when the drama of this world is ended, it will be found, that the world of spirits had more to do in shaping the affairs of men than is ordinarily supposed.

Then, that the relation of the natural world to man has been disturbed in the way indicated is expressly declared. "Cursed," said the Lord to Adam, after he had eaten of the fruit of the

forbidden tree, "Cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground" (Gen. iii. 17, 19). In full harmony with this St. Paul tells us, that "the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of Him who hath subjected the same in hope" (Rom. viii. 20). However we may interpret these passages, there can be no question that they teach that the primal relation subsisting between man and nature has been disturbed, and that the hostility, so to speak, which nature now manifests toward man is a result of the fall. Had man maintained the integrity of his first estate, there would have been, on his part, no struggle for existence as there is now, but the earth would have spontaneously brought forth everything necessary for him. That the earth itself should be involved in the consequences of the fall, strange and mysterious as it may seem at first thought, ceases in a great measure to be so, when we consider properly the relation subsisting between man and nature as we have found this to be set forth in the Scriptures. This relation being what it is, it could not be otherwise but that when man fell:

> "Earth felt the wound: and Nature from her seat,
> Sighing through all her works, gave sign of woe."

And here we would add, that just in this general harmony of Scripture, often apparently wanting, but always found on more careful investigation, we have one of the most conclusive proofs that in it we have to do with actual facts and not with myths and poetical fancies.

Man, however, in his fallen state, stands not only in an abnormal relation to external nature, but also to nature as it is present in his own person. That man's being is not in harmony with itself is most evident. The consciousness of every one may be said to testify to this. All men in some sense realize the truth of the apostle's words: "What I would that do I not; but what I hate that do I" (Rom. vii. 15); and, "I

find a law that when I would do good, evil is present with me" (Rom. vii. 21); and feel like crying out as he did, "Oh, wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" (Rom. vii. 24). And this internal disorder and confusion the Scriptures also refer directly to the transgression of the first man. "By one man," St. Paul tells us, "sin entered into the world, and death by sin" (Rom. v. 12). How one act of transgression could so disturb all the relations which man sustains, it is not the purpose of this paper to investigate. There is nothing in any respect unreasonable, however, in the Scripture doctrine on this subject as we understand it. That the first sin alone should involve the whole human race in guilt, and be the source of all subsequent sin and its consequent suffering, results necessarily from the relation in which he who committed it stands to mankind, and from the fact, that it was the first sin. Of all men Adam alone is related in a direct line of descent to all other men, and the first sin could not but make the sinful disposition a reality and bring with it its punishment. Subsequent sins might intensify and propagate this disposition, but could not possibly produce it anew, or have the same significancy.

But if man through the fall has been brought into false relation to God and to the whole creation—to nature and to the supernatural—through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus our Lord, he is again restored to his true position with respect to all these. In Christ man attains to all that he was originally designed to attain to. He is not merely restored, as is sometimes taught, to the position which Adam occupied before the fall, but to that which Adam in the course of his gradual development would have reached in a perfectly normal way if he had not fallen. Leaving out of view the sinful disposition of which we believe the Virgin Mary partook with the rest of mankind, human nature may be said to have reached in her a higher state of development than was to be found in Adam before the fall. In that sweet lily of the valley, in that culminating flower of the whole Old Testament dispensation, humanity first reached the point when it was prepared to enter

into complete actual union with God in the Person of His Son. Only "when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons" (Gal. iv. 4, 5). The view that Adam before he tasted of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil was all, not only potentially but actually, that man was designed to be, we think, finds no warrant in the teachings of the Sacred Scriptures.

That in Christ man is brought again into free, loving communion with God, and made a partaker of the divine nature, the Scriptures however do proclaim. In the Person of Jesus they show us indeed all this, for they declare Him not only the Son of Man, but at the same time also the Son of God. In Him humanity and Deity are brought into the closest possible union and communion, and the gulf which separated the two is bridged over. Accordingly we hear a voice from heaven declare at His baptism, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (Matt. iii. 17); and, on the other hand, Him saying, "As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself" (John v. 26); "I and the Father are one" (John x. 30); "I love the Father, and as the Father gave me commandment, so I do" (John xiv. 31). Through the union of humanity with God in Christ the way is opened up for all men to enter into fullest communion with God. "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them" (2 Cor. v. 19). "If we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin" (1 John i. 7). "For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God" (1 Pet. iii. 18). "Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature" (2 Pet. i. 4). To the truth of all this the consciousness of the children of God bears ample testimony to themselves. They know that they are at peace with God in Christ, and hold sweet communion

with Him. And they only can truly know these things, as the full knowledge of them can be attained only through personal experience.

But in Christ man is also made superior to the angels. This the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews proves in the second chapter of that remarkable treatise. It is also implied in what St. Paul says of believers judging angels, as well as in a few other passages to which it is not necessary specially to refer. If but little is said on this subject in the Word of God, it is yet sufficient to warrant the statement just made. That so little is revealed will not seem strange when we consider that this dominion pertains to the world to come, and that the Scriptures have been given us as a guide in this life, and therefore make known to us only what is necessary to our growth in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. What is stated in reference to this subject is, however, important as showing the high position in the universe which is assigned to man, and to which he may attain through the grace of God.

The dominion over the terrestrial world which was originally assigned to man, but which, in consequence of the fall, he in a great measure lost, is also restored in Christ. This is proved by the miracles of Jesus, which He performed not only as God but also as man, and by those which His disciples wrought in His name. It also appears in the new powers, properties, and attributes, pertaining to the glorified body of Christ, like which those of believers shall be made. This dominion, moreover, is shown by the prophets to belong to the Messiah's kingdom. "The wolf," Isaiah tells us, "shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them" (Is. xi. 6). So likewise the internal disorder and confusion which are in man, are removed in Christ. "There is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death" (Rom. viii. 1, 2). Those who are united to Christ are now potentially what they were at first created to be, and at the end of the ages will be so actually.

It is only in Christ, however, that man is thus restored to his proper relation to nature and to the supernatural, and can reach his true destiny. "There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved" (Acts iv. 12). "I," says Jesus, "am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father, but by me" (John xiv. 6). "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. iii. 11). To the truth of this the deepest consciousness of humanity in all ages has testified. Common-place as all this may sound, it cannot be too much emphasized in these our times. The many discoveries made in science during the present century, are leading many to believe that by means of it will be ushered in the golden age sung by poets and foretold by prophets. But science can never give man the bliss for which he sighs; it will never bring the era of universal peace and good-will, and provide deliverance from all the ills of life. The fact that some of the leading cultivators of science themselves are relapsing into a species of paganism, seems sufficient proof that only the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and that man can become complete only in Him who is the head of all principality and power.

ART. IV.—MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. From Thales to the present time. By DR. Friedrich Ueberweg, late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Konigsberg. Translated from the fourth German edition, by Geo. S. Morris, A. M., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Michigan, and associate of the Victoria Institute, London. VOL. II. History of Modern Philosophy, with additions by the translator, an appendix on English and American Philosophy, By Noah Porter, D. D., LL. D., President of Yale College, and an appendix on Italian Philosophy, by Vincenzo Botta, Ph. D., late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Turin. New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Co., 1874.

THE translation of Ueberweg's History of Philosophy, which is completed in this second volume, places before the English reading public, a work of rare value. It takes its place as a standard classic work in the department to which it belongs. The general editors, Profs. H. B. Smith and Philip Schaff, deserve the thanks of the public of letters in this country for having it prepared and published, and the translator, and authors who completed it, are worthy of all praise for their share in the labor and responsibility. Nor will the lamented author, Dr. Ueberweg, fail to be remembered with gratitude by the inquiring students who shall be conducted by its pages along the line of philosophic thought from Thales to the present time. The enterprising publishers deserve thanks also for the substantial and handsome style in which the work is given to the public.

This work of Dr. Ueberweg will, no doubt, be ranked as the best we have on the subject it treats. The account of the authors is full and satisfactory, and the quotations are extensive, while the criticism is masterly. For the English mind, Morell's history has a special value, because it is written by an English scholar, and is more easily understood by English students. But his history is limited not only to the modern field, but dwells mainly on the systems of the present century. Ue-

berweg gives us the history of the whole field, and a valuable survey of the state of philosophy in Germany at the present time. What would otherwise be a serious defect in the work, the absence of a full notice of philosophy outside of Germany, is supplied by Dr. Porter's supplementary sketch of philosophy in Great Britain and America, and that on modern Italian philosophy by Dr. Vincenzo Botta, both of which are able contributions. Altogether this history will be a necessity in the libraries of those who wish to keep themselves properly posted in the history of philosophy.

According to the representation given in this second volume, it is very apparent that, in the progress of modern thought, Germany easily leads the way, and next to her must be ranked Great Britain and France. The southern nations of Europe that once stood at the head, now come up in the rear. Italy and Spain have not failed to produce fine scholars and able thinkers, but their greatest glory in this respect belongs to the past, and it will be only as they catch the new life and spirit of Germany and Great Britain, that they can come up in the modern race. In saying this we make due allowance for the fact that this is a German work, translated and published in the English language, which fact serves to explain, to some extent, why the greater portion of it is concerned with German philosophy. German scholars do not always give proper credit to other countries for the progress they have made in philosophy, literature, and science. Like their great philosopher of Konigsberg they seldom travel far from home. But allowing for all this, it must still be conceded on all sides that Germany is easily in advance of all other nations in the philosophic learning of modern times.

It is equally evident that the progress of modern thought—the thought that rules history—since the Reformation, flows mainly in Protestantism. Bacon, Locke, Leibnitz, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, if not all of them the most orthodox Christians, were not produced in Romanism. Whether the Romanist considers it any credit to Protestantism to have had in its sympathy such men and their systems or not, or whether

Protestantism ever feels complimented or not by the systems of some of them, the fact still remains. Roman Catholic learning continues to move in the old mediæval scholastic grooves. As Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle are the great representatives of ancient heathen civilization and culture, so Anselm, Thomas Aquinas and other scholastics are the representatives of Roman Catholicism, while the great leaders of thought in modern times stand connected with the life and spirit of Protestantism. Such will be the estimate and record, we believe, when the epoch, shall, like the Ancient and Mediæval, be counted with the past.

This fact, with others, goes to show how universal the epoch of the Reformation in the sixteenth century was. It was a movement not only in religion and the Church, but in literature, science, politics, and philosophy as well. Although Des Cartes was a Roman Catholic, his system found its most fruitful soil in Protestantism. Romanism seeks still to hold science and philosophy in the same state of tutelage in which they were held during the Middle Ages. She counts it only a lapse into infidelity that they have attempted an independent career. And this is the reason the Roman Church sets itself so unyieldingly against the spirit of the science and civilization of the nineteenth century. Right or wrong this is her attitude, while Protestantism, itself born of the spirit of freedom, accords freedom to science and philosophy, while she nevertheless seeks to inspire them with the spirit of the Christian religion.

The preparation for this epoch is traceable in the new revival of letters and learning, as well as in the strictly religious revival of the Reformation. Here must be noticed the revival of classical studies, which was occasioned and quickened negatively by "the one-sided character, and the gradual self-dissolution of scholasticism, and positively by the remains of ancient art and literature in Italy—which were more and more appreciated as material prosperity increased—and by the closer contact of the Western world, especially of Italy, with Greece, particularly after the flight of large numbers of learned Greeks to Italy, at the time when the Turks were threatening Europe

and had taken Constantinople." Platonism was revived in antagonism with Scholastic Aristotelianism, and Mysticism asserted itself as a reaction against mere intellectualism. In this revival of classic learning, there was an outcropping of much error. The Monotheism of Judaism and Mohammedanism fell into a sort of pantheism in such systems as that of Averroes, and rank infidelity grew in the *Illuminati* of Italy, while there was no little skepticism manifested in the humanists of Germany. But the movement nevertheless went forward and wrought towards the freedom of science from the shackles that had been placed upon it. There was a going back to a deeper study of ancient classic literature in order to move forward again (a method of development which some in the Reformed Church find it so hard to comprehend).

"Side by side with this return of learned culture from scholasticism to the early Roman and Greek literature, stands, as its analogue, the return of the religious consciousness from the doctrines of the Catholic Church to the letter of the Bible." This is only a partial statement of the case. The Reformers went back to the pure Word of God, and they went back also to a purer conception of Christianity, in which the conscience could find deliverance from the legal spirit that ruled during the Middle Ages. A sympathy grew up with primitive Christianity; the early fathers and the early creeds were felt to be clothed with a fresher life than the doctrines of Romanism. Yet this sympathy with the old was only a condition for the new step of progress. The Reformation did not fall into repristination. It moved on in an independent course of advancement. It was the new struggling out of the old.

Thus we have the two factors, science and religion, faith and reason, started in a new era, with little thought or calculation how they were to relate themselves to each other. Protestantism at first was inclined to shut out philosophy as inimical to pure religious faith. Luther disliked Aristotle, and thought he should be set aside. But as they moved on they seemed to feel that they stood in one spirit of freedom, that their revival started in one epoch, and they began to cultivate a friendly

spirit. Thus it has come that without calculation or forecast, the great movements of modern philosophy sympathize with Protestantism.

In this a great responsibility devolves upon Protestantism. She must be the light to guide modern science. Romanism has cast it away as a rebellious child. She says to it—put yourself under our tutelage and you are safe. Protestantism says—enjoy your freedom, but use it wisely and well. We recognize your peculiar sphere of labor. But reject not the only true light that alone can illumine all things.

After this opening or preparatory period comes the epoch of Empiricism, Dogmatism, and Skepticism, and last the epoch of the Kantian Criticism and of the systems issuing from it, from Kant till the present time. This division is very general, and of itself would not be sufficient for the treatment of systems that have arisen especially since Kant. Empiricism, Dogmatism, and Skepticism prevailed until Kant cleared the atmosphere and prepared the way for a new start. Bacon imagined he had found the only true method for science in his *Novum Organon*. It certainly was like entering a new world to pass from the treadmill of scholasticism into the field of investigation and discovery. The facts of nature had been little observed and examined, science had made little progress, and philosophy, by feeding upon itself, had become shrivelled and inane. The theory of induction gave new inspiration to scientific pursuits, and its value and importance have been acknowledged ever since the time of Bacon. But as a philosophical principle it hardly deserves the name. The investigation of facts in itself can give us no principle, but it can furnish material for philosophic thought, and this was one thing greatly needed. Hence while we refuse to the Baconian System, as it is called, the wonderful merit often attributed to it, we nevertheless give it due credit for what it has done.

Through Locke, who employed it in investigating the nature of the human understanding and the ideas generated by experience, the system soon ran into Deism and skepticism in England, and rank infidelity and Atheism in France.

Meantime, another line of thought was starting on its course from Des Cartes. As it widened out in Spinoza and Leibnitz we have what are called the dogmatic systems, systems based upon speculation and asserted with great assurance, systems that aim at explaining God and the universe. Excepting Spinoza's pantheism, these systems stand in marked contrast with the systems of England by Locke and his followers. These latter were in the direction of sensationalism, materialism, Deism, while the German speculation was inward, spiritual, and having profound respect for Christianity, with the exception above made. Hume in England represents the skeptical school that warred upon Christianity and all truth. The dogmatists asserted that man can know everything, the skeptics denied that he could know anything. The time has come for a new departure. This we find in Kant.

Kant saw that a criticism of man's intellectual and moral powers was necessary in order that philosophy might go forward on solid ground. Such criticism was necessary in order to show the unreasonableness of skepticism as well as to rebuke the boastful pride of dogmatism. His criticism was made with such ability that it has furnished material for all the philosophers that followed him. No such an investigation of the reason, will, and judgment, had ever been made before, and none to take its place has been made since. Some of Kant's conclusions must be rejected. These do not all follow from his criticism. The criticism itself has value for all time.

Fichte, carrying out Kant's subjectivism developed his system of pure subjective idealism. Schelling produced a system of objective idealism, and Hegel, what is called absolute idealism.

With Kant the question was brought forward with new interest whether man can know the absolute. Is his cognitive faculty limited in its power of investigation to the finite? And is God, therefore, unknowable? Kant had answered these questions in the affirmative. Yet Schelling and Hegel started in their systems with the idea of the absolute. Among more recent metaphysical writers Sir William Hamilton argues that

man cannot know the absolute, and that what he says of it is only negative, as for instance, the infinite is the not-finite. This is stating what the infinite is not, but not what it is, which he says is impossible.

We draw a different conclusion from Kant's Critique, viz.: this, that we have in the *reason* the idea of the absolute, but that idea cannot be measured by the *understanding*. The understanding has to do with conceptions, things measured and defined, and therefore finite. But this is only saying that we can know the absolute by the reason—that is, we have the idea, but we cannot define it, just because it is absolute. To be able to say what the absolute *is not* implies certainly some knowledge of it, otherwise no assertion could be made in regard to it at all, nay, we would not have the name itself. God can be known, yet no definition can be given of Him. We can only say, God is God, which is the same that He says of Himself in those sublime words, "I am that I am."

The following is the summary statement given by Dr. Ueberweg, of the present condition of philosophy in Germany. "During the last decennia in Germany, the Hegelian, among all the philosophical schools, has counted the largest number of adherents. Next to it has stood the Herbertian school. More recently the modification of systems through a return to Aristotle or Kant, and the study of philosophy upon its historic side, have occupied the larger number of minds. Schleiermacher's influence has been greater in theology than philosophy; still the direction of recent philosophical inquiry has been materially influenced by influences originating from him. The teachings of Schopenhauer and Beneke, as also of Krause, Baader, Günther, and others, have been reproduced and modified by individual disciples. Materialism has representatives in Vogt, Moleschott, and Büchner, and Sensualism in Czolbe, and others. While resting in part upon the basis of doctrines of earlier thinkers, Trendelenburg, Fechner, Lotze, von Kirchmann, von Hartmann, and others, have advanced in new and peculiar paths."

And of philosophy outside of Germany the following sum-

mary statement is made. "Since the beginning of this century no philosophical systems of such importance and of so powerful influence as those of the 17th and 18th centuries have sprung up outside of Germany; still, the philosophical tradition has everywhere been preserved, and philosophical investigation has, in part, been carried further on. In England and North America philosophical interest has remained chiefly confined to investigations in empirical psychology, methodology, morals, and politics. In France two philosophical tendencies opposed the sensualism and materialism which reigned at the beginning of the century. Of these the one found expression in the eclectic and spiritualistic school, which was founded by Royer-Collard as the disciple of Reid, which was further built up by Cousin, who incorporated into its body of doctrines a number of German philosophemes, and in which the Cartesian tradition was renewed. The other tendency was a theosophical one. More recently, Hegelianism has found occasional disciples in France. A doctrine of "positivism," which refuses, in principle, to make affirmations respecting anything that is not a subject of exact investigation, but which yet, for the most part, makes common cause with materialism, was founded by Compte. A modified scholasticism, mostly Thomism, prevails in the Catholic seminaries of France, Spain, and Italy. In Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, Russia, Poland, and Hungary, the various schools of German philosophy have exerted successively a not inconsiderable influence. In Italy, the philosophy favored by the Church is Thomism; the doctrines of Antonio Rosmini and of Vincenzo Gioberti, in particular, have also found numerous disciples, and in the last years the Hegelian doctrine has been defended by zealous adherents."

With this brief notice of this second volume of Ueberweg's History of Philosophy, for a fuller knowledge of which we must refer the reader to the book itself, we proceed to present some thoughts suggested by the general subject.

I. The path along which this volume leads the reader reveals an amount of earnest thought quite worthy of this latest age of the

world's history. This will be acknowledged by all. Never before did human minds struggle more earnestly and with greater power to know the truth so far as it may be known by human reason. There is revealed here no falling off in vigor of intellect. These modern thinkers can stand in the company of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, without suffering by the comparison, and still less would they need fear a comparison with the great Mediæval doctors. The power of thought they exercised goes beyond any such power exercised by men of science merely. These latter have exhibited talent also. The results of modern scientific inquiry attest the power of thought. Take the case of such a scientist as Newton. There is something grand in the manner his mind reaches out in the illimitable expanse of creation, studying its laws and discovering its secrets, or poring over the intricate processes of mathematics until he discovers the Differential Calculus. The power of thought displayed in the progress of science during the last three hundred years leads us to bow in reverence before this faculty divine. But the philosopher stands above the scientist. His mission is greater. His thoughts move forward in realms grander than the physical universe. He goes on explorations where no material star sheds its light, where no rocky strata leave marks to guide the way. He must advance where no mathematical signs assist him in his course. His survey must extend over those hidden depths of being and of thought where the mere scientist would shrink back in dismay. To discover the hidden unities of all sciences, to penetrate to the depths of all being, to trace the lines of all human knowledge—this is his mission and work.

This requires genius of the highest order. The scientific man requires genius too, and the poet who brings forth for admiration his wonderful ideals, but the philosopher must penetrate the trackless depths where the real and the ideal find their unity in the vision of being itself. And when he has found his starting-point, what knowledge he must command to reduce his system to order in all its departments! We bow in reverence before such mighty thoughts as those of Spinoza, of

Leibnitz, of Kant, and we confess their calling to instruct and lead the race. Beside these great thinkers even a Newton, a Kepler, and an Agassiz, worthy of all admiration and honor as they are, must rank as mere journeymen compared with master workmen.

Such a worker in the mines of thought was Spinoza, a mystery to his times, a man as *Saisset* tells us, who was called a Jew and Atheist, a mystic drunk with God, a saint, a Persian sophi, a disguised Cabbalist, as he worked at making glasses for telescopes in the house of Van der Spyck on the Pavilioengragt at the Hague. Such a man was Kant, the modern Aristotle, the philosopher of Königsberg, who never traveled but once, we believe, more than twenty miles from his native city, but who employed his life in exploring the realms of thought, until he fairly consumed away the frail body that encased so great a mind. These were giant men. What though they did not always find the truth. Science, too, must often confess that it fails. But we are not now speaking of this. We are not considering the truth of their systems. We are considering their thought power. And in this they represent the strength of the modern era worthily as Plato and Aristotle represented the ancient.

It follows from this that it requires power of thought to appreciate and study them. It is not without meaning that the study of philosophy is placed at the end of the College Curriculum. The drill in the languages, mathematics, natural science, is to prepare the mind for this. A College without a philosophy is like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. It educates, but with no aim. It can have no true unity. It may make a noise in the world with its boasted attention to science, but it sends forth its students with no power to unify the knowledge they have acquired. Their education has not come to its bloom and fruit-bearing.

And in saying thus much for philosophy we are not forgetting that even its light pales before the light of the Christian religion. We would not deify thought. We would not worship reason. But Christianity no more undervalues philosophy

than she undervalues science. That would, indeed, be a strange revelation and a strange religion which ignored or undervalued reason and its activities.

Just upon this point we deem it not out of place to make reference to an institution in this country in which earnest regard has been had to this elevated calling of philosophy. We refer to Marshall College, now Franklin and Marshall College, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Its first President was an eminent Christian philosopher, Dr. F. A. Rauch, a disciple of Daub, who was called away by death just as he was fairly entering upon the work upon which he had set his heart. His successor, the present President of the College, Rev. J. Williamson Nevin, D. D., LL.D., most worthily represents the high interest of Christian philosophy, although he has been widely known both in this country and in Europe rather as a theologian than in the department of philosophy. We were somewhat amused, recently, at a dinner party, to hear him remark to the Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Charles P. Krauth, that the older he became the more he doubted and distrusted all philosophy. The reply of the Vice-Provost was —"I would like to know how you have arrived at that conclusion, for it requires a great deal of philosophy to set aside philosophy." This same Dr. Nevin teaches a system of Æsthetics and Ethics to his students in original lectures which shows the very highest order of philosophic ability, and ranks him among the greatest philosophic thinkers of this age. And yet, compared with Him who is the light of the world, Dr. Nevin counts all philosophy as nothing! In that he shows himself the *Christian philosopher.*

II. *The result.* It might seem at first that the result which philosophy has reached in its present state in Germany is not worthy of the history through which it has passed in the modern age. As system after system passes in review on to Hegel we naturally expect a last and best which will gather up into itself the truth of those that have gone before, while their errors are left behind. But there seems to be no such outcome. Philosophers there are, men of great philosophic talent, if not

genius. Schopenhauer, Beneke, Trendelenberg, Lotze, I. H. Fichte, Ulrici, and many others that might be named, have shown masterly ability in this department. With a full acquaintance with the great systems of the past, they have occupied each his own independent stand-point, from which they have traced the strong points, and the weak ones as well, of the philosophers that have passed away. But still the fact remains that the present age has produced no Kant or Hegel, and no system which exerts a controlling influence now as theirs did in their day. It would seem that with all the light of the past the present ought to show greater results.

But such intervals in which the labors of the past come under criticism and review, and new material is gathered for the future, are found in all departments of history. Not every age produces a Shakspeare, a Milton, a Newton, or a Kepler. The work of the present age in philosophy is mainly that of criticism and review. The works already produced must be first exhaustively studied, and their application to new questions which history is bringing forward must be understood before the line of march is taken up again. "More recently," says Ueberweg, "the modification of systems through a return to Aristotle or Kant, *and the study of philosophy upon its historic side*, have occupied the larger number of minds." This is going back (which some thinkers imagine contradicts the conception of development !) to examine over again all the lines of progress, and to prepare for a new departure. The Germans especially have this historical sense highly cultivated. They must know thoroughly all that has been accomplished in any department before they venture in new paths.

There are also certain features in the present state of philosophy in Germany, and in other countries also, which awaken still greater disappointment at what has been accomplished. When we read such conclusions as this in the teachings of Schopenhauer, "The world is not the best, it is the worst of all possible worlds; sympathy alleviates suffering, while asceticism destroys it by destroying the will to live, in the midst of life"—bringing back something like the Buddhis-

tic doctrine of Nirvana, it seems as though philosophy were running into a pitiable nihilism. So also in the Philosophie des Unbewusten, philosophy of the unconscious, by K. R. E. von Hartmann, 1869 and 1871, in which the doleful, hopeless view of the world is given, that there is and must be in it the preponderance of pain, that life is rendered endurable only by the artifices of nature, in virtue of which all is interesting to childhood and youth by reason of its novelty; the partial interruption of individual consciousness by sleep, and of the historic consciousness of humanity by death and birth preserves nature from atomy,—that the end of development is the turning back of volition into non-volition, &c., the process to end at last in the painless joylessness of Nirvana. With these must be classed also the evolution theory of Herbert Spencer, the development theory of Darwin, down to the low and vulgar materialism and sensualism of such men as Buchner (whose work on Man in the past, present, and future, has been recently published in this country, and who has been lecturing in our Eastern cities). But we get here rather into the sphere of Science, which must account for its own results. We are not now considering them. That the age can produce such systems, in which despair seems to be the inspiring genius, shows that unbelief has made terrible progress, that there is a want of strong Christian faith to hold up the general consciousness. But this is only the one side, the dark side of the picture, and must not be taken as indicating the whole life of the age. Philosophy when it moves away from the light of Christian faith falls under the shadow of death, and ends in despair. The better philosophy of Germany looks hopefully to greater results in the future, as it seeks to come into closer sympathy with the Christian religion.

III. *The close relation between philosophy and religion in a historical point of view.* The remarks at the close of the last paragraph, imply a very close relation between modern philosophy and Christianity. This point needs to be more fully considered. The history of Protestant theology when taken in connection with the history of modern philosophy shows this.

We may notice here first the inner sympathy and correspondence between the aim of the Reformation and that of philosophy in its beginning, after that movement in the Church had commenced. One object of the Reformation was, as we know, to bring out for faith the more direct and immediate relation of the individual believer to Christ, and the immediate certitude of faith as carrying in it the self-authentication of the object of faith. Mediæval Christianity had erected an ecclesiasticism between the believer and Christ in such a manner as to distort the true relation. The Church was put in the place of Christ, and an external, mechanical, Church authority was made the basis of all religious certitude. In breaking away from this, the Reformers did not, indeed, design to set aside the Church and its functions. Over against the fanaticism of the Anabaptist they held to the necessity of the written Word, and to the office of the Christian ministry and the holy sacraments. The Holy Spirit is present through media. But still the testimony of the Spirit to the heart of the believer was the main thing, and He brought Christ to the faith of the believer. This gave a new idea of faith. According to Romanism, faith had come to be looked upon as mere submission to the authority of the Church. According to Protestantism, it was the spiritual organ for communion with Christ, the organ for receiving the supernatural grace offered and given to every believer.

Now, the aim of philosophy in its start in the modern age sought, likewise, immediate and direct certitude in knowledge. It sought to find what we can know without presupposing anything given on authority outside of ourselves. The question had not been raised during the Middle Ages in the same earnest way. Now that a new age was come, men began to examine and sift the superstructures that reason had reared. You see the principle working in Bacon and Des Cartes. And when a weak point was discovered in one system it was sought to eradicate it. Here falls in the critical method as applied by Kant, and the severity with which his own criticism was criticised where it seemed inconsequent or inconsistent. We in-

quire not just here as to the merit of this principle, whether it was not carried too far, whether reason can ever be sufficient for itself, or whether and how far these philosophers thought it was. The point is that they were seeking to find certitude in the sphere of reason, as the Reformers were seeking certitude in the sphere of faith.

And then as we follow on the course of subsequent development, we find the same close sympathy. The scholastic age in theology and the dogmatic philosophy in the seventeenth century went hand in hand. The mechanical supernaturalism and the one-sided view of the evidences in England went forward with a Deistic philosophy. The decay of religion in France, and French materialism, wrought together towards the catastrophe of the Revolution. And the same was the case in the rationalistic age in Germany. It might be inquired how far a weak form of Christianity was the cause of false forms of philosophy and *vice versa*. We do not make this inquiry now. We only state a fact. And from the fact we deduce the inference that modern philosophy and Protestant theology, must be studied in their history together. The one cannot be fully understood without the other.

This thought must be kept in mind in any estimate in regard to the course of philosophy in the future. We have referred to the evidences of a want of unity and confidence in the state of philosophy in the present time, especially in Germany. Its future will be largely influenced by the future of Christianity. There is a general sense of a decadence of faith among Christians. The Church is passing through a severe trial. Its endless divisions rise up to witness against it. This feature paralyzes its efforts. The conversion of the heathen nations is retarded largely by this fact. There is need of a reformation in the Church, at any rate of a coming together of its *disjecta membra*. What principle is to exert the power to effect this no one can as yet point out. But with the revival of faith, and the working of a principle of unity, and a new step of progress on the part of the Church, will come also a corresponding movement in philosophy. The quickened Christian conscious-

ness will react on the general consciousness of the age, and pessimism, nihilism, and skepticism, will be swept away, and new confidence and faith will be infused into the departments of philosophy and science. For these too also are in close sympathy, as we shall presently see.

What we have said on this point in a very general way, will indicate what we conceive to be the relation between Christianity and philosophy. There is some danger here of falling into the error of mediæval times, in attempting to bring philosophy into a mechanical subserviency to theology. Christianity is not designed to give the world a philosophy, any more than it is designed to teach science. Their different spheres must be recognized in order to reach their free union. We must not seek to derive our psychology or logic directly from the Bible in order to make it Christian, any more than we would seek in the same way to Christianize arithmetic or chemistry. And neither can we find in the Bible a system of Æsthetics, Ethics, or Metaphysics. These have their relatively independent spheres. Their relation to Christianity must be sought rather in the general relation of the natural to the supernatural. When this general relation is properly understood, it will serve as a guide in regard to the particular. We know the mistake the Church made in former ages in attempting to rule over the State, without recognizing its relatively independent sphere. The Hildebrandian idea of a theocracy, as pressed to its ultimate consequences in the pontificate of Boniface in his bull *Unam Sanctam*, was a mistake. It contradicted the words of our Lord, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." The idea of the relation of Church and State in the modern age, is likely to lead to better results, even though Romanism regards it as all wrong.

While philosophy works out its own problem in a free way, it should accept the light of revelation, but accept it freely. There is a strictly Christian Ethics, for instance, and a philosophical Ethics. We are not, now at least, to merge the one into the other, in order to make it Christian. That would be

to lose the one in the other, while the natural is not yet merged in the supernatural. Philosophic Ethics, or the metaphysics of Ethics has its own sphere, and Christian Ethics, as a department of theology has its place. The true relation is to be found in properly acknowledging their difference, while at the same time it is seen that the completion of the one is to be found in the other. Nature must look to the supernatural for its completion. Natural morality completes itself in Christian morality. In this way we may make room for freedom and autonomy.

What is true of the departments of philosophy, is true of philosophy as a whole. It cannot become Christian by destroying its relative independency and autonomy. Philosophy is not theology. But philosophy should follow the light of Christianity in working out its problem, for *Christ is the light of the world.* A philosophy is Christian in proportion as it recognizes this light, while at the same time it holds itself to its own problem, and does not seek to lose itself or its own proper work.

IV. *Philosophy and Science.* In order to understand more fully the posture of philosophy in the present age, it is necessary to consider its relation to science. The present claims to be pre-eminently an age of science, and science, it is claimed, has to do with a real world, not an imaginary world of speculation. The reaction against scholasticism which set in at the Reformation, still continues to assert its power. The scholastic philosophy exhausted its strength with what was merely formal, moving in a circle, with no power to get beyond its formulas, and wasting itself upon itself, until the world grew weary of the process. Meanwhile no attention was given to research and discovery. The domain of facts was neglected. Men sought not to ascertain what *is*, but what according to their preconceived theories and speculations *ought* to be. The attempt to explain why a vessel of water with a fish in it weighed no more than when the fish was not in the vessel, without first inquiring whether it was a fact, illustrates the fruitlessness of their work. Let us leave the fruitless task of speculation and turn our attention to facts. Let us work, explore, discover, in

the domain of science. Here there is solid ground. Here we are in a real world, no longer dreaming but awake, no longer studying mere phantoms but realities. Such was the tendency which asserted itself, and which has wrought through the modern age, and which is the prevailing tendency at the present time.

Under the influence of a materialistic and utilitarian tendency, the zeal for the study of natural science is especially in the ascendant now. It sweeps away all barriers that would impede its course. It remodels the curriculum of the old and staid colleges. It drives the study of the ancient languages, mental and moral science, and to some extent mathematics, into the back-ground. It erects chemical laboratories, astronomical observatories, and work-shops for the practical study of minerals and mines. Zöology, geology, metallurgy, chemistry, botany, etc., these are the subjects of study. Even man, morality, religion, are to be studied in the light of nature. The earth is to testify of his origin, and his physical organization is to rule his morality and religion. Such is in part the scientific spirit of the age.

There is another and a better side. There are noble men who work in the sphere of science with zeal only for the truth, who are free from a mere utilitarian spirit; men who can say, as Agassiz said, "I have no time for making money." There are those who claim for science only its proper rights, who recognize the claims of philosophy, art, and religion. Even the utilitarian spirit has its proper place. The inventions and discoveries that minister to material prosperity are not to be undervalued. Material prosperity prepares the way for the prosecution of study and attention to education for its own sake. In any case, the facts sustain the assertion that the present is prevailingly a scientific age.

At such a time philosophy must rest content to remain somewhat in the back-ground. It waits for science to prepare new material to aid it in its work. This is also a necessity. Philosophy without science is like theory without facts. For a while science rules the spirit of the age. Then comes a reaction

again, and the world seeks to unify and generalize its knowledge. It seeks to penetrate the forms of knowledge as furnished in science to their inmost depths, to trace facts to their principles, and find a common end. And then philosophy finds its vocation again. The prevalence of a scientific spirit in the present age is not really inimical to philosophy,—it only arrests the philosophic spirit for a time, in order that it may move onward then with greater advantage.

It is true, these two do often antagonize each other. There is a utopian philosophy which runs wild in speculation, and affects to despise mere science. It professes to soar in the realms of pure truth, and would not be encumbered in its lofty flight by the facts of science. It merits the ridicule which it receives. There is also a narrow spirit with some in the pursuit of science. They lack breadth of spirit, and very often depth of knowledge even in their own departments. They affect to despise any higher light than nature can give. They would walk by that. The light of reason is a mere illusion, and that of revelation a vain dream. But these are not the true philosophers nor the true scientists. True philosophy and true science are necessary the one to the other. Let us examine this fact a little further.

The facts of science lead us into mysterious depths, no less than the speculations of philosophy. We follow the researches of the astronomer, as he takes us through the starry heavens. We are in the world of solid facts. We pass from world to world, admiring the greatness and grandeur of creation. We scan the fleecy milky way, and study the nebulæ, and we have arrived at the outskirts of creation. But the telescope has taken us far beyond the limits reached by the natural eye, and all that we have seen convinces us by a fair induction that there are innumerable worlds beyond the power of our telescope. The vast expanse opened to our view is only intended to enlarge our conception of what is still beyond, for no astronomer will pretend that creation stops where the power of his telescope ceases to measure it. And now we begin to ask whether there are limits to the creation, and if so, what is beyond these limits.

Is it a blank space, which in its boundless extent as much exceeds the creation we can see, as the ocean exceeds a single drop of water? May it not be infinite? But no, for that would give us another infinite besides Him who alone possesses that attribute. And here we are speculating on one of Kant's celebrated *Antinomies*. How soon we pass from science into philosophy!

Shall we take the other way towards the infinitely small? We follow the scientist in his examination of matter, which he defines as that which has extension. We divide and subdivide, until we arrive at the ultimate atoms of the Atomists. But modern science has ruled all that out, for it is a contradiction to say that an atom is an ultimate particle that cannot be divided, while at the same time we are taught that it is a characteristic of all matter that it is divisible. These ultimate atoms then are not something material. They are only mathematical points. But how can mathematical points give us extension? No, says Leibnitz, they are not physical, nor mathematical points, but metaphysical points, *monads*. Modern science says they are forces, forces localized, and that all matter is force only, and that all its qualities beyond that are subjective. And so we go on philosophizing until we land in Berkeley's *idealism*. Take what direction you please, and science leads you into mysteries. The infinite ever meets us in the finite. The Positive school of Compte orders us to stop when we touch mysteries. Assert nothing beyond known facts. Resolve to know only where facts and experience lead the way.

But what are we to do with the mysteries of experience? We have ideas in the reason that lead us into the realms of metaphysics, and we have religious instincts that reach out after God. Shall we pass these by, and attend only to the experience of sense? Compte comes to our aid. Man passes through three stages, or states; the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive. The first two are past, we are in the third. Lo, Compte is among the philosophers, calling in a theory or speculation to support his facts. But let this suffice.

Philosophy is a necessity and a reality no less than science. The one needs the other. What the case requires is that each should acknowledge the rights and prerogatives of the other, and so mutually aid each other. Science investigates and discovers what is placed before us in the world of matter and of mind. It has to do with principles, too, and these it seeks continually to discover. It has a noble mission, for its aim is truth, and truth for its own sake. How worthy of all honor such a worker in science as Agassiz! How unselfish, and how devoted to truth! But science as it comes before us in its various departments cannot remain separated, each department ending in itself. There must be unity in the whole. Hence we must have a science of sciences, and this is philosophy. The more science accomplishes, the better will philosophy be supplied with material to aid it in its work. Science will be for philosophy, what facts are for science.

Shall science proceed in the interest of materialism? or shall it explain all things in the light of idealism? or shall it recognize the truth, and avoid the errors of both? Shall a utilitarian principle of morality rule our education? The answer to these questions requires that science shall not reject the light of philosophy, nor philosophy that of the true religion. These should seek to move in harmony. Here our limits require us for the present to stop.

Art. V.—A REVIEW OF DR. HODGE'S SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE QUESTION OF INFANT BAPTISM AND INFANT SALVATION, IN THE CALVINISTIC SYSTEM.*

§1. OUTLINE AND GENERAL ESTIMATE OF DR. HODGE'S SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

The work opens with an Introduction, which treats of Method; Theology; Rationalism; Mysticism; the Rule of Faith in the Roman Catholic and Protestant view.

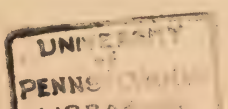
The First Part embraces Theology proper; under which are treated: Origin of the idea of God; Theism; Antitheistic Theories; Knowledge of God; His Nature and Attributes; the Trinity; Divinity of Christ; the Holy Spirit; the Decree of God; Creation; Providence; Miracles; Angels.

The Second Part is occupied with Anthropology: Man, his Origin and Nature; Origin of the Soul; Unity of the Human Race; Original State of Man; Covenant of Works; the Fall; Sin; Free Agency.

The Third Part presents Soteriology: the Plan of Salvation; Covenant of Grace; the Person of Christ; His Mediatorial Work; Prophetic and Priestly Offices; Satisfaction; for Whom did Christ Die? Theories of the Atonement; Christ's Intercession; Kingly Office; Humiliation; Exaltation; Vocation; Regeneration; Faith; Justification; Sanctification; the Law, with a Particular Commentary on each Commandment; the Means of Grace; the Word of God; the Sacraments; Baptism; the Lord's Supper; Prayer.

The Fourth Part is Eschatology: The State of the Soul after Death; Resurrection; Second Advent; Concomitants of the Second Advent.

* Systematic Theology. By Charles Hodge, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 8vo. Vol. I., 1872, xiii., 648. Vol. II., xi., 732. Vol. III., 1873, viii., 880. Vol. IV. Index.



Of the general fullness and logical order of this arrangement there can be no question. The discussion of the Divinity of Christ as distinct from the Trinity might perhaps better have been given under Soteriology, so as not to separate the "Divinity of Christ" from the "Person of Christ." The most important defect in the plan is that it does not embrace a distinct and full treatment of the doctrine concerning the Church. The omission has been made for some reason which satisfies Dr. Hodge. We hope that it means that he proposes to give to the Church a monograph on this subject, one of the most vitally important and interesting doctrines at all times, but especially in our own day. We know of no man more competent than Dr. Hodge to rebuke, with the effectual weapons of fact and logic, the insane pretences of the rampant pseudo-ecclesiasticism of our time, and the yet insaner radicalism, which frightens many into the ecclesiasticism.

The first thing which strikes us in reading Dr. Hodge's book is the style. Whether we shall accept or reject what he maintains may sometimes involve a question, or a pause; but his simple, luminous mode of statement rarely leaves us in any embarrassment as to *what* it is on which we are to decide. The sentences are never involved. The language is a model of clearness. There is a plain solid sense, the result of a sound judgment thoroughly matured, which is delightful beyond expression in this day and land of fine writing. This, of course, will expose Dr. Hodge to the charge of shallowness, from those who think that nothing is deep but what is unintelligible, and that the art of good writing is the art of putting words to things in the proportion of Falstaff's sack to Falstaff's bread, and that the measure of words is like the measure of Falstaff in the girth.

Another great feature of Dr. Hodge's book is, its value to our common Christianity—nay, in a wide sense, to religion on that broader definition in which the believing Jew has a common interest with the Christian. To the gratitude of Jew and Christian, Dr. Hodge is entitled by the able vindication of Revelation against the assaults which would bring the faith of

Jew and Christian alike to the dust. To Roman Catholic and Protestant, Dr. Hodge comes with a defense of the common creeds of Christendom; to Calvinist and Lutheran, with the able argument on the distinctive elements of Protestantism and the precious truths reasserted by the original Churches of the Reformation. Even in its relative isolation as distinctively Calvinistic, Dr. Hodge's book is invaluable. It is the gauge of the type of Calvinism which is considered by its ablest living representatives as tenable; a Calvinism so gentle in its spirit toward other forms of evangelical Christianity, and so full of the disposition to mitigate its own harder points, as to furnish irenical elements of the most hopeful kind.

The general mildness, fairness, and clearness of the book are beyond dispute. It treats Polemics in the spirit of Irenics, for the most part, but with here and there a delightful little dash of merited sarcasm, a suspicion of irony, a playful contempt for small presumption, and a quiet smile at the absurd, which humanize the argument, and, with those touches which make the whole world kin, bring the author nearer to the reader. Nor are there wanting earnest and eloquent passages, which deal with sin in a manner in keeping with its exceeding sinfulness, and with conscious perversions after their evil deserts. There is no amiable inanity in the book. It is not done in water-colors, as some people would think it must be, because it is not executed with a red-hot poker on an oak-board. Yet its prevailing character is mild, quiet, firm, judicial. If it is often pleading, it is still more frequently the decision of a judge, who sums up evidence, interprets the law, and pronounces the sentence.

The evidences of enormous, yet reflective, reading everywhere present themselves, reading of the most varied kind, among the best books and the worst books. There is a gathering of honey for stores, and of poisons for the study of antidotes. The range stretches over the ages, takes in largely the German theology, and reaches apparently almost to the days in which the volumes have come from the press. The result of this anxiety to bring things down to the hour has neces-

sarily been that some of the latest reading has been hasty and has involved Dr. Hodge in mistakes. But the Doctor's greatest weakness, in this immensity of reading, is where it might least have been suspected—it is in Calvinistic theology. He seems to have neglected a part of the Calvinistic theologians of no inconsiderable number and bulk. On his own confession, so far as his memory can recall, he has failed to have seen a single one of a very large and influential portion of those divines, so large in fact that for some two centuries it is hard to find one who does not belong to it. But we account for this on the principles of a latent elective affinity. Like seeks only its like and holds it. There rise up in history the grim and grisly features of those old divines who liked election but who loved reprobation; who conceived of the human race as created chiefly as fuel for Tophet,—divines who would have thought nothing of the perdition of a universe or two, and, if necessary, of throwing themselves in, if their logic proved that it was all for God's greater glory—those inexorable Jonahs on whom a wilderness of gourds would have been lost in the attempt to reconcile them to the sparing of Nineveh. If Dr. Hodge long ago encountered these divines, he quietly turned away into his own brighter path, with other visions of the divine glory. He did not plunge into the Sahara, in the possibility of finding an oasis. Penetrated, as all his works show, with the completest recognition which is possible to Calvinism, that God is love, Calvinism itself is hardly in sharper contrast with Lutheranism than, within Calvinism, Dr. Hodge himself is with Gomarus and his pitiless school. The only apology which can be made for that school is that which they constantly make for themselves—that the logic of the system is with them, and that they are with the logic of the system. They did not create the horrors, they only told of them.

The general tone of the book is profoundly devout. Though Dr. Hodge has moved largely and freely in the living world, his most marked affinities are yet with the old. He saith "the old is better." He has not put enough of the new wine into the old bottles to rend them—except perhaps in a spot or

two. In spite of recent reading, and of the space devoted to the callow heresies of the hour, the conception and organism of the book is prevailingly scholastic, of the old Protestant type. It is old-fashioned theology in the main; and, like the best old-fashioned theology, it has the heart of living piety beating through it. It is not satisfied with teaching *about* theology: it teaches theology, it is theology—a true "*theologia regenitorum.*" Its solid judgment and learning will mark it to scholars as one of the classics of Calvinistic Dogmatics, the ablest work in its specific department in English literature. But it is more than this, better than this. The graces of Christian life are not repressed in it, as they have often been in the arid formulating of systems. Moliere's Mock Doctor claimed no more than that the medical profession had changed the place of the heart from the left side to the right; some of the doctors in theology have left the heart out altogether. But in Dr. Hodge's Body of Divinity there is a heart whose beat is that of the fullest health—and you can touch the system nowhere without feeling a pulse. It is a book for the affections. No man could obtrude himself less in his books than Dr. Hodge does; yet all the more for this very reason do we see the man himself in his books. His life has been shaped upon the advice of old Sir John Davies:

> "Study the best and highest things that are;
> But of thyself, an humble thought retain."

Dr. Hodge's system furnishes a general landmark for Christian thinking in one of its most influential shapes; it also furnishes a revelation of the spirit of Christian science, a picture of the Christian scholar, a miniature of the Christian life. Dr. Hodge constitutes in himself a distinct evidence of Christianity, and alike in what he writes and what he is, vindicates the supremacy of Protestant culture.

§2. INFANTS, INFANT BAPTISM, AND INFANT SALVATION IN THE CALVINISTIC SYSTEM.

It is a marked feature in Dr. Hodge's book that it does unusual justice to the relative importance of Lutheran theology.

There are but two developed systems in the world that claim with any show of probability to be purely Biblical. These systems are the Lutheran and the Calvinistic. They possess a common basis in their recognition of the same rule of faith; their profession of the Old Catholic faith as set forth in the three General Creeds; in their acknowledgment of the doctrine of justification by faith and of its great associated doctrines; and they have vast interests, great stakes, mighty bonds of sympathy in common. No two bodies of Christians have more reason for thoroughly understanding each other than Calvinists and Lutherans have, and no two parts of Christendom are closer together in some vital respects than consistent Calvinism and consistent Lutheranism. It is well worth their while to compare views.

But Dr. Hodge is not only full in his notices of Lutheran theology—he is also fair. Mistakes he has made, and very important ones; but designed misrepresentations he has never made. Next to having Dr. Hodge on one's side is the pleasure of having him as an antagonist; for where conscientious men must discuss a subject, who can express the comfort of honorable, magnanimous dealing on both sides—the feeling that in battling with each other they are also battling for each other, in that grand warfare whose final issue will be what all good men desire, the establishment of truth?

§ 3. THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION AND ELECT INFANTS.

On various points Dr. Hodge argues against the Lutheran doctrine, or what he believes to be such. One of these points is Baptism. On the "necessity" of Baptism, Dr. Hodge thinks the Lutheran divines have "softened down." On this point he is mistaken. Our divines, beginning with Luther and Melanchthon, have held, and hold to this hour, that Baptism is ordinarily, but not absolutely, necessary. (See Conservative Reformation, pp. 427, seq., 557, seq.) In a note (Vol. III. 605), Dr. Hodge says: "We are sorry to see that Dr. Krauth labors to prove that the Westminster Confession teaches that only a certain part, or some of those, who die in

infancy are saved; this he does by putting his own construction on the language of that Confession. We can only say that we never saw a Calvinistic theologian who held that doctrine. We are not learned enough to venture the assertion that no Calvinist ever held it; but if all Calvinists are responsible for what every Calvinist has ever said, and all Lutherans are responsible for everything Luther or Lutherans have ever said, then Dr. Krauth, as well as ourselves, will have a heavy burden to carry."

We say in all sincerity that we should prefer that Dr. Hodge should be right on the question here involved. We wish that the Westminster Confession could be harmonized with the view, that all who die in infancy are certainly saved. We wish we could be brought even fairly to doubt that its teachings are irreconcilable with such a view. We should be glad to have it shown that it is merely our mistaken construction of the Confession which is at fault, and that the meaning of its words, on the principles of correct interpretation, is not what we have supposed. But we have seen what Dr. Hodge "never saw." We have seen more than one Calvinistic theologian who does hold that doctrine. We humbly and utterly deprecate the position in which Dr. Hodge would seem to insist on putting us, if we venture to assert that some Calvinists do hold it, as if it were between him and us a question of sufficient learning, as if the question were, do we know more about Calvinistic theology than Dr. Hodge does? Dr. Hodge has gone over the world of theological literature as few men have done. We acknowledge and reverence in him one of the greatest and ripest scholars of our age; but Apelles acknowledges that a cobbler may be authority on a sandal. And what we shall offer in this effort to show that we are not mistaken in our judgment of Calvinistic teaching, shall be offered with the desire not fairly to offend against the canon: "*Ne sutor ultra.*"

§4. HOW ARE CONFESSIONS TO BE INTERPRETED?

We have certainly said nothing to justify the imputation that we think that every Calvinist is responsible for what every

other Calvinist says. The caveat of Dr. Hodge must have reference to what he supposes we would say in defending our position—to wit, that it is supported by the opinion of Calvinistic theologians whom we may have seen, though he has not. But we do not intend to take any line of defense open to the very just objection which Dr. Hodge makes. Our line of defense is this: The Confession has one sense only; this sense is to be fixed by the acknowledged principles of interpretation; the natural sense of the words, as they impress the minds of readers, is, *cæteris paribus*, to be accepted in preference to any other; in case of dispute as to their meaning, the different parts of the Confession are to be compared with reference to the light they shed on each other; if opinions still differ as to the sense, the usage of the authors of the Confession, of the great divines of the Church, and of their successors, the official and sworn teachers and defenders of its faith, are to be appealed to, to show how the words were understood by those who used them, by those who subscribed them, and by the Church in general—and what is the sense most in harmony with the logical necessities and completeness of the system, as its defenders themselves have understood them. A sense fixed by these processes carries with it a moral probability which throws the whole burden of proof on those who deny this sense; they must admit this sense, or demonstrate its incorrectness. We acknowledge that a Church is to be judged by its standards, and not by its divines, as they add to, take from, or change the standards. The Confessions of Churches ought to be guardians of its liberties as well as protectors of its purity. But we cannot judge a Church by its standards unless we have right modes of interpreting the standards. The standards can neither conserve the freedom nor the purity of the Church unless we can settle their true sense, over against the severity which puts into them what they do not mean, and the laxity which takes out of them what they do mean.

Such indeed is the moral force of the utterances of the authors and representative men of Church Confessions, that

it is sometimes urged as more than counterbalancing what would be, apart from it, a natural sense of the Confession. On this principle the great Calvinistic Synod of Dort,* after conceding that "the words of the third Article of the Arminians, as they outwardly sound and lie before us, seem to be good and orthodox," goes on to say: "but inasmuch as—thus Chrysostom long ago said—the heresy is wont to be in the *meaning* of the word, the meaning of these words is to be determined, and that from the writings and books of the Remonstrants themselves." With its proper restriction this principle holds good. A confession that punishments are "*eternal*," if those who make it are avowed Universalists, has its sense fixed by that fact. A confession that Christ is "*divine*" means little if Socinians make it. There is hardly a page of Dr. Hodge's three volumes which does not assume the correctness of this principle, alike in determining the views held by other Churches, and in establishing his own. It is on the basis of the moral probability of concurrent testimony that he constantly and properly assumes that he has the ability to present a correct interpretation of the Calvinistic system. Throughout he takes the very means, and the only means, we propose to employ, in settling in disputed cases the precise meaning of the Confession of his own Church, and of other Churches. We propose no test for Calvinism which we are not willing to apply to Lutheranism. If we put a sense on our Confession which Dr. Hodge can prove to be in conflict with the views held at the time of its framing by its authors, and out of harmony with the other parts of the system, if we shall define words in it in a sense in which he can show its authors did not use them, and in which they were not received by the line of witnesses who are acknowledged to have been loyal to the faith of the Church, then shall we justify Dr. Hodge in asserting that we have reached that sense by putting our own construction on its language. But, on the other hand, if we shall fix, on these principles, a certain sense

* Actor. Part 2, dog. ad Artic. III., p. 261. Ed. Dort.

on the familiar terms of Calvinistic Confessions and systems, we shall feel that Dr. Hodge in denying that sense is thrown completely on the defensive, and is bound to show that his denial does not rest on his own construction, a construction reached without the natural aids which history brings to grammar in the interpretation of language.

We rejoice that for himself Dr. Hodge so unequivocally takes ground against the whole dark theory of infant damnation. If he be right in asserting that it never follows from the Calvinistic system, we are glad that the system itself is relieved from the blot; if he be mistaken in this assertion, we rejoice still that the Calvinism of the present is yielding; we rejoice the more because we believe that in yielding this, the old historically defined system yields itself; for we believe, and propose to show, that logical Calvinism is involved in a hopeless entanglement in the whole matter of infant salvation and infant Baptism.

§ 5. THE SALVATION OF INFANTS DEPENDENT ON ABSOLUTE PERSONAL ELECTION.

The Calvinistic system places the salvation of infants on the ground of a divine election of individuals.

HEIDEGGER.*—"To those (the elect), who die in infancy, Baptism seals the grace of regeneration. . . It cannot be doubted, that the souls of *elect infants* dying in infancy, are inserted by the Spirit, into Christ, either before Baptism or at least in Baptism. . . The Baptism of *elect infants*, is not an empty figure. . . The *elect infants* receive the seal."

WITSIUS †—"Christ hath not made satisfaction for any sin which He has not taken on Himself. He has taken no sins on Himself except those of the elect. The remission of original sin by the blood of Christ has been obtained for none except for him who is elect." "To the Orthodox, disputing of the efficacy of Baptism, the main, if not the sole inquiry, is, what does it confer on *elect infants, who alone*, according to the strictness of the Divine judgment, *have a right to it* (*quibus solis ad eum jus est*)?" "By Baptism the good things of the covenant are signed and sealed to *elect infants* as things belonging to them."

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* Corpus Theologiæ: II. 449.

† Of the Efficacy of Baptism in Infants. Mis. Sacr., II. 621.

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION.*—"The grace promised" (in Baptism) is conferred by the Holy Ghost, to such (whether of age or infants) as *that grace belongeth unto, according to the counsel of God's own will.*"

§ 6. INFANTS ELECT AND REPROBATE.

For the Calvinistic system distinctly recognizes "*elect infants,*" and thus always virtually, and often in terms, the existence of "*reprobate* infants."

CALVIN.†—"If *those,* therefore, *to whom the Lord hath vouchsafed His election,* having received the sign of regeneration, *depart this life before they grow up,* He reneweth *them* by the power of His Spirit."

MUSCULUS ‡—"Since, therefore, this discrimination of *elect* and *reprobate,* in *new-born infants* (*recens natis infantibus*), is hidden from our judgment, it is not fitting that we should inquire into it, lest by ignorance we reject vessels of grace."

MARTYR.⁂—"What is to be judged of the soul of a child so killed, having as yet not received the sacrament (of circumcision)? I answer that we, either as touching his salvation or condemnation, can affirm nothing on either side. For if he pertained to the number of the elect so that he was predestinate to eternal life, there is no cause but that he may be saved. But if he were a vessel to *that end made* of God, *to show forth in him His wrath,* and so *to be condemned,* what can we complain of the severity of God, especially seeing we are all born the children of wrath and of condemnation?"

ALSTED John Henry (1588-1638) says of Baptism.—"The children of unbelievers are not to be baptized—the children, both of whose parents are believers or one of whom is a believer, are to be baptized—for the infants of believers are in the covenant. If the covenant, which is the greater thing, belongs to them, much more does the seal, which is the less. The faith of parents benefits infants."‖ "The mode of federation, with respect to infants (we mean the infants of believers, who die before they reach the years of discretion) is almost hidden to us. Yet this is certain, that in the foundation of the covenant of grace, they are justified, and blessed, and hence are endowed with true faith. *Elect* infants are falsely called unbelievers, for though elect infants who die in infancy, for of these we speak, be destitute of what is called actual faith, they are not on that account destitute of all faith. For as they have the Holy Ghost, it is impossible that there should be no operation of the Holy Ghost in them; though it be secret and unknown to us.

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* XXVIII. VI. † Institutes, IV., XVI., 21. ‡ Loci Communes, 336.

⁂ Common Places, IV. 110. ‖ Theologia, Scholastica Didactica, Hanoviæ. 1618, 4to. pp. 815, 816. The copy we use is in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

Nor can they be called unbelievers. For as Christ is received by faith only, and Christ is given to elect infants, as having union and communion with Him; we cannot deny that they have faith. Faith in principle and seed, and virtually, is to be attributed to elect infants." *

The SWISS THEOLOGIANS at Dort † say: "That there is an *election and reprobation of infants, no less than of adults*, we cannot deny, in the face of *God* who loves, * and *hates, unborn children* (*nondum natos amat, et odit*)."

CHAMIER.‡—"In the case of these (*infants*) Paul has most expressly established by testimonies of Scripture, that there is not only a *predestination* unto *salvation*, but also a *reprobation*. And indeed it must *either* be asserted *that no infants* are destined to punishment, *or* it must be confessed that some are destined without respect to co-operation or repugnance. Since the *former is absurd*, the second is to be held as true." "There are two classes of mankind who perish, some utterly deserted in natural corruption, and ignorance of Divine Truth, as the *most part of infants* outside the Church." §

MARK FREDERIC WENDELIN (1584—1652) was one of the greatest of the German Reformed dogmaticians, and polemics of the Seventeenth Century. His Theologia Christiana (the smaller work—the larger one was posthumous 1656) first appeared 1634, and was reviewed by John Gerhard, to whom Wendelin refers in his Theological Exercitations, 1652. In this very elaborate defence of Calvinism, he shows at large, that "Baptism does not change infants spiritually," "that none are to be admitted to Baptism, but those who are in God's covenant," and the "arguments are answered by which Lutherans prove that all infants are regenerated in the Act of Baptism. ‖ "That Baptism, as a laver of regeneration, is applied for the remission of sins, all the Reformed Churches teach. But it is one thing to say, that infants are baptized for the remission of sins, it is another thing to say, that they are baptized, that they may be regenerated." ¶ Gerhard had urged that if "the hypothesis of the absolute decree of reprobation stands, this affirmation can be made, not of all infants, but of the *elect* only, as in truth, the Calvinistic doctors in various passages, actually explain it." Wendelin with perfect frankness replies: "There is no need here of inferences or of citations, to convince me. Of my own accord, and freely and expressly I confess, with *Ursinus* and our other teachers, that not all who are

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* Do. 785. † Acta Synod. Dordr. Judic. 40. ‡ Panstrat. Cathol. III., viii., 8, 11, 14, 117. § Panstrat. Cathol. VII., i., 18, 99. ‖ Exercitationes Theologicæ, Casselis. 1652, 4to. See the very copious Index: Baptismus. ¶ Exercitatio. xxxvii. § 18.

baptized, whether adults or *infants*, become participants of the grace of Christ, for the election of God is most free: it is therefore a *prerogative of the elect alone*, which Baptism seals."*

"With one mouth, all the Reformed Churches teach that all the infants of Christians, draw from their nativity original sin, and through it are obnoxious to eternal death." "*All infants* of Christians, even before Baptism are holy, with a federal and external holiness, on account of which they ought to be reputed a part of the visible Church and people of God, and as federates be admitted to the seal of the covenant. *Some infants* of Christians, even before Baptism, nay even in their mothers' womb, not indeed by nature, but by grace, are holy with an internal sanctity, and *these infants are believers and regenerate. Charity presumes* this sanctity in regard to each one, no less before Baptism, than after it." "The internal sanctity is not necessarily conjoined with the federal, but in *many infants* and adults is separated from it. This we learn from the event; for those who were once sanctified never wholly lose their sanctity."† "The case of infants born of those not federate is different, to whom that grace is not promised. Hence they are not federate, and, still less regenerated by the Spirit."‡ "In general it is very truly said, of a Christian is born, not a heathen but a Christian, as a Jew is born of a Jew, a citizen of a citizen."§ "The Word of God has no efficacy unless it be understood. The Spirit of God operates without the word, not only on infants born, but on infants unborn."‖

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION X. iii.—"Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated."

§ 7. INFANTS WORTHY OF PERDITION.

For Calvinism holds that all infants are bound over to God's wrath and made subject to eternal misery; that is, that God might justly condemn forever every infant.

HEIDEGGER: ¶ (1633—1698).—For original sin the penalty is eternal; it is the penalty both of loss and of sense, the sense both of the worm, and of the fire, though in some, as for example *in infants* it is milder, in others it is severer."

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION, XI., vi.—"*Every sin* both *original* and actual, * * * doth, in its own nature, bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God and curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all miseries, spiritual, temporal, and *eternal*."**

§ 8. ACTUAL PERDITION OF INFANTS ACCORDING TO CALVINISM.

Holding that all infants deserve damnation, that the elec-

* Exercitatio. xxxvii. 19. † Do. I. ‡ Do. 15. § Do. 3. ‖ Do. 8. ¶ Do. 10.
** Corpus Theologiæ, Tigur, 1700. Fol. I. 361.

tion of God alone can save them from it, and that this election does not extend to all infants, Calvinism of necessity teaches that some infants perish.

CALVIN.*—"As to infants they seem to perish not by their own fault but by the fault of another; but there is a double solution. Though sin does not yet appear in them, yet it is latent; for they bear corruption shut up in the soul, so that before God they are damnable."

"That infants who are to be saved (as certainly out of that age *some* are saved) must be before regenerated by the Lord is clear." †

Holding that infants must be regenerated in order to be saved, Calvinism teaches that some infants die *unregenerated*, and are lost.

MARTYR.‡—"Augustine adjudgeth young infants to hell fire, if they die *not regenerated*. And the Holy Scriptures do seem to favor his part; for in the last judgment, there shall be but only a double sentence pronounced. There is no third place appointed between the saved and condemned * * * We will say, therefore, with Augustine, and with the Holy Scripture, that they *must be punished*."

SPANHEIM, the elder, in arguing against the universality of the Divine will, that men should be saved, says: "Either God wills to have mercy unto the salvation of the Gentiles outside of the covenant, whether deprived of *life in the cradle*, in the *earliest infancy*, or attaining to some age, or He does not If He does not, the universality of His pity goes to the ground. If He does, it follows that to numberless ones to whom not a word concerning Christ and the Gospel was ever made known, *there exists a way to salvation, outside of Christ and the covenant of God*." "The universal pity overthrows the decree of election and reprobation.§"

MOLINAEUS.‖—"Of the infants of unbelievers." "We dare not promise salvation to any (infant) remaining outside Christ's covenant. They are indeed by nature 'children of wrath' (Eph. ii. 3), and 'strangers from the covenant of promise,' (Verse 12). They are pronounced (1 Corinth. vii. 14) 'unclean,' while that they are contrasted with the 'holy.' From which curse, inasmuch as no one is freed except through Christ, I do not find that the benefit of Christ pertains to them."

COCCEIUS.¶—"Elect Infants" * * "are not conceived and born as are the children of the Gentiles, concerning whom the *presumption is certain*, that they, with their mother's milk, drink in godlessness unto destruction."

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* Ezekiel XVIII., Opera iv. 167. † Institut. iv. xvi. 17. ‡ Common Place, I., 234.
§ Exercitat. de Grat., universali, 4. ‖ Thesaurus Disputat. Theolog. in Sedan. Acad. Genev. 1661. I. 212. ¶ Cateches. Palat. Quæs LXXIV.

Dr. Twiss, *Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly.*—William Twiss (1575—1646) was renowned for his learning, his piety, and his rigid Calvinism. He was a strong Supralapsarian. He nobly represents the firmness and internal consistency of the true old Calvinist. He was worthy the honor conferred on him by both Houses of Parliament, in electing him Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. "He was universally allowed to be the ablest opponent of Arminianism in that age." His greatest work is his Vindiciæ Gratiæ,* his Vindication of the Grace, Power and Providence of God. It was written in reply to the Criticism of Arminius (1560—1609) on Perkins, (1558—1602).

Twiss says: "*Many* infants depart from this life in original sin, and consequently are condemned to eternal death, on account of original sin alone: therefore from the sole transgression of Adam condemnation to eternal death has *followed upon many infants.*"†

(Westminster Confession: X., iii., iv.): "*Elect infants* * * are saved. * * So too are all other elect persons. Others not elected * * cannot be saved."

The doctrine of genuine Calvinism then is that there are reprobate infants who are left to the total penalty which original sin brings and merits.

What that is, the Larger Catechism defines (Q. 27): "The fall brought upon mankind the loss of communion with God, his displeasure and curse; so that we are by nature children of wrath, bound slaves to Satan, and justly liable to *all* punishments in this world and that which is to come." The punishments of sin in the world to come "are everlasting separation from the comfortable presence of God, and most grievous torments in soul and body, without intermission, in hell-fire forever." (Q. 29). In this state of sin and misery God *leaves* all men, except his elect. (Q. 30). "*Every sin*, both *original* and actual, * * * doth in its own nature bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God and curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with ALL the miseries, spiritual, temporal, and ETERNAL." (Westminster Confess. VI., 6). It is from this the "elect infants" are delivered, it is to this the "reprobate infants" are abandoned.

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* The first Edition was published 1632, Folio. The one from which we quote is the Second. Amsterdam, 1632. 4to. It is in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. † Vindicæ, I. 48.

§ 9. PRESUMPTION AND ASSURANCE IN REGARD TO INFANTS.

Calvinism has the "certain presumption" that the children of unbelievers are lost, but Calvinism has no *assurance* that the infants of believers are saved.

MARTYR.*—Neither must it be thought that I would promise salvation unto all the children of the faithful, which depart without the sacrament (baptism): for if I should do so I might be counted rash. I leave them to be judged of the mercy of God, seeing I have no knowledge of the secret election and predestination. "I *dare not promise* certain salvation, particularly unto *any* that departeth hence. For there be some children of the saints which belong not unto predestination."†

"The children of the godly, departing without baptism, *may* be saved * * * *if* they appertain to the number of such as be predestinate. Also, I do except all others, *if any there be*, which by the secret council of God belong unto perdition."‡

CHAMIER.§—"We deny that sins are really forgiven them who do not belong to the eternal election: as Esau was never forgiven, *though he was circumcised*, for he was hateful to God before he was born."

MASSON (BECMAN.)‖—"*Not all baptized* children are true regenerate Christians, who shall be saved; for God the Lord hath reserved to Himself His *secret foreknowledge* toward children, also, yet *unborn*."

PAREUS.¶—"Neither Zwingli, nor Calvin, nor any one of us, places, without distinction in heaven with the saints, *all infants who die without baptism, whether unborn or in birth, or while they are carried to baptism*, but they pronounce this, by the law of charity, of the infants alone of the Church, born in the covenant if they be prevented by death * * * nevertheless, without *interference with the election* of God, which as of old in the family of Abraham and Isaac, so in after time *often hath made, and doth make a discrimination between* the *children of* believers, a discrimination which we are neither to search into nor to scoff at, but to adore. (Rom. ix. 11). This is the constant judgment of ourselves, and of our divines concerning this question."

BODIUS.**—"Nor yet, meanwhile, do we so bind to the faith of believing parents the grace and pity of God toward infants, as to do any prejudice to His free and *secret* election; who knoweth *His own*, whether of *infants* or adult professors of faith, and hath them sealed with a seal *known to Himself alone*."

WITSIUS ††—"These (the prerogatives of the federated infants) are not

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* Common Places. Trans. by Marten, 1583. IV., 120.

† Common Places., I., 233. ‡ Common Places, IV., 187. He uses nearly the same words in his Comm. on Rom. V., 304. § L., XIII., de Fid. Cap. XXI., 34, p. 224. ‖ VI., 90. ¶ Castigat. in. Bellarmin. de amissione gratiæ. 1613. L.VI., 871. ** On Ephes. quoted by Witsius. Misc. Sacr. II., 617. †† Miscel. Sacr. II., 615.

to be stretched to the point of supposing that *all the children* of pious parents are *ordained* to salvation. For Holy Scripture and daily experience prove that the offspring of the best, mature into the very worst condition of soul, and are persistent to their own destruction."

Hence a doubt that the parent was elect, cast doubt on the presumption that the infant was elect, and the overthrow of the proof that the parent was elect destroyed the presumption that the child was elect.

SIBEL.*—"We admonish parents that they should enter into themselves, and should search themselves whether they are partakers of the covenant, endowed with saving faith, armed with the purpose of new obedience. *If they discern this in themselves*, there is no reason why they should doubt of the election and salvation of the children whom God has called out of this life in infancy."

§ 10. THE ELECTION OF CHILDREN AND THEIR DEATH.—Calvinism cannot consistently allow that the infantile age, or the *time of the child's death*, is in any way connected with the moral probabilities of its election.

THE THEOLOGIANS OF GREAT BRITAIN, at the Synod of Dort, argue against the Remonstrant proposition that "all infants dying before the use of reason are saved," the Arminian position then, the Calvinistic opinion according to Dr. Hodge now. In their argument they declare as their official judgment:† "As regards the Divine election, the circumstance of *age* is a thing *that does not belong thereto* (*impertinens*), and has no effect whatever, (*nihil prorsus operatur.*")

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION, Chap. III., v.—"Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, * * according to the *secret* counsel * * of His will * * hath chosen * * out of His mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith * * *or any other thing* in the creature, as condition or causes moving Him thereunto."

Either the foreseen something in the creature, to wit, its early death, moves God, or it does not. If it moves Him, the doctrine of absolute predestination is annihilated; if it does not move Him, the whole moral presumption in regard to any difference in favor of dying infants is of no force whatever. And yet it is obviously this moral presumption which has overcome the stern demands of the system, has made Calvinists deny what even Arminians under the stress created by Calvinism

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* In Ep. Jud., Vol. IV., 138. † Acta Synod. Dordrechti habit. Dordr. 1620. Judic., p. 10.

were at first compelled to admit, and has led them not only to reject the doctrine of infant damnation, but has made them unwilling to believe that it was ever implied in their Confession, and maintained by their divines. Nor have there been wanting Calvinistic divines of the highest order, who have abandoned entirely this part of the Calvinistic doctrine, and have accepted in substance the Lutheran view. Such were Le Blanc, and Jurieu.* Nor can we wonder at this. The Calvinistic system furnishes no ground of *positive assurance* that any infant whatever dying in infancy is saved. As Lutherans, we have a clear faith resting on a specific covenant in the case of a baptized child, and a well grounded hope resting on an all-embracing mercy in the case of an unbaptized child.

To Calvinism the baptism authenticates nothing. What it is in any case, even as a sign, is a secret bound up with another secret. The most that Calvinism can do in the most hopeful case is to cherish a *presumption* in charity, that the child's parents may be elect, and a presumption on that presumption that the child may be elect, and therefore saved—while in the darkest case the presumption is that the class of children it embraces is lost. The same element in Calvinism, which on the basis of a *secret* council forbids it to affirm of any one particular child that that child is lost, forbids it equally to affirm of any one particular child that that child is certainly lost: and the sort of presumption on which Calvinism argues that a few children *may* be saved, is overwhelming in fixing the conclusion that the great masses of children are lost.

§ 11. HEREDITARY RIGHTS OF INFANTS.

Calvinism holds that the rights of infants in the Church are *hereditary* rights, bound up with their natural descent.

CALVIN.†—"Unless God transmit His grace from the fathers to the sons, to receive new-born infants into the Church, would be a mere profanation of Baptism." "The children of *believers*, who are born in the Church, we say are of the household of the kingdom of God. * * Inasmuch as God hath adopted the children of believers, before they were

* Witsius, Miscell. Sacr. II. Exc XIX. LXII. LXIV. † II. Defens. de Sacrament. Opera VIII. 683.

born, we draw the inference that they are not to be defrauded of the outward sign." *

ZANCHIUS.†—"All are to be baptized who, on account of the piety of the parents are believed to belong to the covenant."

WITSIUS.‡—"It is a thing confessed by all the orthodox (the Calvinists), that, although it be not safe curiously to search into the secrets of the divine counsels, and to determine many things concerning the lot of infants, dying in infancy; yet that the *prerogative* is great, of those infants, whose *parents* are in the *saving communion* of God's covenant."

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION, XXVII.: "The visible Church . . . . consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, *together with their children.*" So Larger Catechism, Q. 62.

§ 12. HEREDITARY EXEMPTION FROM THE COMMON LOT.

Hence in the Calvinistic system the children of believers seem to be exempt from the common lot in some sense.

CALVIN.§—The propagation of sin and damnation in the seed of Adam is universal; all, therefore, not one excepted, are included within this curse, whether they spring from believers or from the godless. . . The condition of nature is therefore equal in all, so that they are subject alike to sin and eternal death. That the Apostle here attributes a *special* privilege to the children of believers, flows from the blessing of the covenant, by the supervention of which the curse of nature is removed. The *children of believers* are exempted from the *common lot of the human* race, as they are separated unto the Lord." "Those that were without (the church), were not to be admitted to baptism till they had made a profession of faith. But the *infant children of believers,* as they were adopted from the womb, and by right of the promise, pertained to the body of the Church, were baptized."

§ 13. JUDAIZING VIEW.

The logical Calvinism runs out in fact into a *Judaizing* construction of the covenant, and of the relation of infants to it.

PAREUS.‖—"The children of Christians are born Christians, as the children of Jews were born Jews." "They are born in the covenant and are citizens of the Church." "The infants of Christians are citizens of the Church, are born in the covenant, with federal grace, and saints of saints: as citizens are born of citizens, the free are born of the free, slaves are born of slaves."¶

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* On Acts X. 47. † Opera, VIII. 516. ‡ De Efficac. Bapt. in Infantib. Miscell. Sacr. II. 615. § 1 Corinth. vii. 14. Hebrews vi. 2. ‖ Irenicon, 262. ¶ Comm. in Rom. XI. 1143.

GURTLER.*—"Christian infants are federates of God, partakers of the good things promised in the covenant, citizens of the kingdom of heaven, defended by angels, and heirs of eternal life, *therefore* not to be deprived of the sign of the covenant."

All this they are (if elect) born to in their natural birth of believers, and having all this already, the sign is to be given them.

§ 14. CUTTING OFF OF INFANTS FROM THE COVENANT.

The Calvinistic system holds that the parental neglect to have a child baptized cuts off the child from the covenant, as in the Jewish nation.

CALVIN.†—"Inasmuch as it is not in man's good pleasure to sunder what God has joined together: no one can spurn or neglect the sign, without casting away the Word itself, and depriving himself of the blessing therein offered. Whosoever, Baptism neglected, pretends that he is content with the bare promise, treads under foot, as far as in him lies, the blood of Christ, or at least *permits it not to flow to his children*, who are to be washed. Therefore *the contempt* of the sign is followed by the just penalty, *the privation of grace*, inasmuch as by the godless divorce, or rather the tearing asunder of the sign and of the Word, the covenant of God is violated."

COCCEIUS.‡—"If they be not baptized, there would be an *abnegation of the covenant of God*, as if believers had not a promise concerning their children, but as if they were in the same lot in which the children of unbelievers are."

§ 15. ELECT PARENTS AND ELECT INFANTS.

The *presumption* that infants are *elect* is based upon the *presumption* that the parents are *elect*. It is not enough that the parents are members of the visible Church, nor that before men they sustain a good character for piety—they must be elect.

GOMARUS.⁂—"We piously believe that the *infants* of *those who are in God's covenant through Christ, and true believers*, are also elect."

In the various passages we have cited, it is always the presumption that the parents are elect and therefore believers; that is the basis of the presumption that their children are elect. The Church membership of the parent, in itself has no bearing on the election of the child, except that when people

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* Instit. Theolog. 844. † On Genes. XVII. 14. Opera, Amstelod. 1671, p. 91.
‡ Catechesis. Rel. Christ. Q. LXIV. ⁂ Acta Synod, Dord. III. 24.

profess religion, we charitably presume they have it, and presuming that they are elect, we presume that their children may be elect.

§ 16. A PIOUS FICTION.

But this presumption is but a presumption in any case. In the best case the faith of elect parents that their children are certainly sanctified, rests after all on a *pious fiction.* No parent can, according to logical Calvinism, have any real assurance in regard to any particular child, that it is elect, sanctified, and in the covenant.

BEZA, at the Colloquy at MONTBELIARD:* "The Holy Spirit exercises His power in the elect alone. . . the others who are condemned, and not elect, being left. . . The adoption is *offered* in circumcision, to all who are circumcised; but the *elect* alone receive it, whose eyes God has opened, that they may see and be saved. The rest, to whom God hath not vouchsafed this grace, are left to His righteous judgment: and yet God remains true. The same takes place in Baptism, which *many thousand infants receive*, who yet are never regenerated, but *perish forever.*"

Beza's words, as they were generally understood, were so often quoted against the Calvinistic system, that Christian Becmann (under the assumed name of Masson) insists that they have been perverted, and that Beza meant that "many thousands of baptized children become godless and are lost, after they reach the age of adults." Masson could hardly have read the Acts of the Colloquy, or he would have seen that in Andreæ's reply to Beza, are these words: "It is a very dreadful thing to hear you say that many thousand infants are baptized, who are never regenerated, but perish forever; nor do I think there is a single person in this body of hearers who will agree with you in this." To this Beza replied not a word. Andreæ further said: "It is a bad thing on your part that you leave pious parents in perpetual doubt whether their children have been adopted as sons of God through the Baptism they have received. For according to your answers. . . it cannot and ought not to be certainly pronounced that a baptized infant is adopted as God's child or regenerated, but that it should only be *thought probable* that they will be endowed with the fruit of adoption, God's secret judgment being left to Himself."

To this Beza replied: "Each of us can judge and pronounce concerning ourselves, whether we be regenerate or not; but a judgment concerning others may be doubtful and false."

* Acta Colloq. Montis Belligartensis. Anno C. 1586. Tubingæ, 1594. p. 479. Do-auz dem Latein verteutscht: Tubingen, 1587, p. 837.

MOMMA,* who boasts that it was his "supremest solicitude not to depart a nail's breadth from the faith and Confession of the Reformed Church," is more candid than Masson, and stamps Andreæ with the epithet "crude," for his counter judgment to Beza.

BEZA.† —"If it be objected that not *all born* of faithful parents are *elect*, and consequently not all sanctified, since God did not elect all the children of Abraham and Isaac, we are not without an answer. *For though we do not in the least deny that these things are so;* yet we say this secret judgment is to be left to God, and *in general* (unless there be something in the way, from which the opposite can be gathered), we presume from the formula of promise, that they who are born of faithful parents, or of one faithful parent, are sanctified."

ZANCHIUS:‡ "We believe that *elect infants*, when they are baptized, are not baptized with water alone, but are endowed also with the Spirit of Regeneration."

BUCAN.§—"Children (born of believing parents, or of one believing parent,) the Apostle calls 'holy' (1 Cor. vii. 14): that is pure and separated to the Lord. * Nor is it in the way of this, *that not all born of faithful parents are elect*, for it is not for us to search into the secret judgments of God; but we with good reason suppose all born of Christians *probably* elect."

GUERTLER.‖—"Many sprinkled with water both *infants* and adults, do not obtain salvation, beyond doubt because they do not receive *Baptism entire*, but only its first and most common part."

WITSIUS.¶—"Baptism does not signify nor seal, still less does it confer on *all* infants of those who are in the covenant, any common justification, regeneration and sanctification. * * or remission of original sin, either a revocable or irrevocable remission. But all efficacy of Baptism, which involves a state of salvation, even in respect of *their age*, is confined to *elect infants* alone (*solis electis infantibus proprium*)."

LEYDECKER.**—"The faith demanded of parents in the formula of Baptism is *indefinite:* This, to wit that godly persons' infants are *sanctified* in Christ. And that faith is true, although there should be here and there *an exception*. . . That divine promise has a *common* truth, though God *reserve to Himself*, according to His own power and liberty, *the exclusion of some infants*. Faith . . performs its office when it lays hold of the promise *as it is given*, and reverently leaves to God *liberty of application*. The believer is bound . . to acquiesce in the promise given . . and to trust in it, or, in the judgment of charity to hope

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* De Varia Conditione, sub Oeconom., etc. Basilese 1718, II. 207. † De Spirit. Sac. IV. 29. ‡ Opera, VII. 48. § Institut. Theolog. Loc. XLVII. 29. ‖ Institut. Theolog. Amstelod. 1694. Ch. XXXIII. 173. ¶ De Effic. Baptism, Misc. Sac. II. 622. ** De Veritat. Fid. Ref. siv. Comm. in Catech. Palat. Ultraj. 1694, p. 327.

well concerning this infant which is to be baptized—nay, to believe that *this* infant belongs to Christ, *unless* God, by a singular decision, *wills its* exclusion. The faith demanded of parents is not vain. . . though *here and there one* (of the infants) *does not belong to the election* . . . although there is not an internal baptizing of exactly all infants."

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION X. M. IV. "*Elect* infants dying in infancy are regenerated. So, also, are *all other elect* persons. Others not elected . . . cannot be saved."

§ 17. RESERVE.

Hence logical Calvinism speaks with *reserve* even of the cases of infants, which are most hopeful. "If the infants of *believers* die in infancy before the years of discretion, we have good *hopes* concerning them," say the Swiss theologians at Dort.* "By the law of *charity*," says Pareus,† and so through the whole. Millions of the children of pagans and of other reprobates are certainly lost, and some, *if* their parents be elect, *may* be saved. We reach again the point to which we came before. Calvinism has no ground on which it can affirm positively and unerringly, on *its own premises*, that any one particular child dying in infancy is certainly saved. In place of a distinct Christian assurance based on a positive covenant, it has assumption based on assumption, presumption built on presumption, hopes resting on hopes, Charity confessing that ignorance of a terrible secret is its mother. The worst position in which a brighter faith can suppose a child to be, is the best which Calvinism can assign it.

§ 18. BAPTISM AND ANABAPTISM.

CALVINISM rests the validity of Baptism not on what it brings, but on what it finds:

LATTER CONFESSION OF HELVETIA. (1566)—Why should not they be consecrated by holy Baptism, who *are* God's peculiar people, and *in* the Church of God?‡

MOLINAEUS.ȝ—"The Baptism of water is not, therefore, absolutely necessary to the reconciliation of the infant and its reception into grace: inasmuch as the *reconciliation precedes* the Baptism."

VOETIUS.‖—"The opinion of the Reformed theologians is known,

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* Judicia. 40. † Castigat. in quatuor Lib. Bellam. de amisione gratiæ et Statu Peccat. Heidelberg, 1613. L. vi. 891.

‡ Ch. xx. Ed. Augusti, 72. Niemeyer, 518. Beck, I. 158. Hall's Harm. of Conf. 302.

ȝ Quoted by Witsius, M. S. II. 627. ‖ Quoted by Witsius. M S. II. 633.

that the efficacy of Baptism is not in *producing* regeneration, but in sealing regeneration *already* produced."

WITSIUS.*—"God is not only free to confer the grace of regeneration on *elect infants before* the use of *Baptism*, but it is credible that He *ordinarily does so*." The margin applies this "to those who die in infancy," but the text shows conclusively that Witsius does not limit the principle to them.

THE LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF HOLLAND required parents, presenting their children for Baptism, to confess that they "acknowledged them as *sanctified* in *Christ*, and, on *that account, as members* of His Church, to be Baptized."

§19. GRACE BEFORE BAPTISM.

Grace in no sense waits on Baptism, but Baptism waits on Grace: Baptism is not a means of Grace, but Grace is a means of real Baptism; in the Calvinistic System we are baptized not in order to obtain Grace, but because we are supposed already to have it.

CALVIN.—"They are embraced in the covenant *from the womb*." "By what right could we admit them to Baptism, except that they are heirs of the promise? For unless already *before it* (*jam ante*) the promise of life pertained to them, he would profane Baptism who would give it to them."

MARTYR.†—"Little ones, who truly belong to this election, are endowed with the Holy Spirit *before* they are baptized." "Nor would we baptize little children, unless we supposed that they *already* belong to the Church and to Christ."

FORMER CONFESSION OF HELVETIA (1530–32).—"Baptism is the font of regeneration, the which the Lord doth give to *his elect* (*electis suis*). In which holy font we baptize our infants. Especially seeing that we ought godly to *presume* of their election.‡"

RIVETUS.§—"True Baptism requires that they *shall be in* the covenant, to whom it is administered."

AMES.‖—"Unless they are to be esteemed as members of the Church, they ought not to be baptized. For Baptism is, in its own nature, the seal of an ingrafting *already made* into Christ, and, consequently, into His Church."

§20. BAPTISM WITHOUT OBJECTIVE FORCE.

According to Calvinism, Baptism has no objective force even to elect infants.

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* Mi c. Sac. II. 631.

† Loc. Com. IV. viii. ‡ 15 in Rom. VI. § Art xxi. Ed. Augusti, 99, Ed. Niemeyer, 112, 120. Beck, I. 55. Hall's Harmony, 303. ‖ Ad Grines. Exerc. 88, p. 429.

ZURICH CONSENSUS,* between Calvin and the Zurich ministers 1549: "Whatever good is conferred on us by (the Sacraments) is not by their own virtue, even though you comprehend in it the promises. The Sacraments are *called* seals, but the Spirit alone is properly the seal."

HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.†—"Is the outward Baptism of water that washing away of sin? It is not, for the blood of Christ (and the Holy Ghost) alone, purges us from all sin."

BODIUS, ‡ arguing against the view that children are not members of Christ *before* Baptism, says: "If this opinion were true, it would follow that the children of Christians, no less than of Turks, Jews, and heathen, should be prohibited from Baptism until they are of a fitting age to make a profession of faith for themselves; for there is *no reason* why the seal of the covenant should be impressed on those who have nothing to do with the covenant itself."

WITSIUS.⁂—"Communion with Christ, and with His mystic body, seems to *precede* Baptism in elect infants; at least in the judgment of charity. For as an argument for infant Baptism, the orthodox (Calvinists) constantly say: They to whom belong the covenant of grace, the fellowship of Christ and of the Church, and whose is the kingdom of heaven, ought to be baptized. But all these things belong to *elect and* federate infants."

§ 21. DEFINITION OF BAPTISM.

DR. Heppe, in his Dogmatic of the Evangelical Reformed Church, (1861), presents the doctrines of the Calvinistic Churches, and illustrates his text with citations from their *standard theologians.*

THE definitions of Baptism which Heppe gives as purely Calvinistic and Reformed, are as follows: "Baptism is a sacrament, in which those *to whom the covenant of God's grace pertains,* are washed with water in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, that is, that to those who are baptized, it is *signified and sealed,* that they are received into the *communion* of the covenant of grace, *are inserted into Christ,* and His mystic body, the Church, are justified by God, for the sake of Christ's blood shed for us, and *regenerated* by Christ's Spirit." This definition he gives from POLANUS. Another and shorter one he furnishes from WOLLEBIUS as follows: "Baptism is the first sacrament of the new covenant, in which to the *elect* received into the family of God, by the outward application of water, *the remission of sins and regeneration by the blood of Christ and by the Holy Spirit are sealed.*" He gives only one other, which is from HEIDEGGER, thus: Baptism is

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* Enerv Bellarm. II. 49. † NIEMEYER, Coll. Conf. ‡ Qu. LXXII. Augusti, 556. Niemeyer, 408, 445. ⁂ Quoted by Witsius, 194.

the *sacrament of regeneration, in which to each and to every one embraced in the covenant of God, the inward washing from sins through the blood and Spirit of Christ,* is declared *and sealed.*

§ 22. BAPTISM OF NON-ELECT INFANTS.

Calvinism particularly gives prominence to the idea that non-elect infants receiving Baptism, receive no benefit.

ZURICH CONSENSUS, between Calvin and the Zurich ministers.—"We zealously teach that God does not promiscuously exercise His power on all who receive the Sacraments, but *only on the elect.* He enlightens unto faith none but those whom *He has foreordained unto life.* By the *secret power* (arcana virtute) of His Spirit, he effects that *the elect* receive those things which the sacraments offer." * "To the *reprobate* equally with the *elect* the signs are administered, but the truth of the signs reaches only the *latter.*" †

ZANCHIUS.‡—"The power of Baptism has place in the elect alone. They only are baptized, not with water merely but with the Spirit also. Though all these things (enumerated previously) are affirmed of Baptism, and are truly attributed to it as the organ of the Holy Spirit, and all who are baptized are truly said to become and be such *Sacramentally;* yet we believe that these things are fulfilled *in fact,* only in the elect. All are baptized with water, but the *elect only,* with the Spirit; all receive the sign, but the *elect only* are made partakers of the thing signified and offered through Baptism."

BUCAN.⁂—"Incorporation into Christ, and the benefits which follow it, are in no wise really conferred on the reprobate, though he be baptized with water. For God efficaciously calls, justifies, regenerates, and glorifies those *only* whom He has *chosen* and *predestinated* to these things. The *elect,* whether *infants* or adults, whether in Baptism or before Baptism, are equally incorporated in Christ."

WITSIUS.‖—"On such Baptism confers *nothing* truly good; it signifies or seals *no* grace, *no* salvation; no more than a piece of wax, with a beautiful stamp on it, attached to a blank sheet of paper—or, if you prefer, attached to a sheet so defiled with blots that nothing good can be written on it. Well has Robert, Bishop of Salisbury, said: 'Sacraments, as they are seals of grace, and of God's promise, exert their power spiritually in *those only* who are sons of the promise and heirs of grace.'"

§ 23. INFANTS OUTSIDE OF THE CHURCH.

Calvinism therefore holds, that as infants who are born of

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* De Efficac. Baptis. in Inf. Misc. Sac. II. 725. † Niemeyer, Collect. Conf. 195.
‡ Opera, VIII. 516. ⁂ Institutiones Theol. Genev. 1625. Loc. XLVII. p. 54.
‖ Miscell. Sacr. II. 618.

parents who are outside of the Church, are not of the Church, they are not to be baptized.

BUCAN.*—"Infants descended from believing and baptized parents are to be baptized—but the children of unbelievers, who are not in the Church, and the children of the unbaptized, are *not* to be baptized." "Are not the little ones of the unbelievers, neglected by them, and taken into the care of Christians, to be baptized? No, not till they become adults . . . ."

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION, XXVIII. iv.—"The infants of ONE or BOTH *believing parents* are to be baptized."

LARGER CATECHISM. (QU. 166).—"Baptism is *not* to be administered to *any that are out of the visible Church* . . but infants descended from parents, either, both, or but one of them professing faith in Christ, and obedience to Him, are . . to be baptized."

§ 24. CALVINISM AND ANABAPTISM.

Hence Calvinism narrows to the last degree any real difference between its own views and those of *Anabaptists*, or Baptists. In stating the points of controversy between Calvinists and Mennonites and other *Anabaptists*, the Calvinist divines constantly represent themselves and the *Anabaptists* as perfectly agreed, so far as the Baptism of the children of unbelievers is concerned.

The Calvinistic argument against the *Anabaptist* objection to infant Baptism, constantly rests on the theory, that infants have a right to Baptism only as they possess certain spiritual qualifications. Where those qualifications are not to be presumed the Anabaptist objection stands, and Calvinism concedes it.

Thus BULLINGER.†—"The kingdom of heaven is of infants. No man is received into the kingdom of heaven unless he be the friend of God: and these are not destitute of the Spirit of God. Children are God's, therefore they have the Spirit of God. Therefore, if they have received the Holy Ghost as well as we; if they be accounted among the people of God as well as we that be grown of age, who can forbid these to be baptized with water in the name of the Lord?"

VAN HOEKE.‡—"There is *no question* between us and the Mennonites as to whether the infants of unbelievers, or of those who are outside of the covenant of God, are to be baptized? For *to these*, both WE and THEY deny Baptism. But the question is, whether the infants of those

* Institutiones Theologicæ. Genev. 1625, 624. † Sermons on the Sacraments. Cambridge, 1840, 183. † Lucubrationes in Cateches. Palat. Lugduni. 1711, p. 310.

who are in the covenant, or *one* of whose parents is in the covenant, are to be baptized?"

THE CONFESSION OF SCOTLAND (1560).—"Baptism appertaineth to the infants *of the faithful.* And so we condemn the error of the Anabaptists."*

THE LATTER HELVETIC CONFESSION (CHAP. XX).—"We condemn the Anabaptists who deny that the *new-born children of the faithful* are to be baptized. For of *these* . . is the kingdom of God, and they are in the covenant of God. Why, therefore, should not the sign of God's covenant be given *them?* Why shall not they be initiated by holy Baptism, who are *God's own*, and in the Church of God?" †

CONFESSION OF FRANCE (1559).—"Seeing that together with the parents, God doth account their posterity also to be *of the Church*, we affirm, that infants being born of holy parents [Lat. Sanctis. Fr. fideles], are . . to be baptized." ‡

THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM (Qu. 74) rests on the same view.—"Young children . . . by Baptism are separated from the *children of unbelievers.*" In explaining the answer URSINUS § says: "All they, and *they alone* are to be baptized, who are disciples of Christ, that is, who *are*, and who ought to be considered members of the *visible* Church, whether they be adults professing faith and repentance, or be *infants* born in the Church: for all the children *of the faithful* are in the covenant, and in the Church of God, unless they exclude themselves. Hence, also, they are disciples of Christ, because they are born in the Church, which is the school of Christ."

THE CONFESSION OF BELGIA (1566).—"We do detest the error of the Anabaptists, who . . do also condemn the Baptism of infants, yea, of those that be born of *faithful parents.*" ‖

THE CANONS OF THE SYNOD OF DORT (Art. I. xvii.).—"Inasmuch as we are to judge of the will of God from His Word, which testifies that the children of *the faithful* are holy, not indeed by nature, but by the benefit of the gracious covenant in which they are comprehended with their parents; *godly* parents ought not to doubt of the election and salvation of *their* children, whom God calls out of this life in their infancy."

DICKSON (Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh) d. 1662.—"Do not the Anabaptists err, who maintain, That no infants, though born of *believing parents* ought to be baptized? Yes, . . . To *some* infants of *believers*, as well as to others come to age, the Spirit of Christ hath been given." ¶

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* Art. XXIII. Ed. Augusti, 166. Niemeyer, 354. Hall's Harm. of Conf. 297.

† Ed. Augusti, 72. Niemeyer, 518. ‡ Art. xxxv. Ed. Augusti, 123. Niemeyer, 325,338. Hall's Harm. of Conf. 307. § Corpus Doctrinæ, 1612, 441. ‖ Art. xxxiv. Ed. Augusti, 193. Niemeyer, 384. Beck, I. 326. Hall's Harm. of Conf. 308.

¶ Truth's Victory. Glasgow, 1772, p. 253.

In regard to the overwhelming majority of the children not only of the race, but of nominal Christendom, Calvinism holds, therefore, that they are not proper subjects of Baptism, and so far concedes much to the Anabaptists practically, and in regard to each particular case of those to whom it grants Baptism, concedes that it cannot prove, that before God this Baptism is valid, or that it is attended with any value whatever. Calvinism grants, that it does not know, in any one case, that the Baptism of an infant is more than a form, and grants that in no case does Baptism, even as an ordinary means, condition or bear upon the salvation of a child. What more could it grant to Anabaptism without granting everything?

§ 25. CHILDREN OF UNBELIEVERS—REPROBATE INFANTS.

Calvinism not only excludes the children of unbelievers from Baptism, but excludes them as a body from salvation.

CALVIN.*—"When the Lord rejects him (the godless man) *with his offspring*, there is certainly no expostulation which we can make with God. . . . If He therefore rejects any one, is it not of *necessity* that such *an one's seed should also be accursed?* . . This therefore is to be held *for certain*, that all who are deprived of the grace of God, are included under the *sentence of eternal death*, whence it follows, that *the children of the reprobate*, whom *the curse of God follows, are subject to the same sentence.*"

THE BREMEN THEOLOGIANS AT DORT.†—"Believers' infants *alone*, who die before they reach the age in which they can receive instruction, do we suppose, to be *loved* of God, and *saved*, of His . . good pleasure."

THE THREE BELGIC PROFESSORS, Polyander, Thyseus, and Walæus, at Dort.‡—"Infants born of *parents not in the covenant*, the Scripture pronounces impure and aliens from the covenant of grace."

SIBRAND LUBBERT, at the same Synod, gives his decision in these words.—"There is an election of infants, there is a reprobation of infants . . . To the infants of the *Church* belongs the promise . . To the others (infants), who are out of the Church, no promise is made." To this judgment the three Belgic Professors attach their names as approvers.ⱬ

FRANCIS GOMAR, at the same Synod, treating of "the Special Reprobation of men to damnation," lays down, as *false*, the thesis that "no one is reprobated, no one is damned, on account of original sin alone:

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* On Isaiah xiv. 21, Opera, III.

† Acta Synod. Dordr. Judic. 63. ‡ Acta Syn. Dordr. 10. ⱬ Do. 20.

consequently there is no reprobation of infants." To this GOMARUS replies: "On account of original sin alone, there is also damnation, which is the wages of every sin, even of sin which is not actual. Therefore also the infants unregenerate, the infants of unbelievers, who are aliens from the covenant of God, are by nature children of wrath, without Christ, without *hope*, without God, as also the infants of the world of the ungodly, in the flood, and the infants of the impious Sodomites, in the burning, perished, and were justly subjected to the wrath of God with their parents."

MARCKIUS.*—"Nor is it to be doubted that among these *reprobated* are to be referred . . the *infants of unbelievers*. For though of *individual persons* . . of infants born of unbelievers, we cannot and do not wish particularly to determine, because of God's liberty, and the often secret ways of His Spirit, yet all these are by nature children of wrath, impure, alien, and remote from God, without hope, and left to themselves. God has revealed nothing as decreed or to be done for their salvation, and they are destitute of the ordinary means of grace. So that we ought *utterly to reject, not only their salvation* of which Pelagians dream, but also the Remonstrant (Arminian) theory *that their penalty is one of privation, without sensation.* The terminus to which these are predestined is *eternal death*, destruction, *damnation.* Hence it is fitting to style this the end or terminus, alike of the reprobation and of the creation in time, of the reprobate."

§ 26. THE SECRET IMPEDIMENT.

The Calvinistic system holds that there is a *secret* impediment to the grace of Baptism, in the case of non-elect infants.

MUSCULUS.†—"There are impediments which prohibit the grace of Baptism from having place. They are of two kinds: one *secret*, the other open. The *secret* impediment is, if any one belong not to the number of the *elect*, but is of the reprobate, *this impediment* forever prevents participation of the grace of Christ."

Hence the Baptism of *elect*, and of reprobate infants, is made indiscriminate to keep the *secret* from us.

MUSCULUS.‡—"In the Church of Christ it cannot be observed that only the elect should be baptized. It is as in the Old Testament, in which God Himself so instituted the initial sacrament, as unwilling that in its administration a *discrimination* should be made *by human presumption* between the elect and the reprobate. Nay, He hath so *preserved to Himself* the knowledge of *this dis-*

* Comp. Theol. Christianæ. Amstelœd. 1722, VII. xxxiii. xxxiv.
† Loci Communes. Basiliœ. 1599, 336. ‡ Loci.

crimination that He commanded the sacrament of His grace to be administered to all *infants*, the *reprobate* as well as the elect, to Esau, whom He hated in his mother's womb, as well as to Jacob, whom He loved before he was born."

§ 27. NON-ELECT INFANTS HAVE NO RIGHT TO BAPTISM.

Hence non-elect infants have not strictly a right to be baptized, and if they could be known it would be wrong to baptize them.

CALVIN.*—"God, by the secret grace of His Spirit, causes that they (sacraments) shall not be without effect *in the elect.* To *the reprobate* they are merely dead and useless figures."

GRYNÆUS.—"They who have been baptized with water only, not also with the Holy Spirit and fire, ought to be regarded as *not baptized.*"

ZANCHIUS.†—"In the Confession of the Church of Strasbourg, 1539, in Article XVIII., the preachers are admonished, that they baptize no one, except this sentence be either *expressed* or *understood:* 'I baptize this person, O God, in accordance with Thy election, and the purpose of Thy Will.'"

WITSIUS.‡—"If the *most strict* right of Baptism be considered, it *belongs only* to the elect in the verity of the thing, and in the judgment of God, which is ever in conformity with the truth. For inasmuch as Baptism is a sign and seal of that covenant in which He makes over to those who are in His covenant, the goods of saving grace, which have also a sure connection with eternal life, it follows that they who have no right to the goods of the covenant, and never are to have any, have no right before the tribunal of God to the seal of the covenant. The administrators of sacred things, who are to act in the individual cases, from the sole judgment of charity, *know not to distinguish the elect from the non-elect;* and thus far sin not, if also perchance they confer baptism on those to whom in strict right it is not due."

GERDES §—"The legitimate subjects of baptism are *the elect* and believing alone, since the good things of the covenant can be sealed to those only for whom they are designed, and to whom they actually come."

It is evident, then, that on the Calvinistic hypothesis, in Baptism the great name of the adorable Trinity is invoked upon what is always uncertain and sometimes false. Zanchius, to avoid so shocking a possibility, favored the idea that infants should always be baptized *conditionally*, the condition expressed or implied in Baptism being that it was according to the election and purpose of God.‖

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* On Rom. IV. 11. Opera, VII. † Opera, vii. 286.

‡ De efficac. Baptismi in infantib. Misc. Sacr. II. 617. § Doctrina Gratiæ. Duisburg. 1744, 342. ‖ Quot. in Limborch Th. Chr. III. V., probably the passage we have quoted: Opera, vii. 286.

§ 28. CALVINISM WITHOUT A LOGICAL ARGUMENT AGAINST ANABAPTISM.

Calvinism has therefore no logical ground against the *Anabaptist* rejection of infant Baptism.

CALVIN.*—"If an *Anabaptist* were disputing with you, I think *no other* defence would avail you, than this, that they, with justice are received to Baptism whom God has adopted *before they were born*, and to whom He has promised to be a Father. For *unless* God transmit His grace from fathers to sons, to receive new-born infants into the Church would be a mere *profanation of Baptism*."

BEZA.†—"No one is to be adorned with the symbol of the family of the Lord, except we suppose that he is *probably* to be counted in that family."

TREMELLIUS AND BEZA'S New Testament ‡—"Children of believers are indeed, by virtue of the covenant, holy before Baptism, but Baptism comes in, as it were, a seal of holiness."

CLAUBURG.§—"The principle is constantly to be maintained, that Baptism *does not confer* on infants the becoming *sons and heirs* of God; but because they are *already* esteemed in that place and in that rank, before God, the grace of adoption is sealed in their flesh by Baptism. *Otherwise* the *Anabaptists would rightly* forbid their Baptism. Unless the *verity* of the outward sign belongs to them, to call them to a participation of the sign itself would be a mere profanation."

BURMANN.‖—"The power of sacraments is *not to effect* and *produce* a thing, but to signify and seal it." "God is wont to bestow His grace *before* the sacraments are received—of which grace, when they are received, they are but the signs and tokens."

To the *Anabaptists* the Calvinist says: We agree with you that the great mass of infants are not entitled to Baptism; we agree with you that Baptism in no case confers anything objective on the child; the only question between us is, whether the hypothetical sign of a hypothetical condition shall be given them? As God, according to the illustration of Witsius, sometimes sets his seal to blank paper, or paper so scribbled upon that nothing intelligible can be written upon it, and hides from us all of the paper except the place of the seal, and as the value of the seal as a seal all turns upon the contents of the

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* Contra Westphal. p. 792.Col. 2. † Vol. I ad defens et Respons Castillionis, 502. ‡ On I Cor. VII. 14. § Quoted by Witsius. Mis. Sac. II. 633. ‖ Synops. VII. IV. XXVIII.

paper, a Calvinistic seal amounts to little more than an engraver's specimen; and, inasmuch as the paper with the true covenant written on it, is just as valid, according to Calvinism, without the seal as with it, the seal seems to be of very little account in any case. Baptism is no more than a seal at most; the seal of empty or blotted paper, in many cases; the seal, at best, of a covenant, to whose force it contributes nothing; a covenant which in no sense is made by it; a covenant which stands in equal force without it. It is hardly worth while for Calvinism, on such a basis, to hold out against Anabaptism. It is therefore not without internal reason that the Calvinistic tendency so often ran out, originally into Anabaptism, that it became a proverb, "a young Calvinist, an old Anabaptist;" that the Anabaptist theories so largely prevail on Calvinistic soils; that the immense growth of the Baptist Church in modern times has taken place where Calvinism has been in the ascendant; that so many Calvinists have become Baptists; that so many Baptists are Calvinists, and that in the Calvinistic churches there is so great and growing a neglect of infant Baptism.

§ 29. THE MEANS OF GRACE IN THEIR RELATION TO INFANTS.

Calvinism acknowledges that there are no *ordinary* means for the salvation of infants.

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION XIV. 1: "The grace of faith . . . is *ordinarily* wrought by the ministry of the *Word:* by which also, and by the administration of the sacraments and prayer, it is increased and strengthened." Here it is implied that the Word, read or heard, is the sole means by which grace is *ordinarily* wrought.

Calvinism allows of no potency of the Word except a didactic one (XIV. 2): the sacraments "*and prayer*" *increase* faith but they do not *produce* it.

There is, then, no *ordinary* means for working that faith in infants, without which grace of faith it is acknowledged by Calvinists they cannot be saved. All infants' salvation comes, therefore, into the sphere of the extraordinary, is without means, and requires unmediated divine operations.

THE POSITION OF CHILDREN AN AFTER-THOUGHT. This is largely connected with and solved by the more general fact,

that Calvinism makes no proper position for infants in its system, but brings them in by after-thought.

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION, XXV. 2: "*The visible Church* . . . *consists* of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, *together with* their children."

This seems to assert that children of professors are *ipso facto* members of the visible Church—and this the Calvinistic theologians constantly maintain. *Profession* of the true religion puts one set of its members into the visible Church—natural birth of these professors puts another set into it—but no unregenerate human being is introduced by God into His visible Church—the sower of the *tares* is always the devil. Those who are in the visible Church in real conformity with God's appointment are also *ipso facto* part of the invisible Church. But in Calvinism the law of natural descent sows tares continually in the visible Church, bringing into it non-elect children, the children of unworthy professors as a class, and often the children of the elect themselves, non-elect children of the elect.

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION XXVIII. 1: "Baptism is . . . . ordained . . . for the solemn admission of the party baptized in o the visible Church."

The contradiction here seems palpable. The Confession XXV. 2, asserts that the Church consists, in part, of the *children* of professors, and again asserts, XXVIII. 1, that Baptism solemnly *admits* them into the visible Church—that is, the Church in part *consists* of those who have not been admitted into it—and those are admitted into it of whom it already consists—or are there two admissions, one solemn, the other not solemn? The conflict is too palpable to have escaped the notice of Calvinistic divines. BOSTON* quoted and endorsed by Dr. Shaw † harmonizes the two thus: Baptism "does not *make* them members of the visible Church, but *admits* them solemnly thereto . . for the infants of believing parents . . are Christians and visible Church members"—that is *after* the Church consists of them, *after* they are Christians and *after* they are members, they are solemnly *admitted* to the

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* Complete Body of Divinity, III. 307. † Exposition of the Confession 7th, Edinburgh, 1855.

Church. The real solution seems to us to be this, that infants were not thought of at this point. The writer had adults alone in his eye. But this belief, if it be accepted, confirms our view, that infants are with difficulty brought into the Calvinistic system—as indeed they are into any system which on the one side denies Palagianism and on the other the objective force of Baptism. It shows that baptism in the case of infants, and in that of adults rests on exactly opposite constructions: You baptize adults because Baptism admits them to the Church; you baptize infants because they are already in the Church.

"It tends greatly," says CUNNINGHAM, "to introduce obscurity and confusion into our whole conceptions upon the subject of Baptism, that we see it ordinarily administered to infants, and very seldom to adults. This leads us insensibly to form very defective and erroneous conceptions of its design and effect, or rather to live with our minds very much in the state of blanks, so far as concerns any distinct and definite views upon the subject There is a difficulty felt . . in laying down any very distinct and definite doctrine as to the precise bearing and efficacy of Baptism in the case of infants, to whom alone ordinarily we see it administered. And hence it becomes practically, as well as theoretically important to remember, that we ought to form our primary and fundamental conceptions of Baptism from the Baptism of *adults* . . . . It is manifest, that the general doctrine or theory with respect to the design and effect of Baptism, . . must undergo some modification in its application to the case of infants. One fundamental position concerning the sacraments is, that they are intended for believers, and, of course, for believers only, unless some *special exceptional case can be made out*, as we are persuaded can be done in the case of infants of believers." "Baptism is described in our Confession (XXVIII. 1), as 'ordained . . to be *unto him* a sign and seal' . . It applies primarily and fully only to the case of adult Baptism." "The fundamental, spiritual blessings on which the salvation of man universally depends,—justification and regeneration by faith—are not conveyed through the instrumentality of the sacraments, but . . on the contrary, they must *already* exist before even Baptism can be lawfully or safely received." *

Dr. Cunningham, was not unconscious of the nature of the ground on which he was treading, and acknowledges, to meet the fact, that "these statements may, at first view, appear to be large concessions to those who oppose the lawfulness of the Baptism of infants." †

* (See Cunningham; Histor. Theology, 1864. II. 25, 127, 144). † Do. do. 145.

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION VIII. 8: "To *all* those for whom Christ hath purchased redemption, He doth certainly and effectually apply and communicate the same; . . . revealing unto them, in and by the Word, the mysteries of salvation; effectually persuading them . . to believe and obey; and governing their hearts by this Word." . .

Here in spite of the sweeping "all," there is no consideration of children whatever.

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION X. 1: "*All* those whom God hath predestinated unto life . . He is pleased, . . to call by His Word and Spirit . . enlightening their minds spiritually and savingly to understand the things of God."

Here again, in spite of the sweeping "all," infants are not embraced.

Calvinism holds, that elect infants are *justified* infants; and yet defines justification so as to make it impossible to infants. Westminster Confession XI. 1: "Those whom God effectually calleth He also freely justifieth." (Do. vi.) "God did from all eternity decree to justify *all the elect.* Nevertheless, they are not justified until the Holy Spirit doth in due time actually apply Christ unto them."

ELECT infants *may* be in any case justified while they are infants: they *must* be justified while they are infants if they die in infancy. So Calvinism allows. But the whole confessional conception of justification is one which excludes infants.

"They (the justified) receiving and resting on him . . by faith . . . Faith *thus* receiving . . is the alone instrument of justification."

The Calvinistic answer is that adults are spoken of, but the answer is the accusation. The accusation is that the conception is one which embraces none but adults, and that conception *alone* is constantly presented.

Calvinism maintains not only the possibility, but the absolute necessity of the *regeneration* of infants, but knows of no means for that regeneration and no assurance of faith that any particular child is regenerate. "Elect infants, dying in infancy are *regenerated,*" (Westminster Confession x. x.) but the conception of regeneration as presented in the Confession makes it inapplicable to infants.

§ 30. CALVINISTIC DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH IN ITS BEARING ON INFANT SALVATION.

Calvinism holds that out of the invisible Church there is no

salvation whatever, and that out of the visible Church there is no ordinary possibility of salvation.

MARTYR.*—"It is necessary that they (children) belong unto Christ and the Church, seeing, out of it, there is no salvation."

URSINUS.†—"It is required, of necessity, that in this life they (the elect) be brought unto the Church, though it be sometimes even at the very point of death." "*No man* can be saved out of the Church. Whomsoever God hath chosen and elected to the *end*, which is eternal life, them hath He chosen to the *means*; which is the inward and *outward* calling."

VOSSIUS.‡—"Nor do we exclude the children of unbelievers alone, but the children of those who are open heretics: to whom Baptism should be refused even though it be asked by the parents."

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION X. 4.—"Others not elected . . cannot be saved: much less can men not professing the Christian religion be saved in any other way whatever . . and to assert . . . that they may, is very pernicious, and to be detested." Larger Catechism, Q. 60: "They who, having never heard the Gospel, know not Jesus Christ and believe not in Him, cannot be saved. Christ is the Saviour only of His body, the Church." Q. 61: "They only (are saved) who are true members of the Church invisible.'

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION XXV. 1.—"The . . church . . *invisible* consists of the whole number of the elect." (Do. ii.)—"The *visible* Church . . is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation."

These principles in their connections,

1. Clearly exclude the entire heathen, Mohammedan and Jewish world from salvation. It is a Calvinistic article of faith that men not professing the *Christian faith* cannot be saved.

2. Connecting with this the doctrine that as is the state of the parents so is the *presumed* state of the children *individually*, and the *certain* state of the children as a *class*, it follows that the moral *presumption* is that each child of the non-Christian world is lost, and the moral *certainty* is that they are lost as a class. It is certain that not one of them is of the visible church, "out of which there is no ordinary possibility of sal-

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* Common Places. † Sum of Christian Religion, Lond. 1633, 359, 352. Corpus Doctrinæ, 1612. 350, 361, 362. ‡ De Baptism. Di p. xv. p. 190.

vation," and there is no evidence, no reason even, for hope that a single one of them is of the Church invisible.

3. This looks gloomy enough, but there is still another dark point. "The visible Church . . consists of all those that *profess the true religion* (Westminster Confession XXVI. i.) "*The True Religion*," what is that? Strictly construed, Calvinism—which claims—and must for consistency's sake claim to be "the true religion." Confessions are meant to define "the true religion," in the sense in which those who make and adhere to them define "the true religion." We understand the Westminster Confession to furnish the Presbyterian answer to the question, What is the true religion? Does this then mean to exclude a large part of the children of nominal Christendom, as it does their parents, from the visible Church, from all presumption of election, and all probability of salvation? We are afraid that it does. It has never been so logically pressed as to exclude from hope *all* that are not professed Calvinists, but it has been pressed to the exclusion of Papists, Arminians, and the various bodies of nominally Christian errorists. "The true religion" seems to be synonymous with what is called, XXIV. iii., "the true reformed religion," by which is meant in the Westminster Confession, as the usage and controversies of the time will show, the Calvinistic religion, as over against Romanism, Lutheranism, and the then dominant doctrinal tendency of the Church of England. It is there said: "It is the duty of *Christians* to marry only in the Lord. And therefore such as profess the true Reformed religion should not marry with infidels, papists, or *other* idolaters."

"Christians" and "such as profess the Reformed religion," are one and the same thing: the inference rests on the assumption of their identity. "Papists" are not "Christians," but are idolaters," lumped with the "other idolaters"—the major part of nominal Christendom being carried over to the general realm of Juggernaut and Mumbo Jumbo.

The same paragraph further forbids marrying "with such as . . maintain damnable heresies," and of such Christendom unhappily holds not a few. As are the parents, so are

the children to be presumed to be; wrong-minded Christendom is out of the Church visible and invisible, so are their children as a class, and as a class presumed to be lost. All Pagandom, all Islam, all the Jews, Roman Christendom, Greek Christendom (by parity of reason), and a large part of the Protestant world, under the Calvinistic construction, moving out of the ordinary possibility of salvation, the children doomed as a class, without the possibility, not to say certainty of the salvation of a single one! Surely this is a sufficient liberal provision for damnation, but it is not open to the charge of being rather a parsimonious one for salvation?

§ 31. CALVINISM AND ROMANISM ON INFANT SALVATION.

In the controversies between Calvinists and Romanists, the attitude of the former on the question of infant damnation is decisive, if there were nothing else, on the question in which Dr. Hodge considers that we have made an assertion without due warrant. The Romanists assert that there is a *Limbus infantum*, a place in the other world in which the souls of unbaptized infants endure the penalty of loss (*damni*), but not of positive suffering (*sensus*). To this the attitude of the classic Calvinistic divines is invariable. It is 1: that elect infants are saved, though unbaptized. 2: that non-elect infants, whether baptized or not, enter not upon a Limbus of loss—a negative damnation, but on a hell of suffering, a positive and eternal damnation. 3: They charge it upon Rome as a Pelagian error, that she softens unduly the state of lost infants.

CALVIN AND PIGHIUS.—One of Calvin's most distinguished Romish opponents was ALBERT PIGHIUS (d. 1543), who wrote against him a work in two books, "Concerning free will and grace." Cologne, 1542. He maintained "that original sin in young children is nothing else but the actual sin of Adam that is imputed to them, and that, properly speaking, there is no blemish in them of inherent sin."*

CALVIN†, in reply to Pighius, says: "If Pighius holds that original sin is not sufficient to damn men, and that the secret council of God is not to be admitted, what will he do with infant children, who, before

* Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History of the Sixteenth Century. Lond., 1710. Fol. I. 427. Herzog, Real. En. XI. 662, XV. 216. † De Æterna D i Præ lestinatione. Tom. VIII. 611.

they have reached an age at which they can give any such specimens . . [as he demands], are snatched from this life . . For inasmuch as the conditions of birth and death were alike to infants who died in Sodom and those who died in Jerusalem: and there were no difference in their works: why will Christ, at the last day, separate some to stand at His right hand, others at His left?"

Calvin assumes as granted, and as undisputed that the infants of Sodom were damned. He appeals to it as a known something to settle a contested point, and after the words we have cited goes on to say: "Who will not adore this wonderful judgment of God whereby it comes to pass that some are born at Jerusalem, whence soon they pass to a better life, while Sodom, the gates of the lower regions, receives others at their birth?"

Pighus assumed that children have no inherent sin, in order to prove that they ought not to be positively damned. Calvin assumed that children are damned, to strengthen the proof that they have inherent sin. The damnation of infants is the *Pou sto* from which Calvin proposes to move Pighius' world of error. The tone of assurance in the old Calvinistic divines in asserting infant damnation is very striking.

They not only do not doubt the doctrine, but they assume that no man in his senses *can* doubt it. Not only is an argument not weakened by involving infant perdition, but infant perdition stiffens up an argument otherwise weak. Never was error more effectually driven to bay, in their judgment, than when it was shown that if that error were granted, infant salvation, or even the middle state of Limbus, would follow. The doctrine of infant damnation virtually formed a part of the Calvinistic analogy of faith.

CHAMIER AGAINST THE ROMANISTS.—The name of CHAMIER (d. 1621) is one of the greatest, not only among Calvinistic divines, but in all theological literature. His Panstratiæ Catholicæ (1626) is the ablest work from a Calvinistic hand in the great Roman Catholic Controversy, and takes its general rank with books like Chemnitz's Etamen and Gerhard's Confessio Catholica. It was prepared at the request of the Synod of Larochelle.* There is no difference of opinion among competent judges as to its distinguished merits, and it is justly

* Herzog's Real Encycl. II. 632. Bayle's Dict. Art. Chamier.

regarded among all Calvinists as one of the highest authorities. The word "Catholic," in the title of Chamier's book, and throughout, is used in its Protestant sense, as equivalent to "Christian," or "Orthodox," and by the "Catholics," Chamier means especially the "Calvinists." It is the "Catholics" against the "Papists," who appear in this book. In his discussion of the "penalty of original sin," * Chamier first states the views of the Papists, as three-fold: 1. "That infants (dying in original sin) are excluded from the kingdom of heaven; yet enjoy outside of it a certain natural blessedness." 2. "That those who die in original sin only, are not happy, yet endure no pain, or '*penalty* of sense' (*pœnam sensus*), but are punished only with the penalty of loss (*pœna damni*), that is, are deprived of the vision of God." 3. "Others liberate them from that torment (Mark ix.) 'in which the worm dieth not,' but affirm that the loss of blessedness will be accompanied by internal pain, so that their penalty will be one both of loss and of sense." Bellarmine regards the third as the most probable, but the majority of the Roman Catholic divines accept the second.

In opposition to these mitigating constructions Chamier declares "the Catholics" (Calvinists) maintain that infants also, guilty of original sin, are by God's just sentence damned (*reos solius originalis peccati, justa Dei sententia damnari*): and that in that damnation they are not merely exiled from the kingdom of heaven, but in very deed suffer that eternal fire which is appointed for the devil and his angels ("*re veri pati ignem æternum, assignatum diabolo et Angelis ejus.*") * * "There is not merely a privation of eternal blessedness, but also real pains in hell, loss conjoined with sense." For the soundness of these positions Chamier argues at great length.

Maresius against the Romanists.—Another of the greatest names, in high renown for ability and Calvinistic orthodoxy, is that of Maresius (d. 1673). † He has been called

* Chamierus Contractus sive Panstratiæ Catholic. D. Chamieri theologi summi Epitome. Opera Fr. Spanheim. Genev. 1643. Fol. 797, 798.

† Pfaff, etc. Herzog: Real-Encyl. Art. Maresius. Bayle's Dictionary: Do. Walch Einleit., in Rel. Str. auss. d. Ev. Luth. Kirchen. Th. 479.

the Calvinistic Calovius. His life was a life of contest against the errors outside of Calvinism, and errors which tried to shelter themselves within it. His greatest work is in his reply to Tirinus, the Jesuit, who had added to his Commentary (1632) an "Index of Controversies on Matters of Faith." Maresius first gives Tirinus in full, in his own words, and then adds his own strictures. Tirinus says, speaking of the "punishment of original sin:" "In the other life, original sin, for example, in the case of infants who by it are unfitted for that life, is punished eternally. First, by a mournful want of the society of the Saints, and of the vision and fruition of God. Second, by a want of natural blessedness * * they are in prison, light and pleasant indeed, yet of the nature of hell (*infernali*), in which, under the power of the devil, they dwell to eternity."

The completest answer to Tirinus, had it been possible on Calvinistic grounds, would have been a denial that infants are lost at all—there is no limbus for them—they pass, without exception, to heaven. But the answer of Maresius is exactly the opposite: there is no limbus for lost infants, nothing but hell. Maresius* says: "There are two rocks to be avoided here: For I. We do not think that the children of the faithful * * who die before baptism, are to be excluded from the kingdom of heaven." II. The punishment of those (children) who are not received into the kingdom of heaven, we hold to be eternal death, not merely that of loss (in the Socinian or Papal sense), but also of sense; hence, we rightly reject that third place which our adversaries call the Limbus of children, for 1. Eternal death is the wages of every kind of sin, and therefore of original sin, and so ought to be the portion of those" (children) "who are shut out from heaven and eternal life. 2. There are two paths only—one goes to life and heaven, the other to perdition and hell. 3. Into the outer darkness where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth—not into a '*light* and *pleasant*' prison, as Tirinus feigns—are they cast who are not admitted to the joys of heaven. 4. They who are not wheat,

* Theologiæ Elenchticæ Nova Synopsis. Groningæ, 1648. 2 V. 4to, I. 539.

are assigned to unquenchable fire. To feign a middle order, who are neither wheat nor chaff—neither elect nor reprobate—neither redeemed nor unredeemed by Christ—what is this but to rave? 5. If even the infants who are redeemed by Christ, and who are to be saved in heaven, are not free from temporal death and those pains and miseries which are penalties of nature, why should we exempt *from the pains of hell even as to sense, those*" (*infants*) "*whom Christ did not redeem*, and of whom he sustained neither the persons nor penalties on the cross. 7. This view was the invention of Pelagius and the ancient Pelagians. 8. It is opposed to the view of Augustine and of his followers."

Maresius then cites passages from Augustine and his disciples which teach that unbaptized infants, even those who are unbaptized because they die unborn, are to "be punished with the everlasting torment of eternal fire" (*ignus æterni sempiterno supplicio puniendos*). Maresius, after quoting these passages in his own behalf against Tirinus, says that "Augustine and his followers erred in seeming to bind the justifying, regenerating and sanctifying grace of Christ to the outward sacrament of Baptism," and then adds: "but what they hold, that *infants*, the guilt of whose original sin God has not remitted for Christ's sake, and whom he has not washed from the stain of it through the grace of regeneration, *are, in common with other reprobates, to undergo the punishment of eternal death is most true*" (*quod statuunt pœnam mortis æternæ cum aliis reprobis subituros infantes . . est verissimum*)."

And even when Calvinism began to reveal a mitigating tendency, it still held for a long time firmly to the idea, over against the Pelagianism, as it considered it, of the Church of Rome, that non-elect infants are damned.

On the question: "Whether original sin of its own nature merits *eternal damnation*, or simply excludes from the kingdom of heaven, and deprives of the beatific vision unbaptized infants?" Lampe * asserts the former, over against the Roman Catholics who maintain the latter.

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* Rudimenta Theolog. Elenchticae, Bremæ, 1729, p. 55.

RESULT. We write it with sorrow, but truth compels us to say that on this point the Calvinistic doctrine is far more shocking than that of the Roman Catholic Church, for it casts upon the thousands even of baptized children the shadow of doubt, substituting in the best cases a mere charitable presumption, for a firm assurance, and outside of these, leaves to eternal privation and eternal misery, the great mass of dying infants who are *not* "children of the faithful."

§ 32. CALVINISM AND PELAGIANISM.

Calvinism constantly maintains the doctrine of infant damnation, as essential to a consistent position against Pelagianism. This point has already been made, in other connections, in a number of our quotations. It would be easy to add to them.

STAPFER.—Stapfer* states the ninth objection of the *Pelagians* in these terms: "To subject infants to eternal punishments because of Adam's sin would be to deal more severely with them than with the devil himself, or with Adam, who himself committed sin." In his reply to this, Stapfer says: "As to the children of unbelievers we believe that they will be separated from the communion of God, and hence in the very fact that as children of wrath and cursing, they are excluded from the beatific communion of God, *they will be damned.*"

CALVIN AGAINST SERVETUS.

The controversy with Servetus comes into the same general line of argument, and may therefore properly be introduced here.

The whole body of Genevan pastors, fifteen in number, with Calvin heading the list,† charge upon Servetus, as one of his errors—the errors which cost him his life—that he asserts that "he dare condemn none of the (infant) offspring of Ninevites or Barbarians to hell (*futurum gehennam*) because, in his opinion, a merciful Lord, who hath freely taken away the sins of the godless, would never so severely condemn those by whom no godless act has been committed, and who are most innocent images of God," and further he infers that "all who are taken from life as infants and children are exempt from eternal death, though they be elsewhere called accursed."‡

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* Institut. Theolog. polemic. Tiguri, 1716, IV. 517.

† Refutatio Errorum Michaelis Serveti, Opera, Tom. VIII. 559. ‡ Do. do. 597.

§ 33. CALVINISM AND ARMINIANISM, ON THE ELECTION AND REPROBATION OF INFANTS, AND THE INSANE. CASTALIO, THE FORERUNNER OF ARMINIANISM.

CALVIN AGAINST CASTALIO. CALVIN * wrote with great bitterness against CASTALIO, who had been his friend, but who speedily showed the working of the tendencies which matured at a later period unto Arminianism:

"You deny that it is lawful for God, except for misdeed, to condemn any human being. Nevertheless numberless infants are removed from life. Put forth now your virulence against God, who precipitates into eternal death harmless new-born children (*innoxios fœtus*) torn from their mother's bosoms. Your masters, Servetus, Pighius, and such-like dogs (*similes canes*), say at least that before the world was created some were condemned whom God foreknew worthy of destruction. But you will not concede that He devotes to eternal death any except those who for perpetrated evil deeds would be exposed to penalty under earthly judges . . . You do not hesitate to overturn the whole order of divine justice."

It is in meeting objectors of the school of Castalio, CALVIN † says: "Whence hath it come that the fall of Adam hath involved in eternal death so many nations with their infant children without remedy, unless, because it so pleased God? Here the tongues that have been so voluble it becomes to be mute. That the decree is fearful, I confess: yet no man can deny that God foreknew before He created him what end man should have; and foreknew it because He had so ordained it by His decree." "There are those born among men, devoted from the womb to certain death, who by their destruction glorify God's name." ‡

ARMINIUS.—When the element of opposition to Calvinism, which had smouldered in it from its beginning, broke into a light flame in Arminius (1560-1609), the damnation of infants was one of the first points of assault on the one side, of firm, repeated statements and defense on the other. The fiercer struggle which followed the death of Arminius, is full of illustrations of the unrelenting tenacity with which Calvinism held as essential to sound doctrine the reality of infant reprobation and of infant damnation. Arminius, the pupil of Beza,

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* De occulta Dei Providentia (1558), Opera. Amstelodam. 1667. Tom. VIII. 644, 645.

† Institut. Lib. III. XXIII. 7. Opera; IX. 254. Compared with Fetherstone's Translation, Edinburgh, 1587. ‡ Do. do. § 6.

who was Calvin's greatest scholar, and of Grynæus, was high in repute in the Church of Holland, and in 1604 as successor of Junius, became Professor of Theology in the University of Leyden, and received from the hand of Gomarus the Doctorate. Chosen to defeat the system of Calvin and Beza, his more careful examination of the system led him to reject it. His learning and his mildness are beyond all dispute. His desire was not to magnify the points of difference between himself and the Calvinists, but to reduce them in bulk, and to soften them in tone as much as possible. In 1608 he was summoned before the Orders of Holland, and commanded explicitly to state his views on the doctrines in dispute. In stating the views of the Calvinistic divines, which he controverted "as they are embraced everywhere (*passim*) in their own writings," he notes that they hold that "the children of the faithful and holy, God leads to salvation by a shorter way (than this of adults), if they depart this life before they come to riper years; *that is to say, if so be* (*nimirum siquidem*) *they belong to the number of the elect* (*whom God alone knoweth*)."

"The means of the execution of reprobation to eternal death pertains in part to *all the rejected and reprobate* (whether they reach adult life or *die before they reach it*), partly to some only. The means common to the whole is *desertion;* the means peculiar to some is hardening."*

THE CONTRA-REMONSTRANT (CALVINISTIC) RESPONSE. 1611.

The statement of Arminius as to the Calvinistic doctrine of infant reprobation was never denied—on the contrary every reference to it shows that there was no disposition to dispute its correctness. The doctrine might be palliated in the mode of statement, but as to the fact involved the Calvinists and Arminians do not differ. The Calvinists in their Response, 1611, say:

"As elect of God are also to be esteemed (*habendos*) . . the children of the covenant, so long as they do not in fact (*reipsa*) *demonstrate the*

* The defense is given in full in Jagers: Hist. Eccles. Sec. dec. Sept. Tubingæ, 1691. Ann. 1608, pp. 301-328.

contrary, wherefore, faithful parents should not doubt concerning the salvation of their children, when they die in infancy."

This is the theory we constantly meet with: First, that it is to be *presumed* that all the children of the elect are elect; second, that the presumption is often shown to be groundless by the after life of these children; third, that this presumption, often fallacious and never certain, is the only refuge of parents who love their children—they are presumed to be elect, and as they die before they can "in fact demonstrate the contrary," the presumption, such as it is, is left in full force.

§ 34. THE SYNOD OF DORT.

The National Synod of Dort, 1618, 1619, was meant, if possible, to unite the entire Calvinistic Churches against the common foe. At the outstart it was not so much Arminians who charged Calvinists with teaching infant reprobation and damnation, as it was Calvinists, who charged on Arminians, as a deadly error, that their principles legitimately led to a denial of this doctrine, though the Arminians had not yet consistency or courage enough distinctly to make the denial in an unreserved form. For so strong was the current of Calvinism in regard to infant reprobation and infant damnation, that even the *Remonstrant Arminians* could not directly set themselves wholly against it. The Arminians at first acknowledged a sort of negative hell for some infants (the *pœna damni*), and the Calvinists, over against this, argue for a positive one (the *pœna sensus*). Over against this Arminian tendency, even with this softening and spirit of concession, the utterances of the divines at Dort were of the most decided kind. Infant reprobation, and the actual damnation of infants, were asserted in manifold shapes, and in all the public discussions of that body no Calvinist of any land uttered a word of doubt or of mitigation. There were points on which differences were expressed, there were feelings aroused which threatened the very continuance of the Synod, but there was a happy harmony in regard to infant reprobation.

THE SYNOD OF DORT ON THE BAPTISM OF PAGAN INFANTS. —At the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Sessions (Dec. 1, 3,

1619,) the question of the Baptism of the infants of heathen who came under Christian control was discussed. At the Twenty-first Session (Dec. 5) it was determined: "that they should by no means (*nullo modo*) be baptized before they attained years of discretion." *

THE OFFICIAL JUDGMENT SET FORTH BY THE ARMINIANS AT DORT.—At the Twenty-third Session, Dec. 23, 1619, the Sententia, or Official Judgment on Predestination signed by all the Remonstrant divines present, was read by Episcopius. Two articles in it ran thus;

IX.: "*All* the children of the faithful are sanctified in Christ, so that *not one* of them, dying before the use of reason, perishes; *in no wise*, on the contrary, are even *some* of the children of the faithful, dying in infancy, before any sin of act (*actuale*) committed in their own person, to be counted in the number of the reprobate, so that neither the holy laver of Baptism, nor the prayers of the Church can in any way profit them to salvation."

How sharp and clear is the antithesis. The Calvinists hold that *some* of the infants of the faithful, to wit, the elect children, are sanctified; the Arminians declare that *all* are; the Calvinists hold that *some* infants of the faithful perish; the Arminians declare that *none* do; the Calvinists taught that there were infants, to wit, reprobate infants, to whom neither Baptism nor the prayers of the Church brought saving blessing. The Arminians declare that there is no such class of infants.

But the Arminians saw that the constant hypothecating of the *death* of the *infants* left the vital centre of the question untouched. On the Calvinistic side such a hypothecating seemed to imply that the death of the infant in some influenced its election; whereas, in fact, on the Calvinistic theory the child's death has nothing to do with its election. An absolute election does not take into regard the death of the infant at all. If the *adult* life of the children of the elect shows, that many infants of the elect, who live, are among the reprobate, it equally shows, that many infants of the elect who die are among the

* Author Anon—qui interfuit Synodo. Given in Jäger, H. E. 1619, 314. Brandt, III. 37. In the Acta Synodi I. 49., the decision is given under Session XIX.

reprobate, for the two classes are exactly alike before an absolute decree. *All Calvinists*, even those of the gentle type of Dr. Hodge, are compelled to acknowledge that there are *non-elect or reprobate infants;* that is, that the non-elect or reprobate are such always; such though unborn; such at their birth; and through their whole infancy. Only the milder class hold, that such infants always grow up to the age of responsibility—no non-elect infants ever die, according to this new school of Calvinism. It has found out part of God's secret of fore-ordination. It is, that infant death is the seal of infant election; the death of the infant is the true sacrament of its adoption—Baptism is not. The Arminians met the fallacious hypothecating in their next article, which reads thus:

"*No children* of believers baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, while they are *living* in the state of infancy, are to be counted among those who have been reprobated by an absolute decree."*

It will be noticed, that the Arminians confine their statement to the "children of the *faithful*," but these, *when baptized, in no case*, equally if they *live*, as if they die, are to be counted among the reprobate. With the Word of God, with pure antiquity, and with an overwhelming majority of the Church of Christ in all ages, the Augustinian portion, no less heartily than the others, the Arminians, regarded Baptism in a light in which Calvinism completely anti-Augustinian here, cannot regard it, as the evidence in the infant of a present state of grace.

A recent writer † has praised Calvin for denying, that infants dying unbaptized are *ipso facto* lost. That was well in Calvin, so far, but that writer has failed to note that just in proportion as Calvin weakens the assumption that non-baptism proves that a child is lost, he weakens the faith that a baptized child is saved—that if non-baptism is no evidence of a child's damnation, baptism is no evidence of its salvation. Calvin's theory involves the certain damnation of the majority of the

* Acta Synodi, 113. Brandt, III. 84. † Lecky: Rationalism in Europe. Rev. Edit. New York, 1872, I. 367.

infants of the race, and does not claim that there is distinct evidence even in the most hopeful case that any particular child is saved. It does not widen the probability of infant salvation, as Lecky supposes, but narrows it. It does not exalt infant salvation, but simply lowers Baptism.

THE ARMINIAN CHALLENGE.—The Arminians urged an explicit reply: "It has been given out among the common people that we have . . falsely represented the doctrines of the Contra-remonstrants. . . If this be true, let them as plainly and flatly renounce those doctrines as we do."* "We especially (*unice*) desire to know from this venerable Synod, whether it acknowledges as its own doctrine and the doctrine of the Church, particularly (*nominatim*) what is asserted . . . concerning the creation of the larger part of mankind for destruction, the *reprobation of infants even though born of believing parents.*" †

So simple and direct a challenge could properly allow of but two answers. One would have been "the views of infant reprobation, you reject, we reject also." The other would have been, "the views you reject, we maintain." The answers at Dort all rest on the second position, and are expressed in far stronger terms than the Arminians had employed. They state the views from which the Arminians dissent.

DORT IS POLITIC.—There is, however, a marked difference between two classes of utterance in the Synod of Dort. Those that were meant for the great public are cautious and illusive in the framing. The truth was too palpable to be denied, nor did the men of Dort desire to deny it, but they wished to avoid the odium of unmitigated statement. On the contrary, the statements meant for the Synod itself, and for its theologians, are clear, sharp, and cruel.

Of the former class, is its First Canon :‡

"XVII. Inasmuch as we must judge of the will of God from His Word, which testifies that the children of the faithful are holy, not indeed by nature, but by benefit of the gracious covenant, wherein they,

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* Acta, 119. Brandt, III. 190. † Acta, 121. Brandt, III. 93.

‡ Acta, 252. The Canons are given in Latin in Augusti. Corpus, Lib. Symb. Eccles. Reform. Elberfeld, 1827, 198-240. Niemeyer: Collect. Confess. Lipsiæ, 1840, 690-728. They are given in English in Hall's Harmony of Confessions. Lond. 1844, 539-573; in German in Beck's Sammlung Symb. Buecher. Neustadt. 1845, I. 344.

together with their parents, are comprised, *godly* parents ought not to doubt of the election and salvation of their children whom God calls out of this life in their infancy."

The impression produced by these words on a plain reader, divested of the key to their sense, is entirely illusive. He sees indeed that they imply that the infants of pagans, Jews and all non-Christians are lost; that they offer no hope to the infants of merely nominal Christians, and that within the Calvinistic Church itself they confine the hope to the children of the "faithful," of believers, of those "comprised within the gracious covenant," "the godly." They mean therefore that within the visible Church itself there is no hope in regard to the great mass of children. But the plain reader will perhaps need to be told that though we "*must* judge of the will of God from *His Word*," Calvinistic theology rests on a "will of God" which is not revealed in His Word, what the Westminster Confession (III. iv.) calls "the *secret* counsel and good pleasure of His will," and that this is the very will involved in the election of infants. The plain reader may need to be told that the "holiness of the children of the faithful, of which Dort speaks, is one which involves of necessity neither change of nature nor election, but exists equally in the cases in which the children of the faithful grow up into manifold reprobacy. If it meant more it would bring the Calvinistic system to the ground, for if *all* the children of believers are regenerate, all of them are elect; and as some of the children of believers die unregenerate, it would follow that some of the elect fell finally from grace, and with their fall, Calvinism itself would fall. It is the old theory over again—a presumption resting on a presumption, and begetting a presumption that some dying infants, nobody knows which, may be saved.

But the disingenuousness of Dort has gone yet further. After giving what it styles "the plain and simple explication of the Orthodox doctrine," it denounces certain allegations of the Remonstrants. One of the charges thus denounced is that Calvinists hold that "many innocent infants of believers are torn from the breasts of their mothers, and tyrannically plunged into hell."* The official paper of the Remonstrants

* Acta, 275. Augusti: 239. Niemeyer, 722. Hall: 570. Beck: 393.

published in the acts of the Synod of Dort show that they did not make the charge that Calvinists held that "*many*" infants of believers are lost, but that they disavowed for themselves the doctrine that any are lost, and asked the Synod to express itself clearly on this point. The rhetorical flourish about "innocent infants torn from the breasts of their mothers," was not used by the Remonstrants at all before this Synod. When they used it they simply quoted Calvin. (See "Calvin against Castalio," already quoted).

The real meaning of the evasive words of Dort was at once pointed out by Episcopius as being this: "The reprobate infants of the faithful are not 'innocent,' but guilty, and God in casting them into hell, does not act 'tyrannically,' but exercises only the just rights of a ruler."*

DORT IS CANDID.—The official judgments of the theologians of the various States represented at Dort, fix with the greatest precision the meaning of its Canons, and of the various terms of Calvinistic orthodoxy.

The theologians of Great Britain, in addition to what we have quoted, say: "The thesis that there is no election of infants, in the sense that there is no election between one and the others, as if all were indiscriminately saved, is a hypothesis *without any foundation* whatever to rest on (*nec ullis fundamentis nititur*)." They quote with approval, and as authority, Prosper's words: "There is a distinction made in regard to infants by God's judgment; some are taken as heirs, and others passed by as debtors." † The Swiss theologians, ‡ the Bremen theologians, ⁋ as we have seen, wrote in the same vein, and need not be quoted a second time.

The Third Part of the Acts of the Synod of Dort embraces the judgments of the theologians of the provinces. We have given the judgment of the three Belgic Professors, ‖ and of Lubbert, and Lubbert signs the paper of the three, and the three sign the paper of Lubbert, as if they could not get enough of signing such delicious documents. We gave Lubbert's Thesis that "some are lost for original sin only." We add the sole proof, which he gives of the Thesis: "This Thesis is proved by the destruction (*interitus*) of *many infants* who die in infancy, out of the Church and out of Christ."—¶

We have also quoted Gomarus.** None of these judgments give an uncertain sound on infant damnation. But these are not all. THE DEPUTIES OF THE SYNOD OF SOUTH HOLLAND,†† mark the points very clearly: "*All infants are liable* (*obnoxius*) *to eternal damnation*, on account of original sin, and that *reprobation has a place in believers' children also*, who live to adult years, is clearly proved by Holy Scripture

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* Examen Thesium. † Acta Judicia, 10. ‡ Do. 40, 44. ⁋ Do. 63.
‖ Acta, III. 10, 11. ¶ Do. 20. ** Do. 24, 26. †† Do. 39.

and experience. But whether this same (reprobation) has a place also in the infants of believers, who die in infancy, without actual sins, is a question which they (the Deputies) think is not too nicely (*curiose*) to be examined into; but inasmuch as there exist in Holy Scriptures, testimonies which take away from believing parents all occasion (*causam*) of doubting concerning the election and salvation of their infants, they think that these (testimonies) are to be *acquiesced* in." Here comes up again that appalling feature of the old Calvinism—we are to *acquiesce* in the *testimony* of the Word, though the secret counsel may make that testimony an illusion.

The Theologians from Drenthe * are no less explicit: "We are now to speak of *infants, under which* (*sub quibus*) *we embrace also adults who have been insane from their birth* (*adultos mente ab exordio vitæ alienatos*), that is to say, of those infants who die in infancy. We give our judgment (*statuimus*) that the *infants of unbelievers, dying in infancy, are reprobate.* . . . The *infants of believers*, though they die in infancy. could justly be reprobated by God and left in their misery, if God willed to use His right. *Notwithstanding* (*interim*) *faithful* parents can conceive a sure *hope* (*certam spem possunt concipere*) concerning the salvation of such little infants (*infantorumi lorum*); for we do not read in Scripture that such were ever reprobated; on the contrary, the Scripture testifies of God's good affection to such."

The infants of the reprobates, dying in infancy, are reprobate, and those who are insane from their birth, are involved in the same principles. These men hold that a part of our race born in insanity, living in insanity, and dying in insanity, are damned, and to this view logical Calvinism can offer no reply.

§ 35. Severity of the Calvinistic Spirit.

The terrible earnestness of the Calvinistic feeling against Arminianism, complicated and inflamed by political animosities, did not exhaust itself in theses, judgments, canons, condemnations and denunciations. The State was for the time a theocratic instrument of the divines. The Arminian congregations were forcibly scattered. They were forbidden to worship God in public. Their professors and pastors were deposed and banished. The banishment was so sudden that those at Dort were not allowed to return to their homes to bid farewell to their loved ones, or to arrange their private affairs. Grotius and

* Do. 91.

Hogerbeets were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Lovestein. Over the dead body of Ledenberg, who had committed suicide to avoid, as it was thought, the terrors of the rack (Sept. 28, 1618) sentence was pronounced May 15, 1619; the body was drawn upon a sledge to the gibbet and hung upon it. The aged statesman and patriot, Olden Barneveldt, one of the founders of the civil liberty of Holland, was beheaded. The awful severity of the character of God, as the Calvinistic system construed it, reflected itself in their conduct toward those whom they regarded as His enemies; the system which held that a babe unborn might justly be subject to eternal pains "without remedy," would not spare the blow which prostrated the men who made battle against the system which involved these views, which Calvinists of that day cherished as the very truth of God.

§ 36. THE CONFESSION AND APOLOGY OF THE ARMINIANS AND THE CALVINISTIC CENSURE.

The "Confession" of the Remonstrants, written 1621, by Episcopius, appeared in 1622. It was answered by four of the Leyden Professors, in a "Censure." The "Censure" drew forth a defence (Apologia) of the Confession from the pen of Episcopius. The Arminian Confession says: "God has prepared in His beloved Son a free remedy for all." To this the Censure replies: "If they mean this, even of all them who *die without actual sin of their* own, we see not how they can deny that they are Pelagians."

In their reply to this the Remonstrants say: "This passage shows that our adversaries believe that *absolute reprobation* pertains not only to the infants of the Gentiles, but is to be extended to the infants of those who are in the covenant, and believers; and, however they may wish to seem in any case to think contrary to this, that is to be understood only of the judgment of charity, not of faith."*

THE APOLOGY OF THE ARMINIANS in another passage states

* Apologia pro Confessione—contra Censuram, 1630, 4to, 87, 6. (It is significant that neither the name of the printer nor of the place of publication is given.)

the position of the Calvinists as conveyed in this question: "Why shall it be thought absurd or wicked to say, that God not only wills of His good pleasure to destroy, but also to devote to the inner torments of hell the larger part of the human race, many myriads of infants torn from their mothers' breasts? for these are the horrid inferences which the school of Calvin rears on those foundations, which consequently the Remonstrants look upon with their whole soul full of aversion and abhorrence."*

The Apology of the Arminians was answered by Trigland (1652-1705) in his Antapologia.†

§ 37. THE GREAT CALVINISTIC DIVINES AGAINST THE ARMINIANS.

The great masters in polemic not only grant that Calvinism held the damnation of infants, but strive to overwhelm and defeat Arminianism for not holding the doctrine.

CLOPPENBURGH: "This dispute has drawn into the question in regard to *infants dying in infancy;* although the Remonstrants themselves do not dare to put into heaven the infants born outside the covenant of grace, of heathen and unbelieving parents, nor to admit them to the communion of grace and glory: because the Apostle too clearly pronounces that they are 'unclean' children. 1 Cor. vii. 14." ‡

"Election embraces all the non reprobates, whether adults or infants: and it is an *impious exception* of the Remonstrants, who exempt the *infants* of the heathen from being subjects of reprobation * * * and prefer to put on an equality the *infants* of unbelieving heathen and of believing Christians." § "The nature of a gracious covenant is destroyed, when the infants of the heathen are put upon an equality with the infants of faithful Christians. They (the Remonstrants) themselves admit that the infants of heathen are left by God in a condition of nature, deprived of the good of grace and glory, to be condemned, at least to that eternal death which they define as the 'penalty of loss (*pœna damni*).'"

Here, as in other cases, Calvinism asserts a positive damnation of eternal pain for heathen infants, over against the modified and negative loss which Arminianism conceded.

THE DEAF AND DUMB AND INSANE.—But the ingenuity of

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* 57, 6. † Mastricht: Theor. Pract. Theol. Trajecti ad Rhen. 1725, p. 1069. Walch: Bibl. Theol. Select. I. 428; II. 549, 550.

‡ Exerc. Sup. Loc. Comm. Theolog. Franck, 1653. De. Elec. grat. 1, § 24.

§ Do. Locus de electione. Disputat. II.

these terrible old logicians has not exhausted itself, with the mystery which puts the immensely larger part of infants into the ranks of the reprobate and damned. They go to a hapless part of the race, whose condition even beyond that of infants touches the heart with the saddest pathos. Cloppenburgh* further makes the charge against the Remonstrants:

"They also exempt *without exception*, all *deaf and dumb persons*, and the *insane*. (*Surdos atque Amentes*).

"For experience shows a distinction between one class of the deaf and dumb, who by signs and pious works manifest (*spirant*) an inward devotion, and another class, in whom sin reveals itself, reigning through the works of the flesh. * * These latter we believe are left dead in sins, under just damnation, through the law of nature."

It is well for the reader to recall the fact that when Cloppenburgh wrote, the possibility of reaching those born deaf, with the Word, was almost unknown. A few isolated attempts had succeeded in the long ages, but their success was regarded as miraculous, or treated as a fable, and whether as miracle or fable, soon forgotten. Jerome Cardan (1501—1576) had asserted the *possibility* of teaching the deaf and dumb. To Pedro Ponce, a Benedictine monk of Spain, belongs the honor of first attempting to actualize the possibility; to Juan Paulo Boret, another monk of the same order, belongs the honor of publishing the first book (1620) on the subject. Cloppenburgh's argument (1592—1652) implies that he knew nothing of this possibility.

Of the idiotic, insane, and mad, he says, "a distinction is to be made. There are those whom an evil conscience and reprobate mind, by God's just judgment, drives to madness, like mad dogs (*ut canes rabiosos*); who, unless God heals them, cannot be counted with the non-reprobate."

MOLINÆUS AGAINST THE ARMINIANS.—PETER MOLINÆUS (Dumoulin) 1568—1658, was one of the greatest divines of the French Calvinistic Church, and was deputed to attend the Synod of Dort. The prohibition of Louis XIII. prevented his attendance, but did not prevent his promulgating and defending the decrees of the Synod, and obtaining for them the sanction of the National Synods of Calvinistic France. In the theological chair at Sedan, he was the great opponent of Amyraud

* Locus de Electione. Disputat. II.

and the other professors of Saumur, who were charged with a kind of Semi-Arminianism. He has been regarded as "one of the greatest writers and the first polemic of his age." In his Dissection of Arminianism,* he opens with a defence of God's dealings with man, thoroughly characteristic of old Calvinism.

"If any one were to crush an ant with his foot, no one could charge him with injustice, though the ant never offended him, though he did not give life to the ant, though the ant belonged to another, and no restitution could be made, and though between the ant and man the inequality is not infinite, but a certain and finite proportion."

In all these aspects, he argues, the case is stronger for God, "if He should harden sinful men whom He might save." "The offspring of the pious and faithful are born with the infection of original sin."† "As the eggs of the asp are deservedly crushed, and serpents just born are deservedly killed, though they have not yet poisoned any one with their bite, so infants are justly obnoxious to penalties."‡ Molinæus answers the Arminian position that Christ by His death obtained reconciliation for all, by objecting that it would then follow "that all infants born outside of the covenant are reconciled, and have their sins forgiven, and that hence no greater blessing could be conferred on them than the merciful cruelty of cutting their throats in their cradles, (*quam si quis eos clementi crudelitate in cunis jugulaverit*)."§ Molinæus' suggestion holds with equal force against Dr. Hodge's view that all dying infants are saved. The two together would imply that any man can make the election of an infant sure in the dreadful manner suggested in the bloody age in which Molinæus lived.

"*To him, whom God hates from the womb*, He does not give sufficient and saving grave. Hence there are those whom God rejects with a spiritual rejection, before they have done anything of good or evil. He does not therefore give them sufficient means to faith and salvation, for this cannot be harmonized with hatred." ‖

The same views of infant reprobation are pressed over against the Arminians, by Molinæus¶ in other places.

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* Anatome Arminianismi. Lugduni Batav. 1621, 4to, p. 2. † Do., p. 36. ‡ P. 48. § P. 181. ‖ Do., 289. ¶ Thesaurus Sedanensis Genevæ, 1661. 2 Vols. 4to, I. 197.

BURMANN AGAINST THE ARMINIANS.

BURMANN.*—'The Remonstrants do evilly, who, though they do not *dare*, on account of 1 Cor. vii. 14, *to put them in heaven*, yet acknowledge no *reprobation of them*, * * but assign them rather a middle state and penalty of loss; as also other, both of the ancients and moderns, *grant heaven to them, in the face of* 1 Cor. vii. 14, and Rom. v. 14."

GUERTLER, AGAINST THE ARMINIANS.

GUERTLER (1654–1711) in arguing against the Arminians, says:

"Death comes even unto infants; *for without reason*, and *contrary* to *Paul's decision*, Episcopius exempts from the number of *those who are to be punished*, INFANTS and IDIOTS (*infantes et fatuos*)." †

That our readers may clearly see what it is that is condemned, we will quote the passage to which Guertler refers.

EPISCOPIUS: "The Scripture represents that misery (of death or damnation and sin) as universal, so as to involve the whole human race, that is all men and every man, to wit, in whom that misery can have just place as penalty. *Infants* therefore, as such, as also *idiots* (*fatuos*), the *insane*, the *mad* or *those destitute of the use of reason and free will* we are unwilling to comprehend in that number. . . . They are liberated from that death by special Divine grace." ‡

GUERTLER has been explicit enough, but he makes assurance doubly sure, by proceeding in the next paragraph to say:

"By 'death' is understood, death temporal and death eternal; and this latter is the unceasing (*perpetuus*) sense of dire tortures (*dirorum cruciatum*), inevitable to those who see not the face of God, so that the Scholastics, following Lombard, wrongly teach that *infants*, on account of sin, *pay the debt of loss only*, not of sense." The sentence of LOMBARD, which Guertler cites, is as follows: "Not, therefore, for the actual sins of their own parents, nor even for the actual sins of the first parent, but for original (sin) which is derived from the parents, infants will be damned; hence they will not endure the penalty, material fire, or that of the worm of conscience, but will be deprived forever of the vision of God.' ⁋ This mitigation Guertler rejects, and closes the paragraph following, with the decisive words: "God hath ordained (Statuit), that we should be born corrupt, or that we should sin, because Adam hath sinned, and wills that we should die, because we sin." ‖

* Synod. Theolog. Genev. 1678, I. 256. † Institut. Theolog. Amstelod. 1694, pp. 188, 189.

‡ Institut. Theolog. Lib. IV. Sect. V. ch. I. Opera Amstelod. 1650, p. 401.

⁋ LOMBARD, Sentat. L. II. Dist. 33, 1, E. ‖ See also Guertler do. do., p. 202, and the citations he gives from the Remonstrant's Confessions.

§ 38. THE ARMINIANS AGAINST THE CALVINISTS.

The Arminian defenses constantly urge against the Calvinists their doctrine of infant reprobation. It is one, they say, of which Calvinists make no secret, so far as the children of the non-elect, pagan or Christian, are concerned, and which the candid allow involves that some children even of the elect are lost.

EPISCOPIUS.—"Those who believe that absolute election and absolute reprobation pertain to infants dying in infancy, whether they be Gentiles or children of those who are in the covenant—to them the uncertainty (whether they shall grieve or rejoice over the death of their children) is very mournful, for the fear of reprobation far outweighs the hope of election, since the number of the reprobate is far greater than that of the elect: hence it is clear that an unutterable grief may readily arise from such a death."*

GROTIUS shows that in certain aspects the Calvinists departed as completely from the "Catholic faith," in regard to infants, as the Pelagians did in others. If the Calvinists did not hold, with Augustine, that unbaptized infants are lost, neither did they hold, as Augustine did most tenaciously, that all baptized infants are certainly saved. He states the Calvinistic doctrine thus: "That some infants, dying in infancy, and who, as children of believers and baptized, are delivered to the torments of hell on account of original sin."†

"Calvin says that of those who have rested on the breasts of the same Christian mother some are borne to heaven, others thrust down to hell, without respect to their having or failing to have Baptism: to wit, by virtue of that decree, by which God hath decreed, not by permitting only, but also by willing, that Adam should necessarily fall, and that so many nations, with their infant children, should through that fall be brought to eternal death without remedy. When Calvin himself calls this decree 'fearful' (*horribile*), he gives it too soft a name (*minus quam res est dixit*)"‡

LIMBORCH (d. 1712).—"The Contra-remonstrants (the Calvinists) teach that original sin merits the eternal punishment of sense, or the eternal torments of the fire of hell, so that many infants dying in infancy are to be tortured forever in the fire of hell. Thus in common

* Responsio ad LXIV. Quæst. 38. † Disquisitio de dogmat. Pelagian. Opera, Londini, 1689, IV. 376. ‡ Rivet. Apologet. Discuss. Opera, IV. 684.

(*communiter*) the Contra remonstrant divines teach concerning the children of unbelievers who die in infancy. As regards the children of believers they do not openly set forth their judgment. Some say in express words, that the distinction of election and reprobation exists in their case also, and, therefore, some children of believers, dying in infancy, are to be cast into hell. Such is the view of Paræus, Zanchius, Perkins, and Donteklok. Arthur Hildersham, also on Psalm I. Lect. 55, says: "It is clear that God hath declared His wrath against the sins of infants by pursuing with His hatred *not their sins only, but also their persons*, (*non tantum . . ipsorum peccata sed et personas*,) Rom. ix. 11, 13, nor merely by inflicting on them corporeal penalties, but also by casting them into hell. And to put beyond all doubt that he is speaking of the children of believers, in speaking, on Rom. ix., of the children of believers, he says: 'It is a damnable error that all who die in infancy shall certainly obtain the heavenly heritage; on the contrary, he (Paul) decides that *many infants are vessels of wrath and firebrands* of hell (*titiones inferni*).' Others, not daring to confess this openly, cover the hideousness (*fœditatem*) of their position with ambiguous words, by saying that we, in accordance with God's revealed will, expressed in this formula of the divine covenant, and in accordance with the judgment of charity, ought to regard as elect all the children of believers, as embraced in the same covenant with their parents. But as they hold that the secret will of God is often contrary to His revealed will, and that we are obliged sometimes to believe, according to the revealed will, what is false according to the secret will: and as many according to the judgment of charity are to be esteemed elect, who are in fact not elect, it is evident that there is here no certitude of faith, and that they have devised this, only to disguise their opinion, whose hideousness they desire, as far as they can, to conceal."*

§ 39. THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY. (1643—45.)

But perhaps the Westminster Assembly, which embraced in its Confession the particular type of Calvinism to which Dr. Hodge is bound, and of which he is, indisputably, one of the noblest representatives—perhaps this Assembly may have been marked by special mildness—and mitigating its logic by its gentleness, may have qualified the rigor of the older view? Such a supposition could only be made in ignorance and in irony. The Calvinism of the Westminster Assembly was in no respect milder than that of the Synod of Dort. Its pro-

* Theologia Christiana. Amsterdam, 1700. Lib. III. Ch. V. iii. p. 187.

locutor, Dr. Twiss, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, one of its very greatest members, and others, were of the extremest Supralapsarian school, that school of which distinguished Calvinists of a milder type have spoken so severely. Thomas Case, one of its most esteemed members, was so zealous for religion, as he understood it, that in a sermon before the Court Martial, 1644, he said: "Noble sirs, imitate God, and be merciful to none that have sinned of malicious wickedness," meaning the Royalists.*

Dr. Philip Schaff says of the Westminster Assembly: "The Presbyterians were opponents of all tolerance, and were as urgent for a general uniformity as the Episcopalians had been under Elizabeth and Charles II. They regarded freedom of conscience and tolerance as culpable indifference and treason toward revealed truth."† The writings of the Westminster divines, and of all the earlier school which followed in their footsteps, sustain the sense we have given to the Westminster Confession in regard to infant damnation. These writings are in English and easy of access, and we need not therefore swell our testimonies with them. The meaning of a Confession when it is made, remains its meaning forever—and hence the vital importance of the earliest writers, the authors of Confessions, and the original interpreters, expounders, and defenders of them. It is the meaning these writers put upon the Calvinistic Confessions, not one imagined by ourselves, which we have given them; and on the express language of the Confessions, and of these witnesses, we rest our case. C. P. K.

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* Neal's History of the Puritans, ii. 301.

† Hertzog: Art. Westminster Synods, Vol. XVIII. 56.

ART. VI.—KRAUTH'S BERKELEY.

BY REV. THEODORE APPEL, D.D., PROFESSOR IN FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE, LANCASTER, PA.

Berkeley's Principles of Knowledge, with Prolegomena and Annotations. By Charles P. Krauth, D. D. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1874. pp. 424.

IT is with sincere pleasure that we hail this last volume from the pen of our much esteemed friend, Dr. Krauth. It is the first of a series of works on philosophy, which we hope the editor may live to add to our American literature. We have classical works in other departments of knowledge, and why should we not also have a course of Philosophical Classics, edited with care and ready for the use of the student at any time? This, as we infer, is the desideratum which Dr. Krauth wishes to meet and satisfy, in which we wish him God-speed with all our hearts. There are few persons in this country so well qualified as he for a work of this kind. Conversant as he is with the various branches of English literature, he is no less at home in that of Germany, the father-land. By the mastery which he wields over the English language, he is not only able to understand and appreciate German philosophy, but to render its profound and rugged thoughts into pure and intelligible English. In this respect, he has the advantage over some of our American scholars, to whom the German is a somewhat strange language, and who, like Dugald Stewart, are so prone to complain that German philosophy and theology are unintelligible to them. We have therefore watched the literary and theological career of Dr. Krauth with much interest and hope. He is a strong Lutheran, as the readers of the REVIEW know, but he is honest, a fine scholar and a Christian gentleman; he is moreover doing a good work not only for his own Church, but, indirectly, at least, for the German Reformed also. For it is an established fact that these two sister Churches of the Re-

formation are so vitally connected, that the prosperity of the one involves the prosperity of the other. As it is, it is difficult enough, for instance, for the Reformed Church to retain its original German spirit and life amidst the wide-spread Puritanism of the times; but it would be much more so if it were not sustained in its aspirations by those of our Lutheran brethren who show by their actions that they are determined to keep up their own Church. We differ of course in some things, but we all know that we agree in others.

All of Dr. Krauth's books, which have thus far come before the public, are evidences of his industry, his accurate and extensive learning, and his scholarly taste. The last one on the philosophy of Bishop Berkeley more than confirms the favorable opinion which his friends have formed of his abilities as an author. Its outward appearance happily harmonizes with its contents. There is something in it. It contains one of Berkeley's treatises, which embodies the gist of his peculiar philosophy, prefaced by what is called the Prolegomena, which takes up about one-third of the volume, giving an account of Berkeley's life and writings; his precursors in the idealistic line of philosophers; his successors, Hume, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Jacobi, Hegel and Schopenhauer down to the present time with a synopsis of the peculiar system of each; a summary of Berkeley's system, its friends and opponents; Idealism, its weakness and strength; and various other matters, all of which are necessary as a preparation to an intelligent understanding of an author so little known or understood by the generality of readers and students, as Berkeley. So also as an addendum to the treatise, we have an appendix, containing notes and numerous learned annotations, original and selected, illustrating, sustaining or controverting particular passages in the text and ending with a valuable index, all of which occupy another third part of the book.

From all this it would appear that the work is complete, affording the student all the necessary facilities for a speedy supply of just the kind of knowledge of Berkeley, which he would naturally be in quest of. It has in fact a German character and appearance about it; it is *vollständig* and *gründlich*.

As a literary production it is an accession of real value to our literature, of which we need not be ashamed; whilst, at the same time, it is creditable to our old State and the American German people generally, among whom the author occupies a deservedly high position. Thus far the sons of American Germans have distinguished themselves mostly in promoting the material interests of the country. They are our best farmers; they have the best farms, barns and horses perhaps in the world. But they have not been represented as largely in the higher departments of life as other classes of persons. It is therefore something of an event when an American German is found moving gracefully and freely in the higher walks of literature, of which we may all feel proud. We may also add that this new book also reflects honor upon the venerable University of Pennsylvania, which, whilst it has been renewing itself for the last few years past in the attention which it pays to the natural sciences, shows its appreciation of metaphysics by enrolling Dr. Krauth's name on the list of its faculty. Its Vice-Provost has already shown that he is one of its brightest ornaments.

But why should we have a new edition of Berkeley? And why should his curious speculations, which were supposed to have been long ago refuted and forgotten, be just at this time resurrected and recommended for our study and perusal? Such questions may be partially answered by the consideration that he was a remarkable personage in his day. He was a singularly pure and disinterested man. As a prelate of the Church of England, he exhibited a high and noble character. During his official residence in Ireland, he gained the confidence and esteem of all denominations alike, Catholic as well as Protestant. He was the friend of Ireland, a truly apostolic pastor and bishop. He also felt a deep interest in America, and laid aside the best preferment in Ireland in order to plant the seeds of learning and the arts in this country, by establishing a great university somewhere among the Bermuda Islands. During the year 1728 he spent several months in the backwoods of Rhode Island with this cherished object on his mind. In this he failed, and was

sadly disappointed; but he left to this westward world another priceless legacy in the immortal verse:

Westward the course of Empire takes its way.

So pure and exalted was his moral and Christian character that even Pope, the bitter satirist, admired him and honored himself by seeing some virtue in the world, and acknowledging that Providence had given

To Berkeley every virtue under heaven.

But nothing of this kind certainly could have given him such a standing position in the history of philosophy. The explanation of this must be sought for in his writings. He lived in an age, from 1685 to 1753, when materialism and infidelity were making rapid strides, stimulated and encouraged by the reigning philosophy of the day, under the influence of Hobbes, Locke and others. Berkeley thought the difficulty lay in the false system of metaphysics, which was prevailingly materialistic, and, accordingly, in his efforts to destroy its bad influence, he swung over into extreme idealism in the other direction. He seemed to think that the infidelity of the times had its roots in men's notions of matter and so ought to be attacked there in its source. He therefore denied its existence and with this, the existence of the phenomenal world outside of us altogether. The world, as a consequence, and all our knowledge of the world, are internal, subjective and notional; and God is the only existence or force on the outside of us that gives knowledge, perceptions and sensations.

Thus in philosophy, as well as elsewhere, one extreme begets another. But as it was in the days of Berkeley, so precisely it is in our day. Materialism abounds, and with it, infidelity and still worse, atheism. Serious and thoughtful men, accordingly, are looking around for the means of arresting the deluge of error which seems to be threatening to overwhelm the world. Under these circumstances, it is natural that the well-meant services of the good Bishop Berkeley should come up in kindly remembrance and that his image should again make its appearance in the philosophical world. In Germany, it seems, just at

this time, his works are sought out and studied with much interest. Dr. Ueberweg has done much by his translation of the "Principles" into German in satisfying the desire to know more about him in that country. His truly profound and admirable comments appear among the Annotations in the edition before us. Idealism is sure to assert its rights when materialism abounds.

Dr. Krauth is manifestly an admirer of idealism. But he knows its weakness as well as its strength, of which the volume before us supplies us with abundant evidence. In his mind, idealism by itself is an error or extreme as well as materialism. His idealism is a healthy one, and does not in fact exclude common sense, as the following passages go to show. "Idealism is not the last result of philosophical ripening. The philosophy of the future is one which will be neither *absolute* idealism nor *absolute* realism, but will accept the facts of both, and use them in a system which, like man himself, shall blend two realities as distinct yet inseparable. The *duality* of natures, harmonized, yet not vanishing in the *monism* of person, a universe of *accordant* not of *discordant* matter and mind, held together and even developing under the plan and control of the one Supreme, who is neither *absolutely* immanent nor *absolutely* supramundane, but *relatively* both,—*immanent* in the sense in which Deism denies his presence, *supramundane* in the sense in which Pantheism ignores his relation,—not the mere maker of the universe, as Deism asserts, nor its matter, as Pantheism represents him, but its Preserver, Benefactor, Ruler, and Father, who, whether in matter or mind, reveals the perfect reason, the perfect love, the perfect will, the consummate power, in absolute and eternal personality." pp. 138, 139.

The question which a publication of Berkeley revives is a vital and practical one, although one of the deepest in metaphysics. Matter and mind, body and soul, God and nature, are in as fierce conflict in the thoughts of men as ever. God, nature and man have each its special adherents and champions, who seek to exalt one or the other of these great truths at the expense or denial of the other. Whilst then the historical or

der might have suggested that Dr. Krauth should have commenced his series of philosophic classics with some philosopher anterior to Berkeley, the wants of our times fully justify him in introducing us at once, *in medias res*, to the venerable form of one who stood amid the great life questions which come forward in all ages, when philosophy revives and shows some degree of real earnestness.

Under these circumstances the question arises whether it is possible to bring about a reconciliation between our conceptions of mind and matter. Must the conflict continue forever, and must philosophy, as it springs up in different nations with youthful vigor, be always confined to the same beaten track and never get out of the old dualistic rut? We think not. If there is progress in the way of real historical growth anywhere, it ought to be certainly in the domain of philosophy, for it is in this province the deepest thinkers of every age are wont to exert their strength, and it is here more than in any other department of knowledge that errors and all kinds of fantastic notions abound and call for removal. The problem is one certainly of the greatest importance. It lies in fact at the very foundation of all systems of philosophy; it has a vital connection with the science of theology at more points than one; and its gradual, or, at least, its partial solution seems to be necessary to throw light upon the great mystery of the universe, and that most fearful of all mysteries, the mystery of evil.

We may, or at least ought to, be able to take it for granted that there is in reality no such an irreconcilable antagonism, no such an impassable gulf or chasm, no such a formidable war between the world of mind and the world of matter as we find in all the old systems of philosophy. Wherever philosophy took its rise and flourished in ancient times, it became a fundamental principle, that matter was something base and foul, the kingdom of darkness at the farthest remove from God, a dismal, dreary region, the abode of evil spirits, and, in fact, the source of all the evil in the world. This was especially the case in the old oriental world, among the earnest and profound thinkers of India and Persia. But this style of thinking passed westward,

permeated the mind of ancient Greece, and showed itself in the lofty speculations of its various schools. It came out also very conspicuously in the various systems of Gnosticism, which flourished during the early ages of Christianity. Here the oriental modes of thinking came into contact with the science of the western world, and drawing fresh vigor and vitality from Christianity, united in forming one of the most wonderful and stupendous systems of thought the world has ever witnessed. In all these great intellectual creations, the source of evil, of our misery and woe, is found not in ourselves nor in the spiritual world, but somewhere else, outside of us, in matter itself. This deep-rooted prejudice, although not altogether, has, nevertheless in a great measure passed away in our times; the material world has been divested to a great extent of its terrors and it is coming to be regarded no longer as our enemy, but, in fact, an humble though potent friend to man and the higher spiritual interests of the world. Matter is not evil nor in any sense the source of evil to mankind. It is the creature of God, and like all His works, it is in its sphere something good. How then can this outward world, which has been coming to its present state of perfection after countless ages of development under the operation of divine laws and agencies, be evil, the source of evil or the work of the devil? The supposed malignant character of matter is purely subjective and imaginary. Evil and sin are in man, have their roots in the spiritual world, and from this source send forth their dark shadows over the natural world, causing it to wear the gloomy pall of sadness and woe. If it had not been for this moral eclipse, which has shut out the divine light from above, it would be, no doubt, just as it is, a Paradise, arrayed in festal robes and vocal with its own sublime harmonies.

The old antagonism, which we have said is disappearing amidst the light of our modern history, does not exist between matter and mind in themselves considered, but rather in men's own minds, in their own notions of these things, in the barren abstractions which they have formed of these creatures of God. The progress of Christianity has no doubt, directly or indirectly,

been the principal agency in bringing about this change for our comfort and benefit; because, the Bible nowhere encourages pantheistic views of nature; nowhere disparages even the least or most insignificant creature of God; and nowhere relieves man and Satan of the responsibility of the evil in the world by referring it to the material creation. It has no sympathy whatever with the morbid antipathy towards matter, characteristic of the old philosophies. Everywhere it presents to us a cheerful view of the aspect of nature, of the sun, moon and stars above us, and of all the various objects around us on the earth. In the presence of the moral blight which has fallen upon the human world, it points the finger towards each one of us and says with the most earnest emphasis, Thou art the man! But among the secondary causes, which have been especially active in producing this happy change for the better, in men's philosophy, we must refer to the progress of natural science, which though wayward and at times most irreverent and profane, has been of great service in the light which it has thrown upon the material world. It has done much in dissipating ignorance and superstition in regard to nature, on the one hand; and, on the other, in raising it up out of the bad repute into which it had fallen by demonstrating its rational and intelligent character.

Among philosophers, probably no one has done more in bringing about this change than Bishop Berkeley himself. He imagined that he had driven matter out of the world, or, at least, shown that there was no necessity for its existence in the sphere of philosophy. He too, however, did not in fact wage war so much against matter itself, as against the barren notions which men had formed of the outward objective world. This latter makes certain impressions upon our senses, and through our senses upon our minds, such as color, sound, figure, light, heat or motion, and Berkeley was right in saying that these are internal and subjective. But he was not right in supposing that there was nothing back and beyond these qualities or accidents of matter except the divine power or will. He was too ready in accepting the opinion of the old philoso-

phers, and of Locke among the rest, that substance or the theoretical substratum, which stands under the qualities of matter, and gives them support, is an unknown quantity, and should be eliminated from the sphere of philosophy as a useless, cumbersome thing. He lived too much among the scholastics of the past, and not enough among the giants of his own period, the great shining lights of modern science. He does not seem to have felt the importance of the great discoveries of Galileo, Kepler or Newton. It is not unlikely he looked upon them with suspicion, and a pious fear, lest they might detract from the glory of God, and lead to skepticism and infidelity. So much was he captivated with the idea of one great cause, and so jealous was he that it might be continually present to the minds and thoughts of men, that without any remorse he swept away, not only all kinds of matter, but also all secondary causes, as the prolific sources of unbelief and infidelity. The motive was good and alike honorable to his head and heart, and so far as he attacked the empty abstractions of his times in regard to the outward world, the metaphysical wind-mills of the schoolmen, he was certainly a valorous knight. He was not altogether wrong, even in his war against the mathematicians of his day. In his celebrated crusade against the infinitesimal calculus, he attacked a false notion of the science, as scientific men now admit. The abstraction went overboard, but the science survived his ingenious assault and still flourishes with unabated vigor. In like manner the abstraction which men had been calling matter in old times, received most serious damage from his vigorous blows. But matter itself, the outward world, the heavens above us, and the earth beneath, still remained, poised upon their firm foundations, and revealing to men more and more every day their beneficent as well as their substantial character, in proportion as they were studied and investigated. Much is accomplished when errors are crushed or removed out of the way. They flourish with native, wild luxuriance everywhere, but no where so extensively as around the temple of Truth itself; they clutter up the different ways of access and bar all

entrance. This is so generally, and no where more so than in the case which we are here considering.

There has then been some progress made in our knowledge of the relation of the outward to the inward world, and this, although for the most part negative in its character, is a substantial and real progress. And this suggests the inquiry whether any further advance can be made in the solution of this question, which, whilst it is one of the most difficult in the range of our thinking powers, is also one of those that concern us most deeply in the longings of our souls after the light of truth.

The difficulty here, as well as elsewhere, is not so much, we may remark, a want of deep thinkers as a want of facts, or of a true knowledge of matter, upon which all true speculation or theory in this direction must be erected. "Metaphysics," says Dr. Krauth, "shall be perfect in all its theories so soon as physics shall be perfect in its collection of all its facts. The contempt which ignorant or arrogant physicists heap on metaphysics is really the disgrace or the misfortune of the physical sciences. Reach the demonstrably absolute in physics and we shall not demand in vain that the thinkers of the race shall give us a demonstrably absolute philosophy."*

It is plain therefore, that no progress can be made in ventilating this difficult subject, unless we first settle in our own minds what matter is. The demolition of the old scholastic view requires that we should have at least something to take its place. Else we are out at sea, without sail or helm, and it were better for us if we had never left port, or being out exposed to danger on all sides, to take refuge in extreme idealism as Berkeley did. Modern science, we think, has thrown some light upon matter and rescued it to some extent, at least, from the mystery in which it was formerly involved. Let us then see what it has to say on the subject.

A writer in one of our best scientific journals says, that it is

* See his Annotation on Matter and Mind, Soul and Body, p. 401 in his edition of Berkeley noticed at the head of this article. It is in itself a volume of profound striking and suggestive thoughts. The intelligent reader can only wish that the learned critic had prolonged his note into an *excursus*.

coming to be an axiom among scientific men generally that matter is *force*, or as he expresses it: "*matter consists of a force of resistance from a centre.*" This seems to be the conclusion at which both philosophy as well as science must eventually arrive. The best and most reliable investigation on the part of scientific men is certainly tending in this direction.*

All bodies are composed of atoms or parts. None are absolutely hard with their particles in actual contact. They are all compressible on the one hand, and expansible on the other. How far the process of expansion or contraction by heat or other agents might be carried, no body knows. The different gases in a vacuum seem to be indefinitely expansible, and experience goes to show, that compression may be continued as long as the pressure goes on increasing. All bodies, therefore are porous, that is, their ultimate particles or atoms are separated by interstices or vacant spaces, so as to admit of a certain degree of shrinkage when exposed to cold. Some philosophers suppose that as none of the atoms touch each other the pores occupy by far a much larger amount of space than the atoms themselves. How then can these latter come to maintain a position of equilibrium with respect to each other? We know that they all have a mutual attraction. If, however, this force were the only one with which they are endowed, there could be no equilibrium, and the atoms would either rush back again into non-entity or gather themselves up into a very small body indeed. There must therefore be one more force, at least, and one as potent as attraction, in order to account for the natural stability of bodies, and this is repulsion. This is just as necessary in order to explain the facts in the case as the force of attraction, and its existence seems to be demonstrated. Attraction is active at sensible distances, tending to collect the matter of all bodies around a given centre; but when the atoms come within certain insensible distances, which differ in different substances, a repulsive energy is excited counteracting the opposite force of attraction, and locating the atoms in their natural positions, just as necessarily as two op-

* Silliman's Journal, May No. 1872, p. 329.

posite forces confine the planets in fixed and unchangeable orbits as they revolve around the sun.

Philosophers differ in their opinions in regard to the nature of the ultimate atoms that go to constitute the various bodies of which we have any knowledge through our senses. It is admitted on all hands that they are extremely small, so minute as to elude forever the cognizance of any of the senses which we at present possess. According to Boscovich and his school, they are merely mathematical points, which have position but not magnitude, simply ideal centres or loci of the two forces, which by their joint action have built up this universe of bodies. Others from a natural love of something substantial and in accordance with an almost universal feeling that there ought to be some solid substratum somewhere, reject this feature of the Boscovichian theory and, in the place of mere imaginary points, substitute physical ones, which have at least some magnitude and occupy at least some measure of space, although very diminutive. Which of these two theories is the correct one we probably never will be able to determine with certainty, because these ultimate atoms lie beyond the region of our senses. If they are physical, they are too small to be seen with the eye, and being centres of repulsion, which stands as an impenetrable guard around them on all sides, they can never be felt or touched. It is well known that we cannot bring two hard bodies into actual contact. Much less can the hand or the finger come in absolute contact with the particles of any body. The sense of hardness or resistance which we experience when we lay our hand on any object, is produced by the repulsion of the atoms, not by the resistance of the atoms themselves when they are pressed, as is popularly supposed. These latter can neither be touched, tasted, seen, heard nor felt. Whatever they are, we know of their existence or non-existence, only by the forces of attraction or repulsion of which they are the central loci.

Fortunately it is not a matter of any practical account for us to know whether the ultimate atoms of matter are physical or mathematical. The materialist will naturally claim that

they have magnitude; whilst the spiritualist will be naturally inclined to doubt or deny that they are at all extended, for which he will not be without some show of reason. For, it must be admitted that it were just as easy for the Creator in the beginning to localize his power at various unextended points in space, as it was for him to endow certain very diminutive solid particles with these powers; and just because this was so, there is no violence done to reason in the supposition that He actually did pursue the former as the more direct and simple course in the formation of the outward universe. If this however should come to be admitted, then the old notion of solid matter would be ruled out of existence, much more effectually, because more truthfully, than was done in the scheme of Bishop Berkeley. But matter itself, in its real, substantive and dynamical character, would still remain, and maintain its existence against the attacks of its enemies with a more impregnable front than ever before.

As already said, for the purpose we here have in view, it is immaterial whether we believe that atoms have extension or not. Matter, in its vital essential character, such as we know it, and such as we experience it by the impressions which it makes upon our senses, and through these latter upon our intelligence and reason, is simply force or a system of forces, and nothing more. We have spoken of the two opposite forces of attraction and repulsion as being the vital element of every body or substance. We do not imply, however, that they are exclusive of all others. There are no doubt others more latent than these, but equally essential. Thus most, if not all bodies, under favorable conditions resolve themselves into crystals of definite form and shape, in which a new determining force, no doubt different from those already mentioned, comes in, marshalls the particles into line and gives particular substances their natural and legitimate forms. There is a magnetic force, active in all bodies as well as cohesion or repulsion, and there may be still others more subtile, of which our knowledge is even more limited; or, as is not improbable, there is a single

force, of which all the others are only modifications.* But all this only goes to show the essentially etherial character of matter, and tends very much to lift it out of the dead sphere of mechanics into that of a living dynamics.

It is not strictly correct then to speak of matter as something dead, as we are wont to do when we speak of it relatively. All bodies are animated by living forces, actively at work in producing their forms and the qualities with which they impress our senses. These play into each other, so that by their joint action they become wonderfully conservative, and not only keep up appearances, but maintain all bodies in existence. This is already life, not as we see it, it is true, in its higher forms in the plant and animal, but life in its lowest and most rudimental forms. It is the beginning of organization, the dawn of that day-light which we witness in the higher and more perfect forms of life. When we examine a crystal, we are apt to suppose that it grew so and remains what it now is, by an act of formation which took place many ages back. But upon further reflection, it will be seen that the crystal is what it now is only by virtue of certain internal forces that have always been and are now active. These are continually giving it its beautiful shape, purity and transparency.

So too, it is not in accordance with facts to deprive matter of all rational character, or to make it as much as possible unlike mind or reason, as Berkeley does. The forces upon which it rests are not blind, arbitrary or unmeaning. They all bear the impress of rationality; they all act in accordance with law, or, rather, they are in fact laws with well prescribed boundaries; and are readily apprehended by the reason within us in proportion as they are studied and investigated. Berkeley,

* Attraction and repulsion, both active in all bodies present, it must be confessed, the appearance of a contradiction or of a disagreeable dualism, somewhat repulsive to reason, which everywhere seeks for unity. Hence some have imagined that repulsion is derived from attraction or the reverse. Prof. Norton, of Yale College, n several able articles in Silliman's Journal in the volume already referred to (1872) has endeavored to show that repulsion is the original force from which attraction is produced. The whole subject is still involved in much mystery.

with the great lights of modern science around him, made an egregious error, when he asserted that there was nothing in the outward world which was allied to the human mind, and that if it even did exist, we could not perceive its existence, because like can only perceive like. Nature, the outward objective world is a unity, a realm, a complicated system of laws or forces, organic in character and supremely rational. In the heavens above and in the depths below, in the humblest as well as the most ponderous orb, whilst our senses are regaled with many delightful impressions arising from color, light, sound or form, reason is continually confronted with reason, and challenged to make its loftiest flights. Nature, instead of antagonizing with reason is in fact nothing else but reason in an imperfect and rudimental form. The perfection of reason, it is true, implies personality, as we see in spiritual beings. This of course is something which nature does not possess. It has no soul. It is, therefore, impersonal reason, which, however, is not at all abstract, but something real and concrete. But this defect is just what we ought to expect. Nature, as the physical basis of a world of spiritual and intellectual beings, ought not to be perfect in degree. Whilst as a foundation it ought to be of the same nature as the superstructure, it ought at the same time to be incomplete in itself, so that it may best serve as a type or prophecy of what is to follow. Without personality, it has accordingly no soul, which the old Platonics and Gnostics so eagerly maintained it had. But then its undeniable rational character is no doubt the truth which lay at the foundation of this wide-spread opinion of the old heathen philosophers; it is perhaps all that they meant by the soul of the universe when divested of the glowing colors of the imagination.

The view of matter here advocated as a force, a system of forces or a congeries of rational laws, as already said, is the destination towards which all modern science seems to be tending. It is, however, not something new. Philosophy too, in order to help itself, has all along been drifting in the same direction, especially in Germany. Dr. Krauth, in one of his learned annotations, informs us that it was Leibnitz "who was

the first thoroughly to bring to scientific consciousness force or power as an essential element of matter." It is believed that this intellectual, or as we might say, spiritual aspect of nature is not only true, but that it will assist very materially in the end in removing out of the way the old antagonism between matter and mind, because it is false; and in reconciling the antithesis, which is true and legitimate.

The question, however, is not likely to be settled by removing the difficulties on the one side only, as Dr. Krauth seems to imagine when he reflects on physicists, because they have not as yet told us satisfactorily what matter is. There are other difficulties, just as great, yea, greater when we come to think of the spiritual world. There are errors there also to be removed, and work for the metaphysician to perform, before every thing can be made clear and transparent.

Without attempting to be wise above what is written or assuming to go beyond what it is possible for us to know of the spiritual world in our present state, it is proper for us to say that it must and should be regarded pre-eminently as something actual and real. Too often and too generally it is regarded as painfully unreal, a region of shadows, phantoms or fancies. All this arises, as we would take it, from a sort of metaphysical pride or superciliousness, which seeks to raise the spiritual world to the highest point of remove from the natural, with which, however, it stands in vital connection. In what has already been said, it seems to be established that matter in its essential character has much more of a rational and spiritual character than is ordinarily supposed; that it actually approximates to and touches the spiritual world; and that the chasm, which formerly was supposed to separate the one from the other, is purely fictitious and imaginary. So on the other hand, a truthful view of the world of spirit would, we believe, bring it, we would not say down, into actual, living relation with the system of nature. A spirit is a personality; it has reason; it has intelligence; it has feeling; and then it has self-consciousness, by which it sees itself and surveys, as in a mirror, its states and operations. It has indeed many other forms of ac-

tivity, none of which exist in the material world. But there is one activity immanent in all spiritual beings, which rules over them and is supreme, and that is the will, which gives them character and constitutes them just what they are. Now so far as our experience goes, as based on a knowledge of our own spirits, the essential character of will is energy, power or force. It moves, it is true, in the sphere of consciousness, intelligence and reason. Under one aspect, it is reason, personal reason; but with all these its necessary concomitants, it is the form of power which an individual wields over himself and over the world outside of himself, and the true measure of his existence. It is the activity of the will that produces motion in our bodies, activity in our thoughts and effects in the outside world. This much we know of our own spirits. They are sources or reservoirs of a determining power, not existing in solid atoms, not in a particular part of our bodies, but *existing* no less really as centres of activity than if they occupied space and magnitude. But what is true of our own spirits must be still more true of spirits angelic or human, that are no more localized within the boundaries of this mundane sphere. In a still higher degree they have life and self-conscious power. They also are centres of forces, but the sphere of their activity is indefinitely enlarged. Their's is a true existence, self-poised, unchanged, indestructible and immortal. We read of angels that excel in strength, and also of principalities and powers.

From what has now been said, it follows that the universe, embracing the visible and invisible worlds, is a unity, not a mass of discordant and heterogeneous elements without any relation or connection. It is a grand and unspeakably glorious system of powers and activities, that differ, it is true, in character and quality, but all so shaped as to combine in producing one sublime result.

But having traced the forces of nature to invisible centres or points, and the activity of spirits to their still more mysterious sources in their wills, we involuntarily ask, are these centres the ultimate sources of all this activity and power? Science blinded would answer in the affirmative and say there is no-

thing beyond, or if there should be, it is unknowable and should therefore be dismissed from our thoughts. This, however, is not the answer of truthful philosophy, of the general intuitional reason of humanity, and much less, of divine revelation. We have already seen that finite human wills are not only powers in themselves, but also sources of many and diverse powers. They act upon, control and move the matter of our bodies. And this is further illustrated by an invisible determining power in the plant and the animal which adumbrates the activity of will-power or force in the higher world of intelligence. With these illustrations or analogies around us every day, the idea of one first supreme cause or will, given to us in our consciousness and confirmed by both natural and supernatural revelation, falls in naturally and necessarily. All forces, powers or activities imply the presence and activity of a will back and beyond them, just as necessarily as the movements of the human body. The forces of the natural and spiritual worlds have a certain kind of independence, a local habitation and name as we may say, but this is not absolute; it is in all cases only relative. The centres or loci of all spheres of activity in the universe, are the spheres of the operation of the supreme will. They are the strings upon which the great and august Creator strikes and evolves the multiplied harmonies of the grand creation.

Berkeley erred piously and innocently but egregiously, when he attempted to sweep away the outward universe and with it all secondary causes, maintaining that God and spirits alone exist, the one as the direct and active cause of all things and the other, as the passive receptacle of the divine activity. God might act exclusively in a direct way upon our spirits, if He saw proper. But He has not done so. Like a true sovereign and king, He delegates part of His power to His creatures according to their capacities, localizes it in its different degrees in all parts of His vast dominions, and carries forward His purposes through innumerable media, which like so many angels, perform the behests of His sovereign will. He breathed upon all the infinitesimal atoms which He created and they became

living active principles in evolving this stupendous outward universe of matter. He touches the hidden centres of action in His intelligent creatures, delegates to them His power, and they are swift to execute His purposes of goodness and love. Secondary causes or sources of power do not and cannot obscure the lustre of the First Cause. They only enhance its magnificence and glory. Whilst to the great majority of men, who in the nature of the case, have not the opportunity of studying the ways of God in nature and history, the simple announcement that He is the Creator and Upholder of all things, is sufficient to inspire reverence, faith, hope and love, the study of His works in detail, in secondary cause, is calculated in a still higher degree to cultivate such feelings and to elevate our ideas of His majesty and glory.

In conclusion, we might turn to account these reflections upon matter and spirit, and show what light they are capable of throwing upon various other topics which at one time or another perplex the thoughts of all earnest and thoughtful persons. It might be shown that they throw some comparative light upon the mysterious relation of body and soul, their separation at the hour of death, their reunion in the resurrection at the last day, the transformation of the present order of things into the new heavens and the new earth in which dwelleth righteousness, and kindred subjects. But space will not allow, and we prefer that the views here advanced should stand upon their own merits, without deriving any further support even from those higher interests which they might be supposed to favor and promote.

DR. KRAUTH'S ARTICLE.—It may hardly seem necessary to say that this REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for the positions taken in Dr. Krauth's article in the present number. Dr. Krauth is widely known as a Lutheran divine and theologian, and he alone is responsible for the historical argument he here produces.—ED. REVIEW.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A COMMENTARY UPON THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. By George Junkin, D. D., LL. D. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co., No. 710 Arch street. New York; Robert Carter & Bros. 1873. Price $2.

We knew Dr. Junkin well, and often listened to his stirring sermons. He filled many positions of honor and responsibility in the Presbyterian Church, among others the presidency of La Fayette College. He was its first president and is honored as its founder. He has never had a superior in the presidential chair of that institution. He was possessed of a more than ordinary degree of metaphysical talent, was a fine theologian, and an earnest Christian.

The present Commentary glows on every page with the earnestness of the Christian scholar. Yet it runs here and there in the Presbyterian mould, for Dr. Junkin was a most pronounced Presbyterian. We cannot agree with him when he so confidently asserts that St. Paul was the author of this epistle, nor with some of his interpretations of its contents. His caveat against what he calls "the seminal theory of representation; *viz.*, that the germs of all his posterity were actually present in Adam when he sinned; and thus they, being present in a kind of infinitesimal seminal person, actually sinned in him and fell with him in his first transgression" (page 263), betrays a gross misunderstanding of the true theory of our organic union with Adam. Moreover his representative theory, which to his mind was so clear and so clearly just, fails entirely, we think, to justify the ways of God to man. He says that we in this country understand well what the theory of representation is. But according to the American theory a representation without the knowledge or consent of the parties represented, would be unjust and absurd.

This posthumous work of a Christian scholar will be read with interest and profit, especially by those who knew him during his very earnest and active life.

PUBLIC WORSHIP. Partly Responsive. Designed for any Christian Congregation. With an Introduction, By Rev. Daniel March, D. D. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co., 710 Arch street. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. Price $1.25.

We quote a paragraph from the preface written by Dr. March. "I have not been accustomed to the use of written formulas in conducting public worship. But I have felt the need of more order, fulness, and propriety than ordinarily appear in extemporaneous prayers from the pulpit. And I have desired some simple, familiar, and accepted form of worship in which minister and people alike, can join with heart and voice. The preparation of this manual is a sign that many others have felt the same want, and it seems to me that the selections and the order of service set forth in the book, are well fitted to answer an increasing demand."

Recently the Congregationalists, through several of their leading ministers, took a step towards liturgical worship. The Presbyterians here follow. It cannot be denied that there is a general call for such worship, especially as opening the way for the people to join in the way of responses, in all directions. When it comes to be seen that our Reformed Church has not misinterpreted the wants of the Protestant Church, but rather anticipated them in the preparation of our Order of Worship, the opposition to it still lingering in certain quarters will cease.

GALAMA; OR, THE BEGGARS, (The Founders of the Dutch Republic.) By J. B. De Liefde. Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 654 Broadway, New York.

A historical fiction, giving the condition of things in the Netherlands three centuries ago—the story opens 1568. The Netherlands then included Holland and Belgium. They were under the dominion, at the time the story opens, of Philip II., King of Spain, who ruled over them as Count of the Netherlands. The picture of the relative position of Protestants and Catholics is no doubt substantially correct. The Catholics are bitter and blood thirsty, the Protestants are sometimes fanatical and given to retaliation. It was a bitter, cruel war. The Dutch contended for religious and civil rights, for fireside and home, and they conquered. Much of the time they lived, many of them, on the sea. Some turned pirates. The story gives some account of these. The picture given of the *Jesuit* is a sad one, making him die with a lie on his lips and an appeal to the Blessed Mother of God—but such fruit would naturally result from Jesuitical ethics.

The story is not over-strained. It is calm, and moves forward without any great intricacies of plan or plot, but it is all the better for that. It has been published in England under the name of *Les Gueux*, The Beggars.

THE BIBLE COMMENTARY. Vol. III. Kings II. Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther. New York, Scribner: Armstrong & Co., 654 Broadway. 1873.

This is another volume of this substantial Commentary noticed above. It is according to the authorized version (A. D. 1611), with an explanatory and critical commentary, and a revision of the translation by Bishops and other clergy of the Anglican Church. It gives the latest and best results of the Biblical learning of the age, and is well suited for use in families.

A GRAMMAR OF THE NEW TESTAMENT GREEK. By Alexander Buttman. Authorized Translation, with numerous additions and corrections by the author. And over: Warren F. Draper, Publisher, Main street. 1873.

"This is confessedly the most important treatise on the subject, which has appeared since Winer's. The author makes generous acknowledgments of indebtedness to Winer; but a slight examina ion of the book will convince the reader that it has a valid claim to be regarded as an original work. In fact, the general attitude and drift of the two w iters differ perceptibly. While Winer—owing, doubtless, to the lax views respecting the New Testament language, which prevailed when he began to write—seems loath to recognize incipient departures from classic usage, Prof. Buttmann, on the other hand, is quick to concede and to trace out the general tendency of the language to degenerate from the classical standard, is inclined to give greater prominence than Winer to the influence of the Septuagint, and even to detect traces of the Latin in the syntax of the New Tes ament.'

This work is brought out in a good style. It forms a convenient volume for use, and is a very necessary help in the critical study of the New Testament.

LUTHER AND THE BIBLE. By T. Stork, D. D. Philadelphia: Lutheran Board of Publication, 42 North Ninth Street. 1873.

THE FOREIGNER IN FAR CATHAY. By W. H. Medhurst, H. B. M. Consul, Shanghæ. New York; Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1873.

THE

MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

APRIL, 1874.

ART. I.—THE DOGMA OF INFALLIBILITY.

BY REV. C. Z. WEISER, PENNSBURG, Pa.

1. A Sermon by Rt. Rev. M. Domenec, Bishop of Pittsburgh, after his return from the Vatican Council. Pittsburgh: "Catholic" Office, 1873, 8vo. pp. 16.

2. Lectures on Catholicity and Protestantism. By Henry W. J. Thiersch. Erlangen, 1848.

INFALLIBILITY is no myth for us. It never was, for a single moment, since we essayed to assume a religious habit of thought and life. We are therefore both unable and unwilling to connive at the *frivolezza*, which is affected or felt towards the theme, under the passion of the hour or the prejudice of party. The ancient adage, *Vox Populi Vox Dei*, always conveyed to us an eloquent rudimentary formula of a popular creed, in this direction. It seemed like a truth on its echo. The Oracles in Heathendom we long ago learned to regard as unmistakable expedients of some such mysterious underlying idea. The Urim and Thummim—"Light" and "Perfection"—in Israel, are hardly intelligible at all for us, apart from a kindred assumption. The Legislative, Judicial and Executive Tribunals of all nations challenge us to hold fast to the theory, at least, in order to interpret in a measure even, the *Non est enim potestas nisi a Deo quæ antem sunt a Deo ordinatæ sunt.* It is both a belief

and a hope in us, that the prosecution of the study of Christian Philosophy and Social Science will eventually develop and demonstrate an infallible Tribunal in the social fabric. There is a sighing in humanity after it, and that sigh, we are sure, will be properly directed and interpreted. Let man possess his soul in patience, God is eternal. God walked and talked with man once; He may again. We do not believe the sentiments of mankind to be divided so much, or even at all, over the desirableness or possibility of placing an unerring Tribunal in the bosom of the race, as they are in conflict concerning its *Habitat.* It is only when the question, in reference to the location of such a prerogative arises, that contradictions multiply. The Democrat lodges infallibility in the people. Bismark believes it to reside in the State. The Quaker finds it in the Inner Self. Protestants see it in the Bible. Catholics see it in the Church. Man will find his Oracle, his Urim and Thummim, his Pope, be it inside or outside of himself; and such an ultimate Tribunal or authority, that is not in some way invested with the prerogative of unerringness, scarcely bespeaks his reverence.

We are not of the number who charge the Council of the Vatican with having originated and introduced an idea *de novo.* We saw in all its proceedings only an earnest and fearfully solemn effort to locate or define the *Organ* of unerringness, simply. This organ the Council defined the Pope to be. The Evangelical Alliance engaged in similar deliberations, going over the same road, only with more haste and speed, and arrived at a different conclusion, to wit:—That the Bible is the infallible Rule. Both had like tasks before themselves. The difference becomes apparent only in the results obtained. An infidel may sneer at Council and Alliance alike; but unless we care naught for consistency—which is sometimes called a jewel—we can not well applaud the Alliance and condemn the Council. We may indeed accept the *conclusion* of the one, without, at the same time, endorsing that of the other; but the end proposed, formally or impliedly, is the same partly, in both Conventions. We regret, not the problems that engaged the serious consider-

ation of the respective bodies, nor the efforts and prayers, in behalf of their solution, in either, or in both; but solely the opposite goals arrived at.

In the succeeding pages, we purpose to set forth the Dogma of Papal Infallibility, as defined and held by the Roman Church, in the language of one of her illustrious sons, and, at the same time, to translate such portions from Doctor Thiersch's Lectures on Catholicity and Protestantism, as strike us as the very best reply.

Let there be then, before all else, a plain and truthful statement of the Definition of Papal Infallibility—the promulgation of which has so profoundly exercised the Christian world. Strange as it may sound, and humiliating as it is to confess it, yet, this is rarely to be met with. The reader will, it is thought, value the clear and lucid presentation of the Dogma from the pen of Bishop Domenec:—

"Now, dearly beloved Christians, I must come at once to the great feature of the Council, that is, to the definition of the infallible teaching (*Magisterium*) of the Roman Pontiff. Much has been said and written upon it, even by the secular press. Some things, thus said and written are true, others are false; hence many wrong impressions have been made in men's minds. It is therefore my intention to give to you a true and exact meaning of the definition of this dogma of our faith, and also the grounds upon which it is founded.

"Among the many wrong impressions made in men's minds on the occasion of this definition, is that we have raised the Roman Pontiff to attributes never known before, and attributes which are incompatible with the nature of man. They say that we have raised the Pope to the level and dignity of God Himself; some even confound infallibility with impeccability, and say that we make the Pope impeccable. Now to all these wrong impressions, and to others of the same nature, I say that we make a perfect distinction between the Sovereign Pontiff as man in his personal and individual capacity, and in his office and dignity as the Supreme Head of the Church. In

the former aspect, the Pope is like all other men, subject by his human nature to all the miseries and frailties of our corrupted natures; therefore the Popes, as men, may err and sin as other men; and some unfortunately have sinned.

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"The attribute of infallibility with which the Sovereign Pontiff is invested, is in consideration of his office as Supreme Head of the Church, and as the universal teacher of God's Church on earth. No people ought to be more apt to understand this distinction between man and his office than we American people, on account of our Republican form of government. Here is a man individually without power; as a citizen not different from any other citizen; but he is raised into office by a popular vote, and then he is invested with the most extraordinary powers, according to the nature of his office. He is a mere citizen who has been raised to the office of judge, say to the office of Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court. That individual, as a man, has no more power than any other man. Who cares for what he says or does as a mere individual? His words, his opinions, his judgments, are of no more account than those of any other man; but let that man be raised to the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, exercise the functions of his office, take his seat on the judicial bench to preside at the trial of a case,—ah, how different are his words, his opinions, and his judgments from those of other men. He speaks as a judge; he pronounces his judgment upon a case; his words are all powerful; all must submit to his decision, from which there is no appeal.

"We find a beautiful illustration of this in the divinely written Word of God. Our Lord prayed for Peter that his faith may not fail. Peter shortly after denied Christ, but he denied Him as a man acting in the capacity of a poor, weak, frail mortal; whereas the privilege of not falling into error, of holding firm to his faith, was granted to him by reason of his office, as Supreme Head of the Church, and the rock upon which it was built.

"I come now to defeat another wrong impression in connec-

tion with this doctrine of infallibility. Some say, Where is now the boast that the Catholic Church never changes? That the Catholic Church is not like the modern sects that are constantly changing? What has become now of those assertions, that new doctrines cannot be added to the Catholic faith? Has not a new doctrine, a new article of faith been added? Formerly it was not a Catholic doctrine that the Pope was infallible, and now it is. To all these objections I answer, that truly no new doctrine can be made, and this is asserted in the constitution of the Vatican Council defining the infallible teaching of the Roman Pontiff. That by virtue of this privilege of infallibility, the Roman Pontiff does not and cannot teach a new doctrine.

"But I emphatically deny that this doctrine of the Pope's infallibility is a new doctrine. It is a new definition of a doctrine already believed by the Church, but not a definition of a new doctrine. The two things are quite different. Here is a case which comes exactly to the point. The Council of Nice made a new definition, and even a new creed, called the Nicene Creed, by which it defined the divinity of Christ against the errors of Arius. Now, does it follow from this, that, because the Catholic Church in the Council of Nice defined the divinity of Christ, the divinity of Christ was not believed previous to the Council of Nice? Can this be, that the corner truth of Christianity was not believed during the first three centuries of the Church? In these first three centuries, which were the ages of martyrs, the divinity of Christ was not believed, or if it was believed as surely it was, then it does not follow, that, because a truth or doctrine is defined, that truth or doctrine was not believed previous to that definition. On the contrary, the definition of a doctrine is the strongest guarantee that the doctrine was always believed, or else it could not be defined; and again does it follow that, because the Council of Nice made a new definition of the divinity of Christ, that the Church changed? So let us apply the same principle to our present case. By this new definition of the infallibility of the Pope, a new doctrine

has not been added to the Catholic faith, and the Church has not changed by this new definition."—pp. 4-8.

We are so habituated to find the latest Vatican Definition overlaid with foreign matter, as scarcely to recognize it under a fair and faithful statement—shorn of all silly and malicious interpolations. It is, however, quite a treat to have for once a chance of learning what Papal Infallibility really means. As we may not soon 'look upon its like again,' we must be pardoned the attempt to set in *alto relievo* the salient points of our Episcopal *Morceau :—*

1. The Pope has not been *Deified*, then, in any sense. Whatever we may have been told gravely and repeatedly, no Christianized Jupiter has been enthroned, after all. In behalf of our common Christianity, let us exclaim Alleluja !

2. The Pope has not been declared an infallible mortal even. The thought of impeccability, it seems, is not only not entertained, but wholly repudiated. We have heard more 'sinless perfection' predicated of the ordinary Christian man, by zealous Bishops and Elders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, than this august Council ventured to attribute to their venerable Pope. However humiliating it may be, to have been imposed upon—duped —it is well that we can yet unlearn what has been mistaught, or falsely taught us.

3. The Pope has not been so much as elevated to the position of an infallible Sovereign, indeed. Supreme governor as he is credited to be over the whole Roman Flock, according to Bishop Domenec, the privilege of inerrancy is not attributed to him, under that character. He may prove a weak, deceived, mistaken Ruler, notwithstanding the definition and its promulgation. What ever dignity may be awarded him as Supreme *Teacher*, as Supreme Governor he merits respect and reverence merely.

4. The Pope has not been made the peer of Prophets, Apostles and Evangelists either, by any act of the Vatican Council. The Sacred Writers were employed by the Holy Ghost as channels of Revelation, as Organs through whom the truth was *revealed ;* whereas, if we understand the Bishop of Pittsburgh,

the Pontiff is defined to be the Guardian and Teacher, over the Truth *that is already revealed*—the *Depositum.*

5. Papal Infallibility is, at last, a *docens accidentia Ex Officio*—an official privilege, and, in no sense, an individual attribute, or personal prerogative.

6. The Dogma of Infallibility is not a novelty. The Bishop of Pittsburgh was one of the Inopportunists—those who opposed the definition of the doctrine on the ground of inexpediency. If any innovation could be predicted concerning the Dogma, he would likely have made that a point. But hear him:—

"But some will say that if this doctrine of the infallible teaching of the Roman Pontiff was a doctrine always believed by the Church; why was it that there was so much diversity of opinion in regard to it, among the Fathers of the Council? To this objection I will say, that this diversity of opinion was not on the doctrine itself, but on the expediency or inexpediency of making a definition on this doctrine. This was the principal cause of the diversity of opinion; but this did not affect, in the least, the dogma itself.

"As an illustration of this, I give myself as an example. I was one of the Prelates of the Council who was opposed most vigorously, to this doctrine being defined. I signed my name to a petition which we addressed to the Holy Father, imploring and begging of him not to allow this question to be introduced into the Council, and I did all I could to prevent its definition; but does this prove that I did not believe in the infallible teaching of the Roman Pontiff previous to its definition in the Vatican Council? Not at all."

We may congratulate ourselves over the desirable point reached by means of copious borrowings from original sources. If our object is to discover truth, in all discussions it is of chief concern to know clearly and definitely what real obstacles confront us, as well as what calls for our aid and support. It is all important to a profitable consideration of the subject in hand, that there should be no misunderstanding as

to what Papal Infallibility really signifies. Having learned this much, we can safely permit time to slough off all that mass of barnacles that has attached to it. We have no mind to go on a hunt for Centaurs, or to waste our little stock of powder on *Elfen-Thieren.*

And now let us cross over, and place ourselves for a moment, on the other side of the line of controversy, in order that we may gain some information concerning the general character of the *Philippics*, which are so plentifully uttered against the agitated Dogma. Verily, there is a deluge of them! But nine-tenths or even nineteen-twentieths of them are about as pertinent to the theme, as is Du Chaillu's New Lecture on the Land of "The Midnight Sun." There is much pretended slaughter, indeed; still,

"All *bloodless* lays the untrodden snow,"

since all the victims are 'men of straw.' We may gather ample material for some modern Cervantes to write a Polemical Don Quixotte; but we dare not hope to become valiant knights in Christian Chivalry, from a survey of the field open before us. Hardly one of the numerous efforts, intended as a refutation, merits a serious reply. Were we a believer in the Vatican Definition of the Roman Doctrine of Infallibility,—as we are not—we would regard it as a sort of degradation to meet the greater moiety of them—and fathered very often, too, by men, whose menials we could not satisfactorily be.

Unsatisfactory as such a review proves, it is after all, not in the least surprising. The garbled statements of the Dogma, as canonically defined by the Council of the Vatican, will, of course, bring such an order of onslaughts to the surface. Error, bordering along the line of Truth, very readily generates fanaticism, which is a zeal without knowledge. The object of attack must first be clearly known, before there can be correct aim taken, or such telling execution done as to call forth an earnest counteraction in the opposite ranks. Think of Antonelli, Cullen, Manning, Domenec, Wood, and scores of like

grade, seriously setting about to prove that they had *not* transmuted Pius IX. into a God. They wisely permitted such blasphemy to run its suicidal course. A shaft, barbed with so poisonous a falsehood, whilst it is aimed at Catholicity, may rebound, and not fall quite as harmless on the shield of Protestantism, as did the weapon of Priam on that of the Grecian hero. Thinking minds, may discover, perhaps, that they have been deluded, and, under the reaction supervening, may go where—they fancy to be deluded no more!

What a contrast the amiable enthusiast, THIERSCH, forms, aside of our modern Goliaths. It is a relief to turn to the irenical pages of his Lectures on Catholicity and Protestantism. From the VIII and IX Discourses, we now proceed to present copious cullings.

"But every mere hypothesis of error on the part of the Church, as such, through her peculiar representatives and organs, strikes the Catholic conscience, not only as an act of temerity, but, at once, as indirect blasphemy against the very constitution of the Church, which, it is impossible, in the nature of the case, for him to conceive of, apart from the characteristic of Infallibility,—or—as modern authors express it—of "Inerrancy." Under any other view, the Church can not be said to be built on a Rock, and the promise—"the gates of hell shall not prevail against it"—had proven false. From the premises, which a Catholic discerns in this special prophecy, a conclusion is, moreover, drawn, which is obtained after the following *a priori* manner: Concede the fact of God having appointed a Revelation for the salvation of the race, then it follows, that He would not have promulgated it after any other manner, save as accompanied by such conditions as would likewise secure the contemplated end, *i. e.* without making provision, accordingly, for its universal application to the Human Race, at large, and for its unadulterated perpetuation down to the latest ages. For, supposing it to have been subjected to the common fate of human doctrines and institutions, it must necessarily have come to this—that its primitive purity would

be lost, and it prove no longer capable of affording the saving Grace to succeeding generations, which it was charged to convey. But such a conservation of Truth once revealed, could not be presumed to be secured by means of a Book—which is both a silent oracle, and, at the same time, capable of various interpretations; but solely through the instrumentality of a living Institution—through a Church endowed with the prerogative of Infallibility. Thus, to a Catholic mind, the Infallibility of the Church seems, of necessity, to be simultaneously settled with the Divine origin of Christianity; and though he may concede and deprecate never so many delinquencies in the actual state of the Church—a confession which Catholics without number have rendered, more especially prior to the Reformation—he can, nevertheless, under no circumstances concede, that the Church as such, *i. e.* through her legitimate representatives, and in the discharge of her official duty—can be guilty of pronouncing an error in doctrine. The visible Church, represented by men, and, under this form of representation, an infallible Church, is forever inseparable from the Incarnation of Christ, for the Catholic conscience.

"We have accordingly given utterance to a thought, which the Catholic consciousness clings to as one of its noblest, clearest and surest axioms. The connection between the Divine origin of Christianity and the Infallibility of the Church is, for him, something so plain and self-evident, as hardly any other proposition can be; nor need it surprise us, that Möhler, in his dissertations on the Church,* mainly rests on this point, his surmise, that the Reformers could never have clearly realized the true meaning of the Incarnation of Christ, and its legitimate consequences. This is Moehler's train of thought:—Since Christ did not appear and labor as a pure spirit, His activity, in its subsequent stages, could just as little have been given over to a vague guidance of the Spirit, and perceptible only, as it were, to the individual soul; but much rather must His

* Moehler's Symb. 6 Ed. pp. 332, and 421, &c.

work be perpetuated through an historical and visible human succession—through the Hierarchy of His Church. And how large is the number of those, who, weary of the distraction and confusion in Protestantism, flee to the Catholic Church solely at last, in consequence of the motive which strikes them, at once, as something so simple and forcible, viz: with the Divine origin of Christianity must necessarily be connected a Divine Institution of the Church, as an infallible Guardian of the heavenly treasures. Nor, indeed, dare we refrain from confessing, that we profess not to fathom him, upon whom such a reflection has made no impression whatever.*

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"The whole argument, on the strength of which the Catholic mind attains to its conviction, resolves itself, at last, into an *a priori* construing of historical facts, after the order of a divine necessity, which, it is believed, may be understood by mortals. But it is easy to see, that nothing is more precarious than an *a priori* demonstration, touching the maintaining and comprehending of the mysterious Divine agencies in history. The history of the Church, no less than history in general, is at once a given fact for us, which dare not be manipulated according to preconceived theories, but must be accepted as it proffers itself. If a mystery or contradiction asserts itself in oppositiou to our most cherished and positive conceptions, we are in no sense obliged to ignore, but rather to recognize such a conflict in its full force, and bow in reverence before the mystery in God's providence. Least of all do the Holy Scriptures justify us to cut the 'Gordian Knots' after the manner of such pre-

* It lies, *vice versa*, at the same time presumptively, in the Catholic theory, to wit: Whoever is astray in regard to the historical and visible Church, must consequently labor under error, touching the Divine origin of Christianity. The historical and positive truth of the Church having lost its virtue for him, there remains for such a mind, at last, only Deism or Atheism. This idea underlies the motto of Fenelon: On Catholique on Déiste. Vide also Moehler's Symbolism, 6th Ed. p. 342: "If the Church be not the authority representing Christ, then all again relapses into darkness, uncertainty, doubt, distraction, unbelief and superstition; *Revelation becomes null and void, fails of its real purpose, and must henceforth be ever called in question, and finally denied.*

conceived schemes. The solutions to historical problems which they furnish us, are patent in the sphere of analogy. But the most noteworthy analogy to the history of the Christian Church, is the history of Israel, God's ancient people. To God's own nation, under the Old Testament Dispensation, was there, likewise, given a divine and unerring Revelation, through Moses, simultaneous with the election and founding of the Divine Commonwealth. Through the lapse of entire centuries, the voice of infallible Prophets was additionally furnished, confirming the original Revelation and further explaining its compass, as well as their salutary personal activity for the purification of the nation. But there came an era too, during which the voice of the Prophets had been silenced, and, through many generations, a mere human and uninspired theology performed the duty of guarding, interpreting and applying the law. The tradition of the Doctors of the Law who sat in Moses' seat, neither enjoyed the immunity from error, nor did it prove competent to remain exempt indeed from fearful departures from the true sense of revelation—from declinations such as Christ enumerates in the Sermon on the Mount. In this and in other instances, He censures not only the deportment, but directly also the Doctrines taught by the representatives of the Old Testament Church, whose outward legitimacy He acknowledges, as also St. Paul, subsequently. And in harmony with the spirit of such utterances must we render the passage: "All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say and do not," (Matt. xxiii. 3). It is impossible that Christ should have conceded Infallibility to their statutes, for the demolition of which He came into the world.

"The Traditions of the Scribes were subsequently recorded in the MISHNA, nearly similar, in spirit and form, to what they had attained in the time of Christ. Nevertheless, be it far from us to maintain, that either the Greek or Roman Church, has at any time departed farther from the spirit of the New Testament, in view of the modern statutes which they have

respectively superadded to Primitive Christianity, than the TALMUD stands removed from the Mosaic Law. But just as little may we ignore the analogous relationship between the *pre*-Christian development, which superceded the quenching of prophecy, on the one side, and a similar development which superceded, in the Christian Church, immediately on the recedure of the Holy Spirit, from His *primo*-creative measure of energy.

"But, it will be rejoined, that the New Testament Church enjoys a special prediction of invincibility and indestructibility, which had not been awarded to the Old Testament Church, and that the belief in the Infallibility of the Church bases itself on the promise of Christ, which confirms those *a priori* conclusions and militates against our analogies. In regard to the promise of Christ now—more especially the saying addressed to Peter—we never for a moment entertained the slightest doubt concerning its integrity and undying truth. We will do well, likewise, in passing over all the ingenious renderings, which Protestantism has made use of, in great variety, and verily not to its own credit,* inasmuch as the prominent position of Peter, as compared with that of the other Apostles, is thereby ignored, in manifest contradiction to the sense of the Gospels and even the Book of Acts. The rock on which Christ founded His Church, is none other than he whom Christ had just styled *rock;* and the honorary transaction possesses as little force, when applied to the Faith and Confession of Peter, apart from his Person, as when we presume to apply the promise to the Person of Peter independent of his Faith.

"It is Peter, believing and confessing, upon whom Christ will found His Church. But we at the same time conceive of Peter as standing in a relation to the Church, similar to that,

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* As the odd fancy, *e. g.*, which will have it, that Christ, first pointing to Peter, said, "Thou art Peter!" then pointing back upon Himself, continued, "and on *this* Rock I will build my Church." This is a sleight of hand performance equal to that which Carlstadt originally applied in explaining the Consecration Formula of the Holy Supper.

to which we applied the analogous words of Paul—upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, on which the Church shall rise as a holy Temple. Eph. ii. 20.*

"It is to the personal presence and living activity of Peter, that this foundation-laying participation, in building the Church of Christ is ascribed, in a peculiar sense, as compared with the labor of the remaining Apostles—just as St. Paul regards those Apostles and Prophets, who are present and active in the Church, as the foundation to the Church. But those Apostles and Prophets are sharply distinguished from the Bishops and Shepherds, in view of their respective endowments and stations, in the Church. An Apostle is indeed also a Bishop—and a Bishop in a very elevated sense; but Bishops are not on this account also Apostles. Of a transfer of the entire Apostolico-spiritual endowment, at their demise, to the Bishops, we have no record or even intimation throughout the New Testament. The Apostles retain their exclusive position and incommunicable prerogatives; nor is there, likewise, in the passage now under review, the dimmest sense of an entailing or transferring of St. Peter's power to the Episcopal Office. The Catholic reader, who has used himself to regard the Roman Bishop as the successor of Peter and as the heir of his power, is obliged to confess, that there is nothing mentioned either in this connection, or in any other quarter of the New Testament—*e. g.* Luke xxii. 32.—concerning a transfer of like powers upon a definite line of successors to the Apostle Peter. The fact, that in this instance a wholly exclusive prerogative had been conferred upon Peter, in no sense transferable, was also sufficiently clear to the Ancient Church. This appears, along with still more, from the conduct of *Firmilianus*, of Neocæsarea, in Cappadocia, who withstood the pretensions of the Roman Bishop *Stephen*, when the latter would overwhelm the combined traditions of all the Churches, in consequence of his authority and the *eclat* of his congregation. Instead of the sole rock, on

* It strikes us as highly probable, that the saying of Paul, Eph. ii. 20, is both an echo and a reference to the saying of Christ, Matt. xvi. 16.

which Christ had built His Church, he would, as Firmilianus charged, establish many foundations, since he essayed to elevate every single successor of Peter to the same position, which the Apostle peculiarly occupied.*

"The words on which the Catholic conviction mainly grounds itself, remain, however, to be considered yet, namely: 'On this rock I will build my Church, *and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*' This saying contains a declaration, after all, as it seems, in favor of the Invincibility, as well as, indirectly at least, of the Inerrancy of the Church.

In contemplating this declarati on of our Lord, we are habitually given to emphasize the conflict of the Church which results in consequence of the aggressive powers of darkness, and not indeed only in so far as they are arrayed against her from without, but also as they reveal themselves within her, in the form of Heresy, Schism and Apostacy. This view likewise obtains from the traditional Catholic position. But closely considered, the phrase, *Pulai Hadou*, does not imply persecution and apostacy, in consequence of the onset of Satan and demons. 'Hades' signifies, not so much the citadel of the Prince of darkness, as in this case, no less than in other instances, the place of departed spirits; and the 'gates of Hades,' according to the classical *usus loquendi*, as well as the Schaare haschoól of the Old Testament, implies, no more than the Kingdom of Death. Certainly then, that which Christ first and foremost guarantees to His Church is, Indestructibility—an *Aphtharsia*—with which he endowed her, according to Ignatius. Our Lord's saying implies, as the very least then, that the number of the faithful shall never totally vanish from the face of the earth. Of course, the full sense of the words—'*the gates of hell shall not prevail against it*,'—is not in this view exhausted.†

* Firmilianus, in his 75th Letter to Cyprian; Atque ego in hac parte juste indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifestam Stephani stultitiam, quod, qui sic de Episcopatus sui jure gloriatur etse successionem Petri tenere contendit, super quem fundamenta Ecclesiæ collocata sunt, multas alias petras inducat.

† Ignatius Epist. ad Ephesios c. 17. The Augsburg Confession contains the same idea, in the words: *quod una Sancta Ecclesia perpetuus mansura sit.* But

If we strive fully to grasp the meaning and emphasis of these words, we will discern therein a reference to the sublime triumph of the Church over the reign of death, of which St. Paul speaks prophetically, and not without an allusion to the declarations of our Lord. (1 Cor. xv. 51-57, 1 Thes. iv. 15-18.) The Church in the latter days shall not be subject to death, but in consequence of a change, shall be glorified and translated into the glory of the Lord. Then shall this corruptible put on incorruption, and mortality be swallowed up in Life, and Christ celebrate in His Church the grandest victory over the hostile powers of Hades. Such a victory, such a culmination to her warfare, Christ has promised to His Church, founded on Peter and the Apostolate. To such a culmination the Church will be found equal, and all her inherent potencies will be actualized. Furthermore, may it be mentioned, that the idea of a revival of the Apostolate is indirectly predicated in the promise of the Lord, which the Church requires in order to her final perfection. But concerning an Infallibility of the Church, or rather of the Episcopate, stretching over the entire interval, and more especially, concerning an Infallibility, as limited to a particular locality and definite line of Bishops, there is nothing mentioned. Just as little is this theory taught, upon which all depends, in the remaining kindred promises and prerogatives awarded to the Apostles, (Matt. xxviii. 20; John xx. 21).

"History informs us of the manner after which it gradually came to pass, that the entire Episcopacy, with the Bishops of Rome at its head came to be substituted for the Apostolate, after the demise of its incumbents, and how the promises were then eked out to the succeeding order. But such an entailment and transfer has no exegetical title, and far from resting on Scriptural ground or Divine right, may be regarded only in the light of a make-shift, of incomparable significance in its

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the indestructible Church of Christ on earth, to whatever extent its branches may multiply, proceeded originally from the Mother Congregation in Jerusalem; and by virtue of the historical connection existing between it and the congregation in Jerusalem, which was founded and governed by Peter, it is no less founded on him.

historical bearings and consequences. Nevertheless, though the promises of our Lord may not be understood as embodying all that the Catholic mind discerns therein, still the inward probibility, to say the least, which cleaves to the fundamental idea of the Catholic theory, remains and demands a still further and more profound exposition.

"Did Christ establish a Church on earth and, having abandoned her to the wonted fate of human institutions, leave her exposed to error, and such error, indeed, as might jeopardize the salvation of her members, notwithstanding the fact, that He came solely for the purpose of working out and securing the salvation of the Human Race?—this is the problem which challenges a still further discussion, in the hope of its solution.

We have already seen how readily the question may be answered from the stand-point of the Catholic Church, as well as touched on the Syllogism which may be regarded as underlying her theory throughout. It assumes the following form:—"Whosoever would attain the end, devises likewise the means. If God designed the salvation of the race through a Revelation, He must, at the same time, have devised the means necessary to such an end, and verily the proper and only conceivable means—*i. e.* the establishment of an Infallible Church."

"In our effort, now, to analyze this demonstration, for the purpose of discovering how far it may or may not prove tenable, a very marked sundering of the theoretical from the practical aberrations will become manifest, in the outstart, which must in the nature of the case, be presumed, if the argument is in any way to be applied in the sphere of actual facts. When Christ predicates concerning His disciples, or—for we are allowed to extend the application so far—of His Church, "Ye are the salt of the earth;" "Ye are the light of the world;" "A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid"—we may with full right aver, that the Church does not answer to such symbols, merely by maintaining purity of doctrine, regardless of the relation which subsists between Dogma and Christian life;

but only in consequence of the union of both—only in so far as her constitution throughout corresponds to the precepts of Christ, is she the light of the world, and the salvation of the masses in a true and eminent sense.

"But Catholics themselves, compelled by the facts of history and the notorious state of affairs, concede that the lives of the representatives of the Church, upon whom, in their view, the promise of Infallibility applies, oftentimes furnished fierce contradictions to the doctrines of Christ, and have given occasion to such scandals as proved detrimental to entire nations. It is no insignificant acknowledgment which Moehler utters in behalf of his brethren, viz.: 'Doubtless, examples enough can be alleged of priests, bishops and popes, who, in the most unconscionable and unjustifiable manner, have failed to discharge their duty, when it was quite in their power, to bring about a reform of morals; or who, by their scandalous conduct and lives, have extinguished the still glimmering torch, which they ought to have kindled. Hell hath swallowed them up.'*

"Those chiefs of the Church then, to whom it applies, have undoubtedly done all that was possible, in their lives, to defeat the true aim of God's Revelation to the Race. And yet in them, nevertheless rests the promise of Infallibility, in all matters pertaining to Dogma and Discipline, on which they may declare *ex cathedra*. It is alleged, without this immunity the Church would prove unequal to her mission among mankind; yet no such frustification of her aim appears to be feared, in consequence of the incongruity, which the teaching of Christ and daily life presents; or, since facts speak too loudly from this quarter, it is deemed preferable to shift the 'unmistakableness' of the Church into the region of theory exclusively, where verily the detection of error is never so strikingly possible, as it is in the sphere in which it concerns the fulfillment of the simplest and chief commands of the Moral Law.

"But by assigning such a limitation to the Dogma of Infallibility, as will confine the permanent and undisturbed in-

* Symbolium, 6th Ed. p. 354.

fluence of Christ and His Spirit to the sphere of Doctrine exclusively, we render Christ divided, according to the correct remark of *Nitzsch*—He, now sanctifying, and He, again enlightening. And the endorsement of the Holy Scriptures, whether in letter or in spirit, can hardly be obtained to such a sundering of the sanctifying and illuminating activities, to the postulate, that the Spirit of Truth tabernacles likewise in unhallowed hearts, and may be conveyed and entailed by the imposition of polluted hands.

"Perhaps the case of Caiaphas, the High Priest, might be cited as a pertinent example, who unconscious of their import, uttered remarkable words, touching the death of Jesus for the deliverance of the people. 'And this spake he not of himself; but being priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation.' John xi. 46-52. This is *en rapport* with Old Testament analogy. In the legitimately inducted High Priest vested the Spirit of God, may his personal character have been never so godless, who compelled him to utter the truth, as in the case of Balaam.

"But we may not consistently hold to this circumstance, as an argument for the doctrinal infallibility of morally delinquent Popes. For it is neither here nor anywhere, for a moment pretended, that the High Priest and the Sanhedrim assembled about him, had been guided and preserved from error, through the indwelling Spirit, so far as it pertains to their official decisions. The official transaction, to which the words of the High Priest applied, was the condemnation of the Son of God. The truth embodied in the utterance of Caiaphas, was however neither intended by the speaker nor imagined by his hearers. There lay in it the possibility of a wholly different sense, which we may attach, and wholly distinct from that which Caiaphas entertained. The *Propheteuein*, which John assigns to the chief of the Sanhedrim, signifies accordingly no more than that, in consequence of a higher providential guidance, his own utterance was changed into an irony against his peculiar design, thus bearing testimony to the truth against himself and the

higher Judicatory. Hence the legally assumed Infallibility of Doctrine, as defined by the pope, can be paralleled with this sole instance only by a most violent exegesis.

"Besides, such a divorcing of theory and practice—Illumination and Sanctity,—when more narrowly scanned, is likewise to emphasize the former at an expense of the latter, which we can just as little justify on Scriptural ground.

"The alleged Infallibility of Doctrine, on the part of the Church, is conceived of in an absolute sense. It is not received as something that pertains merely to certain fundamental matters of Faith and Morals, *i. e.* to truths essential to salvation; but is made to embrace, at once, all questions touching Doctrine and Morality, even to the most subtile *minutiæ*. It comprehends, in a word, all that the most refined code of Dogma and Morals includes. No subject imaginable, lying within this order, even though it be never so remotely related to fundamental truths, dare be regarded as standing outside of the jurisdiction of the Pope and Œcumenical Council. Under no circumstances can the emergency arise, under which the representatives of the Church could be forced to acknowledge themselves incompetent to act, in this sphere, and to confess, that their authority on the promised aid of the Spirit is curtailed. But the assumption underlies this theory, all through, indeed, that the Church actually demands an infallibly exact solution to every dogmatical and disciplinary question that may be suggested, which hypothesis can again only be conceded, in case we likewise take it for granted, that every separate point of Dogma and discipline, is or, to say the least, might be, of like fundamental significance.

"Such presumptions, accordingly, lie imbedded in the foregoing Syllogism, and we need merely inquire, besides, whether Catholic theologians also recognize them? They indeed are not unmindful to provide for minors, through their doctrine of a *fides implicita;* but whoever, within the compass of a *fides explicita*, knowingly swerves from the doctrine of the Church, be it in matters ever so trivial, he ceases thereby to be

a Catholic Christian and has jeopardized the salvation of his soul. The principle holds to this day in the Catholic Church, more or less consciously and unconsciously, at the same time, that whosoever deviates from the sense of the Church, even but in *levi argumento*, as the Emperor *Arcadius* once stated it, must be regarded and treated as a heretic.* And Bossuet himself in his correspondence with Leibnitz, defends the position and illustrates it by the example of a saintly Cyprian and the Donatists, that whoever ventures to deny a proposition once pronounced upon by the Church, even though it pertain to a non-essential, he stands from that moment as condemned.†

"*Spener* felt himself forced to declare it to be the most difficult task within the compass of Dogmatics, to establish the distinction between Essentials and non-Essentials; for the reason, that questions confront us on this plane, which it is never possible for us to determine *in abstracto* and with juridical certainty. We may merely indicate here, without entering more fully upon the subject, that such a distinction *does* exist, and that the Ancient Church especially felt herself fully conscious of the fact. She held her impregnable Doctrines of a saintly Tradition, on the one side, which formed the Canon of Faith; whereas, on the other hand, a freedom of opinion was permitted, touching all dogmatical questions which had not been determined in this manner, or by any fixed traditionary ritual. We meet with positive and striking passages on this subject, in the writings of *Ireneus* or *Origen*, not to mention any other Church Fathers. On this account precisely, did those ecclesiastical teachers not feel the need of such a usurpation on the part of the Church, as implied an infallible decision through Christ, of all possible questions, especially of all possible secondary ones. Modern Catholicity, however, which ascribes such plenary power to the Church, goes too far in postulating it as something indispensable, and the argument by

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* Vide Schröckh, Ch. Hist. Vol. 3 Ed. p. 311.

† Vide Leibnitzii opera ed. Dutens t. I. 1768, pp. 608-609.

which it is attempted to establish such a *nimium*, fails accordingly of its end,

"Such a Tribunal as Catholicity requires, which it declares as indispensable and therefore as actually at hand, that shall prove competent to decide with Divine authority every conceivable question of Faith, Christianity does not need within its bosom. Humanity, which is to be made heir of Salvation in Christ, can without detriment dispense with such an Institution. This position remains unassailable, we hold, as long as the distinction between Doctrines Essential and Non-Essential exists; between such as can only with jeopardy to Salvation be falsely held, on the one side, and those which may be entertained, after this or that view, on the other, without endangering one's personal safety, and, consequently also, without exerting any deleterious influence on the Church at large. Accordingly the question—Would Christ establish a fallible Church?—resolves itself, in reality, into another, to wit:—Did Christ establish His Church and leave her exposed to such error as would frustrate salvation, or did He not? We must furthermore distinguish the question, whether the glorious Church which has been raised up by the Apostles *can* err, touching fundamental doctrines, in the persons of her representatives? from another, to wit: whether this Church *has* actually erred in regard to their fundamental teachings? The former is a purely Dogmatical, the latter, a Historical query.

"If we would interpret this Dogmatical problem, especially from a purely Scriptural position, we must first and foremost bear in mind, as has already been remarked, that the Infallibility of the Church in fundamental doctrines, if at all to be discerned in Holy Writ, is, least of all, limited to a particular locality—neither to Rome nor to Jerusalem. The question will then confront us under this form, namely:

"Do the Holy Scriptures justify us to suppose, that it will ever come to such a pass, as that the totality or majority of those, upon whom has descended the guidance of the Church which has been erected, can, as successors to the Apostles, ex-

ert a ruinous influence and jeopardize the salvation of souls, by means of a specially defined and officially promulgated doctrine? Or has Christ made provision and placed a guarantee, that, notwithstanding the fearful decline in morals which may ensue, and overcome even the most exalted character in His Church, they shall nevertheless be compelled to bear testimony against themselves and utter their own condemnation, in consequence of her substantially orthodox doctrine?

"We must acknowledge, that we are unable to discover any such a guarantee in the Holy Scriptures. They affirm the indestructibility of the Church of Christ; they declare, that God will preserve for Himself the number of elect, even in times of the greatest tribulations.* But whether these shall be found among those sitting in the seats of the Apostles precisely, and assembled in an Œcumenical Council, or whether they shall remain unknown and excluded from every conspicuous Confession which may stand connected with the legitimate Organism of God's people, as were those seven thousand in the days of Elias, who, unknown to the prophet, had not bowed their knees to Baal,†—on these points the Holy Scriptures afford us, once for all, no light or assurance. Much rather might we discover omens in the threatening prophecies—*e. g.* as that of the abomination in the Holy City—indicative of such an actual extremity at last. We possess, to say the least, no decisive reasons, on which to base a denial of the possibility of such a fearful Apostacy.

"Still, the possibility is not necessarily a fact; and, be it far from us to allege, that its reality is only a question of time, or that it has already become realized. Very different is the historical aspect of the question to which we now pass on:—To what degree the Church has actually degenerated in the persons of her representatives? We will not magnify the enigmas of history beyond the measure of facts. They are even now

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* Matt. xxiv. 22.

† I. (III.) Book of Kings, xix. 10; xiv. 18; Rom. xi. 3, 4.

sufficiently difficult and dark, without such exaggeration, and the actual degeneration, in all quarters of Christendom, is no small trial to the faith of Christians. But the demoralization, in the Catholic Church, whether in the Orient or in the Occident, has never at any time descended so low as to assail the foundation of the Christian Faith and Apostolic Tradition, in the persons of her legitimate organs. Much rather let us be prepared to acknowledge a Divine Superintendence which overshadowed the Church, and guarded the treasure of an unadulterated Tradition as well as the proper Means of Grace, in spite even of the manifold additions of men. In the light of history we must exclaim:—Christ has verily preserved His Church, planted by the Apostles, against the mortal infraction of saving Faith, amid the fearful apostacy and grievous guilt of men, and has so conducted her through the most direful periods even that she remained the guide to Salvation for an innumerable host! Nor need a conviction that bases itself upon this position, quake, or feel itself in danger, when confronted by the question, which, as stated in the beginning of our thesis, Catholicity is so apt to thrust into the face of Protestantism. Yea, such a conviction might perhaps challenge a certain measure of respect from Catholics themselves.

"We hold that Divine Providence presided, more especially over the Œcumenical Councils and shielded against disturbance the Apostolic Foundation, on which the Primitive Church had been originally built. This conception is akin to the view, touching the inspiration of the Councils, which even the Catholic mind might endorse. Let us, for the present, pass over the Definitions of later General Councils, which cannot be received from a Protestant stand-point, and turn but to the dogmatical Declarations of the Ancient Œcumenical Synods, which are conceded, by us Protestants also, to possess great significance. It is not admitted, from our position, that the Council-decrees are the result of Inspiration; but admitting as we do, that the true solutions were given and the happiest and aptest Decisions were rendered, we, nevertheless, accept them

as the results of an over-ruling Providence. And here, it may be, the Catholic mind even, will not feel indisposed to recognize a qualitative distinction between a truly creative Theopneusty, which unmistakably confronts us in various sayings of Holy Writ, of unfathomable depth and sublime drapery, *e. g.*, the eighth Chapter in Romans—and that influence of the Holy Ghost, which is believed by him to have been active in calling forth the Decrees, more especially at Constance or Trent, under which is manifest the carefully weighed employment of a terminology—the result of human diligence and scientific effort. It is most easy in this case, to admit only of a Providential warding off of error, over against the primitive and genuine, prophetical Inspiration, which we already because of its very *usus loquendi* are compelled to accept as divine, and to concede a variety of form and expression, which was freely chosen without detriment to the identity of contents, as revealed originally and at the founding of Christianity.*

"The Catholic will, of course, now construe the concessions of a superintending Providence so widely as to see in it a forestalling of every shade of error, in reference to the whole body of decisions, whether of Pope or Councils; whereas we limit ourselves to the view, that whilst not every kind of mistake was precluded, still all such as might prove detrimental to salvation or destructive to the Apostolic foundation. For our part we cannot even include under the latter head the Decision of the *Concilium Lateranense* IV., concerning Transubstantiation, or the Decree of Constance, in regard to the withdrawal of the cup from the Laity, and it were easy to furnish proof, that *Luther* likewise judged of the doctrine of transubstantiation and communion under one kind very charitably, where the question was mooted concerning the salvation of such as submitted to

* Vide Moehler's Syn. Paragraph 40, VI. Ed. pp. 368-373:—The "Formal distinction between historical and Ecclesiastical Doctrine." When Moehler—page 371—says in reference to the Nicene Creed: This form (of Church Doctrine) is in itself the human, the temporal, the perishable element, and might be exchanged for a hundred others," he maintains much more than we would hazard.

that Dogma and this discipline. Though those Councils and that of Trent may have erred, the celebration of a genuine Sacrament was, notwithstanding, and is still celebrated in the Catholic Church, and the possibility of its participation unto salvation is still at hand. But we do not mean to deny withal, that communion under one kind is such a point precisely as can only with the greatest difficulty be reconciled with a true insight into the Holy Scriptures and Primitive Christianity. We discern an indirect concession to this truth, in the fact, that many of the noblest Catholic theologians are not able wholly to surmount it, and represent a return to the ancient mode, on this point, as something desirable and not wholly improbable.

"We may not widen the way of Life, which Christ has described as narrow; yet, without going so far, we may, nevertheless, say that the strait gate, both in the Roman and Greek Church, which leadeth unto life, has, to say the least, still not been barred by means of officially defined Dogmas, even though the way of access to it has been rendered more difficult thereby; and hence that the crisis has not in this case been reached, that the Church which was founded by the Apostles has imposed fundamental errors as Articles of Faith upon her members. A far more discouraging picture presents itself to our view, when we look at the actual conduct of many who claim to be shepherds and teachers in the Church. But then the actual condition of our Protestant Church, in ruins, will as readily rise aloft, to silence our objections, since surely much seems to indicate in our home-sphere, a drifting from the Apostolic foundation, on the part of a large portion of our Church, after a wholly peculiar, formal and official way.

"This fact must be briefly subjected to a still further review just at this stage, where the question treats of the possibility of an essential aberration, on the part of the majority in the Church.

"Universal and deeply seated as is the apostacy among Theologians, and through them, in congregations, throughout

the Protestant Church, from the Apostolic foundation, and more especially in Germany and those adjacent countries which are spiritually dependent on us, it must, after all, strike us as a remarkable phenomenon, that this aberration has thus far nowhere established itself as a properly valid institution, and after due process of law—closely as it may have bordered on such a dangerous extremity in occasional instances.

"Such an attempt, however, undertaken on a large scale and with energy, will inevitably be followed by a two-fold result. First—A complete and indeed external separation would ensue between those who would remain on the Apostolic foundation, and those who would abandon it. Then, in case the latter party should attempt to organize as a Church, as a State Church especially, a speedy dissolution would set in throughout the novel organism, which would hardly survive beyond a single generation. To such extremities circumstances tend, since nothing has thus far prevented its fulfillment, humanly speaking, save our *vis inertiæ*—so fully are the preparations made for revolutions of this order. Whenever such an order of existence should set in, however, one party will no longer be identified with the Church, whilst in the other it will become manifest, how under such threatening and decisive a juncture a higher and extraordinary succor is able to supply the want of a primitive Apostolic constitution, whose conservative energy and tenacious influence must challenge our admiration in the ancient Non-Protestant Churches. For in their bosoms dwells, without controversy, a certain constancy which excites our wonder, the counterpart to which the development of the Protestant Church exhibits. Particularly do the Churches of the Orient exhibit the characteristic of unchangeableness, in consequence of which their excellencies, no less than their defects too, are preserved unchanged for us, as they have remained for a thousand or more years.*

* The stability of the Oriental Churches has indeed a still further ground, which is to be sought in the general historical relations of nations. Compare C. A. v. Schaden's Lectures on Academical Life and Study; 1845, p. 278.

"However, in thus emphasizing the latent conservative element which animated the institutions and orders which reposed on the Apostolic institutions generally, we have not conceded the whole force to the Catholic postulate, concerning the not-otherwise possible and continually monotonous 'unerringness' of the Apostolic, or more particularly, of the Catholic Church. In order then, to subject this proposition to a final examination, we must in conclusion, allege against it the general objection, that it subjects human affairs and occurrences, the development more particularly of good and evil, of the true and the false in humanity—to a dire necessity and violent fate, under which it does not normally lie. And that such a law does not impend over mankind, but that a really boundless play-ground, rather, is open to human freedom in the vast net of universal history—this is taught us in no quarter more clearly and more positively than in the Divine Revelation, over against all fatalistic theories of ancient and modern ages. The Catholic Church, more especially, then, will only prove consistent as soon as she will accord likewise to this *momentum* of freedom its proper place, after having contended with deserved faithfulness in its behalf, for every century, in opposition to the various forms of fatalism touching their doctrines; and when she no longer attempts to limit the formations of truth and falsehood to a particular groove of human development and to an anticipated, permanent necessity of exemption from error. This is opposed to all analogies of the Divine government in history. In no case does God render the sins of men wholly impossible, be it in consequence of an open or secret influence of omnipotence; and after their consummation, it is again not by an application of His absolute power, whereby He forestalls their ruinous consequences.

"The superintendence of His hidden wisdom consists much rather in the fact, that He supervenes a different development, subsequent to the committal of the sinful deeds of man, not dreamed of by men, and by means of a wonderful by-way conducts humanity to its destined goal. For whether we re-

gard the primary mammoth act of sin and error, or all the numberless consequences which follow in its train, the government of God, during the mighty æon-interim of universal history, is ever found to be after the manner sung by a highly gifted poet:

> "'Rather than annihilate, God would conciliate;
> Rather Redemption, than a primal Creation.
> How quickly might He grind to dust the 'Tree of Sin!'
> Still, as frame-work to His Temple, it pleases Him." *

"Even so is there likewise in the conduct of the Church, no agency to be sought, which, operating at large, or along a fixed line of succession, shall nullify or forestall error with a hidden fatality, as it were; but the results of human guilt and error, which occur in consequence of His reserved long-suffering, become fresh provocations for Him continually, for manifold transformings, through which He, with an ever indulgent hand, guides the affairs of men until the time of Judgment is fulfilled.

"Every degeneration in the Church of Christ is in consequence of human guilt; for every step taken away from her primitive type, man is held responsible. But in the consequences of such manifold sinnings, in the cycles of affairs, which are generated thereby, and because of which also many relatively innocent ones suffer, we discern not only the evil and objectionable element, but, at the same time, also the presence of a higher reigning foreknowledge. The Church is not what she once was. Her constitution throughout is a searching penitential sermon, preached with a thousand tongues in the ears of all Christendom. But whatever she is at this period, she is still not *sine numine*, on this account. The difficulties which she has occasioned to herself, are themselves again a witness for the necessity of holy exercises, and the experiences she has made will redound to her benefit when the time of her purification and perfection shall come. Man,

* "Times and Events." First Sonnet; Aurora. Erlangen, 1835, p. 71.

generally speaking, is different from what he was in the Apostolic periods, and, after a certain sense, the Church *ought* likewise to confront him under a correspondingly different form. After the termination of the Apostolic age, a historical process was entered on, whose latest results, thus far, viz: Catholicity and Protestantism—we are as little justified unconditionally to condemn, as we are permitted to surrender ourselves unconditionally to the one or the other. By the side of Primeval Christianity, in its truly divine and, for all ages, proto-typical perfection, we behold also standing the whole development of history, which in its natural human course—in principle *adiaphorous*—we dare not conceive of as either wholly divine on the one side, or as wholly worthless on the other; but which challenges our most serious consideration and most liberal scrutiny.

SUMMARY.

Having reached the terminus of our author's thoughts on the subject, let us look back over the way by which he has led us on, like a traveler at the end of his journey. He speaks of the Dogma of Infallibility in the Catholic Church, as a feature identified with the system, as it were, from a period immemorial, if not from the beginning. He delivered his course of Lectures on Catholicity and Protestantism in 1848—twenty-five years previous to the assembling of the Vatican Council. He clearly distinguishes between Infallibility and Impeccability. Thus far the Protestant Thiersch and the Catholic Domenec walk hand-in-hand.

Henceforward they separate. Thiersch, with Nitzsch, will not accept of a divided CHRIST. He will not consent to a divorcement between Illumination and Sanctity—between an infallibility in Doctrine, on the one side, and a fallibility in Morals, on the other. They stand or fall together. As Catholics do not lay claim to the latter, they dare not plead the latter.

Thiersch concedes a General Providence watching over the Church of Christ, in all ages; this extends to all Essentials, but does not embrace Non-Essentials. Difficult as it is to trace the line of demarkation, whatever is vitally connected with Apostolic Revelation and Tradition, or is detrimental to individual salvation, falls under the term *Essential;* whilst, whatever is foreign to original truth revealed, or may and may not be held without imperiling salvation, is ranged under *Non-Essential.* As there are Sins Venial and Sins Mortal, in the sphere of Morals, so is there a like division between primary and secondary Dogmas. Under circumstances of dire extremity, such a Superintending Providence will ever again exert itself, as it never failed to do, in ages past. But of a Special Tribunal of Infallibility to which all minutiæ must be referred, we can find no trace in the Holy Scriptures. 'The gates of Hades' mean for him solely, the Indestructibility of the Church. The antithesis which Catholicity and Protestantism present, is for the present age a problem, challenging our serious regard and earnest study, but not an unconditional surrender of oneself to the claims of either, as wholly divine or wholly demonical. They are temporary Metamorphoses for the Church of Christ, out of which a subsequent, and eventually, a final economy will emerge.

We are reminded of the traditional Shield that hung along the Highway, concerning the color of which the fabled Knights quarreled so fiercely, although without cause, since both were in the right. The way they looked at it caused all the dif. ference. Bishop Domenec and Doctor Thiersch stand on opposite sides of the Dogma, and consequently contend. They are both Christian champions, however, and contend only for the victory of Truth. Let the same Irenics move all opposing parties, and the Church of Christ will suffer as little, in consequence of the discussion, as she did through the collision of Paul with Peter—or, at most, no more.

ART. II.—DOCTRINE AND WORSHIP,—PROGRESS PERFECTLY LEGITIMATE.

BY REV. D. Y. HEISLER, A. M., MT. ALTO, PA.

THE present is decidedly an age of fault-finding criticism, and of keen-scented heresy-hunting. Much, indeed, is said and written about unwarranted theological speculations, and many doleful complaints are being made of unsoundness in the faith and startling innovations in matters of religion. Of this keen-eyed, eager, and searching course, in itself considered, and apart from the ugly spirit which gives it birth, we cannot justly complain. Soundness in doctrine and soundness in practice are certainly of the utmost importance; and every earnest Christian, accordingly, should be a jealous guardian, and an earnest, bold, and unflinching defender of "the faith once delivered to the saints," as well as of the practical life and conduct, ostensibly *based* upon this Apostolic and primitive faith. What we especially deprecate in this connection, is, that the complaints made are often so frivolous, and, in some cases, so evidently unfounded, as to render them in the highest degree unjust and slanderous,—and, that, in advancing such serious charges of unsoundness in the faith, these keen-scented heresy-hunters very complacently assume, without even the shadow of any legitimate proof, that each and every change in the statement of religious truth, or even the slightest variation from the generally received and traditionally accepted forms of expression, either in Creed or Cultus, must of necessity be a wicked and unauthorized innovation, and, by necessary inference, also, wrong and perilous. The supposition seems to be that the prevailing forms of apprehending any given truth must always be exactly the same, and fully co-ordinate with the truth itself. To intimate in any way, even to the

least extent, the possibility of growth in clearness and power of apprehension in the case of any biblical doctrine or precept, in the general consciousness of the Church, is sufficient to bring down upon the unfortunate dreamer, so-called, the utmost scorn and indignation of a certain class of theological critics, and jealous guardians of popular orthodoxy, or even the censure of the Church.

Under such circumstances, as any one can easily see, there is an end of all progress in the kingdom of God. The author of any and every decidedly progressive sentiment is at once denounced in unmeasured terms, and stigmatized as an apostate from "the faith once delivered to the saints." This is done, too, in the face of the important fact, that the so-called "faith" embodied in this or that particular ecclesiastical confession, is, and, in the nature of the case, always must be, but the present imperfect and partial apprehension of some leading individual person, who, at any given time, may choose to interpret for the populace, and to systematize the truth as apprehended by himself, or, at most, of a certain number of persons, who, acting in concert, and exercising their judgment collectively, produce and embody in logical statements the combined results of their several individual apprehensions of the truth or truths in question. But, can any one fail to see, that, to charge heresy, want of fidelity to the truth, or apostacy from "the faith once delivered to the saints," on such dissent simply from the popular notions in matters of religion, is as superficial and impertinent as it is false and slanderous. "The truth as it is in Jesus," permanently enshrined in the Sacred Scriptures, and honestly, sincerely, and firmly held by the great body of churchmen in all ages of the world, is one thing; and its intellectual apprehension and embodiment in logical statements, at any one period in the history of the Church, is quite another thing; and to confound the two essentially different things, and attempt to identify the one absolutely with the other, is, to say the least, a senseless sham—a piece of impertinent charlatanism!

In the sphere of Cultus, or practical life and worship, the

same thing holds good. To imagine any kind of stagnation or fixidity in the Christian life and devotions of the Church, is against all analogy, and palpably runs counter to all the known laws of nature; and, accordingly, the very thought of any such fixidity stamps it, at once, as both a very foolish and a very wicked attempt to stem the current of the divine life, and to hem in arbitrarily and confine in earthly and imperfect forms its supernatural energies and ceaseless operations in the hearts and lives of God's people. Such a course would be in the highest degree improper, unnatural, and self-destructive. Everything within the sphere of life and of living beings, must in the nature of the case, be active, unfettered, and progressive. In order to show the truth and bearing of this assertion, let us briefly examine and illustrate this particular view of the subject by a reference to the world of Nature, and its endless combinations of beauty and of grace by which we are surrounded.

One of the most common and appropriate class of figures employed in the Sacred Scriptures, to represent the kingdom of God in its different aspects, are those which lie within the sphere of Nature and its diversified forms of life and activity. The Church, according to the beautiful imagery of the Bible, is a field, a garden, a vineyard. In this spiritual heritage, vineyard, field, or garden, we are called to occupy successively the place of plants or trees, and also of co-laborers and cultivators of the soil—tenders of the beautiful plants and waving trees. Welcomed to this gracious state, we are both to receive and to dispense the divine gifts, and thus help forward and establish in our own hearts and in the world at large, the kingdom of God. As the majestic oak or spreading beech, or even the tiny plant, springing from the mellow ground, and drawing its nourishment thence, subsequently wheels around and sheds its faded leaves upon the warm bosom of mother earth, and thus enriches the soil from which it sprang, and aids in the production of other forms of being,—of lovelier plants, and loftier trees, and sweeter flowers; so we, also, are to spring from the sacred soil of the Church, grow up within its bosom, and acquire strength

and beauty in connection with the rich mould and vivific powers of the Lord's vineyard; and then, in return, live and labor for its spiritual welfare, thus helping to enlarge the heritage and adorn the beautiful garden of the Lord. According to the significant parable of the sower, therefore, men are to be, at once, both the "good seed" of the kingdom, and also the growing "grain," springing up from the seed; or, according to another parable, the "tares" and the seed of the evil one, as the case may be; in either case, however, there is life, progress, growth—an ever-active tendency to perfection. The seed must swell and sprout, the plant must spring up and grow, the grain must form and ripen. How, indeed, could we look for anything less than this in the "Kingdom of Heaven"—the blessed heritage and living home of the saints!

The bare supposition that the kingdom of God could, in any one of its essential features, remain stationary, is supremely absurd. Even the Divine-human person of the adorable Redeemer had to reach its final consummation by a regular process of growth or gradual development, physical, intellectual, and moral; so that we have this characteristic saying concerning Him: "And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom; and the grace of God was upon Him." The same thing substantially is said of his illustrious predecessor—the Baptist; and of the early disciples we certainly know it to have been the case also. How gradually and almost imperceptibly they grew into the image and likeness of their Lord, and how slowly they attained to the consummated state of well-qualified Apostles and thoroughly drilled preachers of the Gospel,—"stewards of the mysteries of God"—we learn from almost every page of the New Testament Scriptures. In them the "Kingdom of Heaven" was originally an undeveloped "mustard seed," a celestial power or "leaven," which, working mightily within, came forth at length in the light and power of those glorious confessions, and that heroic courage and deathless compassion, which so eminently distinguished these first-fruits of the gospel dispensation—the earliest heralds of

the cross. And can we say anything less of subsequent confessors of Christ and of His holy religion? Gradually, only, and after many errors in judgment and errors in life, did they experience the glorious light of the Gospel—"the vision of the Almighty"—rising fully upon them. Thus gradually illuminated by the light from above, they became the worthy successors of the Apostles and first disciples—their "companions in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ," and were carried upward and onward to the full measure of grace, the stature of perfect men in Christ Jesus. Their earlier apprehensions of Divine truth were, indeed, very imperfect and fragmentary; and their practical life and devotion, we may safely assume, were equally defective and abnormal.

Such was the case in the earliest period of the Church's history, and of her diversified experiences; and such, substantially, must be the case always down to the end of time. Of individual Christians it is naturally expected that they grow up and steadily advance in that new and spiritual life, in the bosom of which they are found to stand—that they become "strong in the Lord and in the power of His might." Their knowledge of Divine things is daily to become clearer and fuller, their faith stronger, their love purer and more fervent, their hopes firmer and brighter, their devotions warmer, loftier, and more refined, and their practical life and conduct more consistent, pure, and generous—in full and perfect accord with the beautiful life and faultless example of our Divine Lord and Master. In short, Christians are necessarily expected to make progress in the Divine life, and become perfect men and women in Christ Jesus—wholly conformed to His moral image!

Admitting these general principles and the other several facts stated in reference to individual Christians, how can we consistently deny that the Church, as a whole, is also destined to grow in grace and steadily advance towards perfection; and, admitting this, how can we fail to see, that, in the process of this spiritual growth, she also steadily advances to a higher position in the external form and habit both of her Creed and

her Cultus, embodying in them the rich and varied results of her deep spiritual experience, increasingly clearer perception, and more advanced state of practical life and activity in the service of her Lord. Can we possibly conceive of the steady improvement of the individual members composing the Church without admitting also some corresponding advancement in the condition of the entire mystical body—the Church Catholic? And can such improvement take place, at all, except as the economy of grace is being more fully understood, and all the different arrangements for the upbuilding of the Church are becoming more clearly apprehended, and employed in ever higher and better forms—fully adapted to the ever-varying circumstances and current wants of the Church in each successive period of her history? Simply to *ask* these questions is sufficient to convince us of the absurdity of such a supposition. Can the kingdom of God stand still while the whole world around is steadily advancing, and while individual members of that kingdom itself, also, are constantly growing into the image and likeness of their Lord? And, if the Church thus advances, can such advancement take place without external means and appliances commensurate with the growth and improvement to be effected? To see the full force of these questions and their importance in connection with the kingdom of God, let us briefly look at a few well-established facts in connection with some of the other and lower departments of God's boundless dominion, and at the peculiar manner in which progressive improvement is there achieved.

Take, for instance, the toiling husbandman with his prudent use and application of earthly means for the attainment of wished-for earthly ends, as an apt and appropriate illustration of what we mean by religious progress, or the spiritual growth of the Church, by the wise and skillful adaptation of spiritual means for the accomplishment of her own high and holy purposes.

The farmer, whose calling it is to cultivate the natural soil, and to provide us with temporal food, does not always and under all circumstances employ exactly the same means, or invariably use the same kind of agricultural implements. As

regards outward form and construction, these differ very widely, according as they are employed in this or that particular connection, although in design and purpose they are and ever must remain essentially the same. They are designed for the thorough culture of the ground, and the raising and gathering in of useful crops. When the ground is first cleared of its trees and brushwood, and while the huge stumps are still standing, the simplest and rudest implements of husbandry are naturally employed, and justly so. First of all the hardy pioneer applies the pickaxe and grubbing hoe, then the rude and elementary shovel-plough, so well adapted to work in among the stumps and stones, to cut up and tear out the matted roots, and to disintegrate and mellow the virgin soil. This sort of cultivation is, under the circumstances, deemed satisfactory; and on this rough and imperfectly prepared soil, the confiding squatter scatters his precious seed. No fault whatever is found with the honest and hardy tiller of the soil for employing these rude and primitive implements. He does the very best he can, under the circumstances, and his well-meant efforts are justly applauded. His course is, in fact, the only one that could have been successfully adopted; and both the rudeness of the implements and the imperfect culture of the ground are generously overlooked, and his industry and skill admired, in the beauty and abundance of the growing crops. Thus far the use of these simple and inefficient means is perfectly right; if afterwards, however, when the ground has once been fully cleared of stumps and stones, and when the soil is in a comparatively high state of cultivation, genial and mild, when, accordingly, the use of improved implements can be successfully introduced, and applied with far greater efficiency and economy, he should still persist in the use of the primitive plough, or even the hoe and the pick-axe, he would be universally condemned for his native stupidity and his silly old-fogyism. Just imagine, for a moment, a farmer of the present day, in one of our beautiful valleys and open country, where the ground has for years been thoroughly cultivated, where the fields are free from stumps and stones, and where the soil is

deep, genial, and mild, using the rude implements of fifty or a hundred years ago, in preparing his land and putting in his seed, and, when the grain is ripe, cutting it with the old-fashioned sickle, and thrashing it, when gathered into the barn, with the unwieldy flail, as in days of yore; why the very thought is sufficient to brand the man as utterly demented. But, in what respect, is he wiser or better, who, in the Church of God, at this advanced stage of the world's history—this age of intelligence and of enlarged Christian experience—would employ regularly and without variation the rude and primitive methods and means of centuries ago in connection with the worship of God? In one sense, indeed, the things of the past, or rather the ideas underlying these things, are unchangeable —the same now as in the ages past, and the same in the ages to come; but, in other important respects, they are by no means the same, and *should* not be the same. As to their main design and essential nature, the religious rites and ceremonies of God's people, in all ages and countries, are substantially the same, just as the agricultural implements of all ages and countries are essentially alike—the improved plough and harrow, the drill, the reaper, the thrashing-machine, and the separator of to-day, are, in their nature and design, essentially the same as the ruder implements of past ages; but their form is more neat, their efficiency greater, and their use more rational and economic. The everlasting principles, underlying the older appliances, come out in ever new and wiser combinations. So likewise in the Kingdom of God—the present, outward, historical Church of Christ. Whatever is essential in the economy of grace remains the same in all ages and countries; whatever is merely accidental, continually changes and adapts itself to present circumstances. Very beautifully has our Divine Lord said: "Every scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, is like unto a man that is a householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old"—that is, the truth, essentially unchangeable, is brought out in an endless variety of new forms and combinations, adapted to the ever-varying cir-

cumstances of the Church, and effectually meeting all the diversified wants of her spiritual children.

The same holds true in regard to all other departments of life, the various industrial, artistic, and mechanical pursuits. Are these carried forward in the same style now as they were prosecuted centuries ago? Are the implements and agencies used at the present day the same as those which five or ten or even three centuries ago were deemed sufficient for all practical purposes? What wonderful changes are witnessed in this particular. What improvements in machinery; and what changes in the mode of applying this machinery appear even in the course of a few years; and yet the great principles, upon which mechanical pursuits were carried forward in the early ages, and are still carried forward in some secluded portions of the world, at the present day, are precisely the same in substance as those which are practised upon by the most enlightened and advanced nations of modern times. The same remark may be made in regard to the higher intellectual pursuits—the learned professions. Are the same methods, in all respects, pursued by professional men now-a-days, that were followed ages ago? Is the professional man of the present day —the Artist, the Physician, the Lawyer, the Politician, or the Minister of the Gospel, the same in every particular, as were those occupying like positions in the days of old? Are the text-books which they severally use, and the methods of using them of one and the same order precisely as they were in the fifteenth century, or even in the eighteenth?

If we pass from these to the sphere of education, and inquire into the present character of our schools, primary and classical, do we not see precisely the same difference between these and those of former times? Even the higher institutions of learning, which, in the nature of the case, were more perfectly organized and received greater attention than those of a lower grade, have undergone very great, and, in some instances, radical changes. The entire course of intellectual and moral training, as connected with these vast establishments, has, in some in-

stances, been so completely changed as to make them appear wholly different from similar institutions in the past; sometimes, perhaps, these changes were made for the worse; but generally, it is hoped, for the better. Great, indeed, and radical are the improvements in this particular field. Do we now use the same text-books that were employed half a century ago? or do we pursue the same methods precisely in giving instruction or exercising discipline in the schools of the present day with those that were prevalent in the days of our childhood or youth even? Those of us who only a quarter of a century ago were found behind the teacher's desk, and felt ourselves at home in the exercises of the school-room, then, would now experience a sense of strangeness, if suddenly called to perform the duties of a teacher even in a common country school. Everything connected with the school-room, the text-books, and the duties of the teacher, has since radically changed; in some cases the entire appearance of the school-room has been so altered that we would feel ourselves utterly at a loss how to take hold of things if called upon unexpectedly to occupy the place of instructors. And shall we, amidst all these changes in the sphere of intellectual activity, deem it impossible or at least impolitic to admit of changes in the sphere of religion? It is true that, here, as in the other case, great caution is required, lest we should change for the worse, and thus injure the cause which we hoped to benefit. These dangers, however, confront us everywhere; and, in all our efforts to improve the state of things around us, we must run the risk of mixing evil with the intended good, elements of a deteriorating character with those of an elevating, refining, and salutary nature.

Applying these general principles to the state of the Church and her spiritual requirements, do we not see their importance in determining the course which we are called to pursue? Do we not find, that, while the great principles, underlying all the outward arrangements, rites, ceremonies, customs, and practical operations of the Church, especially also her forms of worship, are and will forever remain the same: yet these

external or economic arrangements themselves cannot, in the nature of the case, be always the same, without in many ways proving themselves wholly unadapted to the present exigencies of the Church, and the wants of the world at large. The puerile charge of innovation, gotten up in the interest of this or that selfish scheme, the frequent alarms sounded in reference to changes in worship, or the discipline, or the statement of doctrines, and the frantic hue and cry made against the friends of progress in the Church, these are, one and all of them, among the most foolish and absurd things imaginable. Such an outward, mechanical, unyielding system of petrified thought and lifeless traditions as deals only in dead men's bones, and is alarmed at every sign of theological life and progress, is perfectly irrational and self-destructive. How, confined to such principles, and standing on such a narrow basis, could the Church ever have freed itself from the traditional fetters, unnatural trammels, and accumulated doctrinal and practical errors of the middle ages? How could the Reformers of the sixteenth century have shaken off the foreign elements which had incrusted the doctrines and ceremonies of the Ancient Church to such an extent as almost to hide the genuine doctrine of Christ crucified, and to subvert the beautiful simplicity and pious usages of primitive times? And, if the heroic preachers of righteousness in the sixteenth century could shake off the accumulated errors of past ages, why should not earnest and good men now-a-days be permitted to improve the condition of the Church, when such improvement is evidently and loudly called for at their hands? Must all such changes and improvements, whether in doctrinal statements, theological speculations, prevailing customs and ceremonies, or in forms of worship, be thought wrong and inadmissible? It cannot be!

We have seen that in the world of matter, and so in the world of mind, also, things are continually changing, and thus furnishing presumptive evidence of changes in the Kingdom of God; so also in the political world we have the like strong evidence in favor of changes in the Church and her economic

arrangements. The State is equally as much from God as the Church; and the fundamental laws which govern the State are as truly divine and immutable as the laws and ordinances which regulate the affairs of the Church of God. But who would think of making any particular form of the State, or the laws prevailing at any particular period of the world's history, to be forever and immutably fixed and settled, without any further possibility of change or improvement? Law, indeed, whether civil, social, or ecclesiastical, is, as to its essence, unchangeable; but, as to its outward forms or manifestations, it is continually appearing under widely different aspects. Hence the distinction between common law and statute law. The one is fundamental and immutable, as grounded in the constitution of the world; the other, in its manifold forms, is changeable, free, and susceptible of adapting itself to the ever-varying circumstances of human society. The one is invariably the same in all climes and all ages of the world; the other is as free as the mountain air, constantly appearing in different forms and subserving widely different purposes, according as these diversified forms are required to meet special civil or political necessities. Hence the rise of nations is universally characterized by the paucity and simplicity of the laws enacted and put in force; afterwards these special enactments are greatly multiplied. Look, for example, at our own glorious Republic, and its wise and equitable laws. How different are its legislative enactments, its civil and municipal laws and regulations of the present day from what they were in its earliest stages—in its formative period! Then a few simple enactments of a special kind were found amply sufficient to meet all its current wants, and to keep the political machinery in motion. As the population of the country gradually increased, extending itself over our vast territory, and causing new settlements to be thus formed; and, as in this way, the various mechanical and industrial pursuits were multiplied, the requirements upon the legislative body of the nation became wholly different and far more numerous.

And can we now fail to see the justness of these remarks, and their relevancy to the state of the Church under her manifold changes and widely differing circumstances? Does not each particular state of the Church's growth and development, also, demand a corresponding class of duties, and give shape and form to all her practical operations? And are not these changes in the outward circumstances of the Church continually occurring? If in that which is least, in the physical, social, and political world, as well as in the sphere of intellect, such mighty changes take place, and call for such varied action, why may not the same things take place in that which is greatest? If in the sphere of nature and of civil society we recognize these incessant changes, and act accordingly in such a way as to meet effectually the ever-recurring and totally different wants thence arising, why should we hesitate to do the same things in the sphere of religion—in the Kingdom of God?

The same thing precisely meets us in the family. Here, too, we are confronted with certain fundamental principles, which, founded on the nature of things, are perpetually and under all conceivable circumstances the same. They cannot, in the nature of things, be dispensed with, or even modified, so far as their nature and essence are concerned; and yet these general principles, immutable though they be, are constantly brought out under new relations, and in an endless variety of different forms, so as to meet all the varied necessities of the family circle. And here, again, what wondrous changes have not taken place in this particular department of human society! The State, in advancing from the rudest and most primitive condition of barbarism, or of savage life even, to a state of advanced civilization and high social culture, has not exhibited greater transmutations than has the family or home circle. Our habitations, customs, domestic regulations, furniture, and dress, even, have all undergone radical changes; so much so, indeed, that if our simple-hearted ancestors of only a few centuries ago should once more return to the earth, and re-

visit their former homes, the scenes of their earthly life, they would be utterly confounded and amazed at the wonderful changes which in the course of a few hundred years have been effected. But is not the family, in all its different phases, as closely and as vitally connected with the Church—the family of God—as with the State? And if our domestic and civil progress or growth is legitimate, and our prevailing social and political condition of the present day requires a wholly different regime from that of these same spheres of life only a few centuries ago, why should we think it strange and repugnant to our feelings to admit of the like extensive changes in the outward condition of the Church—in her customs, doctrinal statements, accepted formularies, and order of worship, generally? Why should not the gradual advancement of religious knowledge and higher Christian experience call for and employ a loftier and more refining ritual, and a purer and better mode of adoring the Supreme Being? If the extensive and in some respects radical changes in Church architecture, its advancement from the primitive and unpretentious "meeting-house," in which our sainted fathers worshiped, to the grand and imposing cathedral, or the highly ornamented gothic structure, are now almost universally sanctioned and admired, why should we not also have a correspondingly elevated, imposing, and soul-stirring Liturgy to give tone and character to the far holier inner temple and its blessed worship? Why should we make clean and carefully ornament the outside of the sanctuary, and leave the inner house and its worship bare and uninspiring? No satisfactory reason, so far as we know, has ever been assigned, or even attempted, for sanctioning the one and condemning the other—for regarding the one as legitimate and proper, and the other as abnormal—a dangerous and unauthorized innovation!

The plea has sometimes been advanced that religion differs essentially, and as to its very substance, from all other spheres of life: that, while these are natural, Christianity is supernatural; that, while they belong to the present order of the

world, religion belongs essentially to the spiritual and invisible world—the world to come; and, that, owing to this essential difference in the two classes of things which we have been comparing, the comparison itself is illegitimate and inadmissible. This plea has some weight in appearance; but not so in fact. Is not the natural world as really from God as the supernatural? And is there not, then, also a real correspondence or parallelism running through the entire length and breadth of the two systems? And did not the Redeemer of the world, in the use of His inimitable parables, employ and consecrate to holy and religious purposes the entire world of Nature and of history? And did He not, in this way, also successfully demonstrate the possibility of clothing every possible spiritual truth in an earthly garb, even as He Himself—the pure and blessed Son of God—put on a garment of flesh?

We think the case is perfectly clear; but we submit the following example, as a full and complete demonstration of the essential identity of the two worlds, and the perfect legitimacy of using illustrations from the one to set forth the truth embodied in the other. The earth is essentially the same now as it was when it came from the hand of God. Its soil is the same; all its varied productions of the present day are the same substantially as they were at the beginning, and require essentially the same constituent elements for their successful growth; and the fundamental principles which underlie the several methods of cultivating the ground, in different ages of the world, and of growing the fruits of the earth, are also essentially the same. If, notwithstanding this sameness of the earth and of the principles which govern its culture, we yet employ methods, now, entirely different from those which prevailed centuries ago; why may we not, also, in cultivating God's spiritual heritage—the vineyard of the Lord—employ different methods in different ages of the world? The end or object is substantially the same in both cases. We seek, by proper culture, to make the natural ground productive of natural or temporal fruits, in the one case, and the spiritual

ground, by appropriate spiritual culture, productive of spiritual fruits—the fruits of righteousness and of good living—in the other case. Do we ever object to the honest and laborious cultivators of the natural soil, for employing the complicated machinery and efficient agricultural implements of the present day, in place of the rude and slovenly implements of a former and ruder age? Why then should we deem it a thing incredible, that, in the onward march of civilization and Christian culture, God should permit His believing children to make some advancement, also, in the current mode and greater efficiency of cultivating the spiritual field of the world? We may especially ask this question in view of what the Redeemer of the world Himself has said in reference to the relation of the two worlds to each other: "So is the Kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground; and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how: for the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear."

What we contend for, then, is steady, normal, continued growth and advancement in the Church of Christ, bringing about ever clearer views of divine truth, and greater simplicity, beauty, and fervor of devotion; and these again must continually appear in fuller and more exact doctrinal statements, and in a higher order of worship, as well as a practical life and conduct more fully imbued with the spirit of Christ.

Any course of procedure, which practically ignores such living progress, is plainly suicidal, and must of necessity end in the ruin of the Church. And such an unprogressive course is just as foolish in itself as it is fatal in its consequences to the Kingdom of God. As well might we object to proper progress in the arts and sciences, or to any changes in the application of scientific principles to the ordinary mechanical and industrial pursuits of life. If we are to stop short, just now, in any one of these departments of knowledge or of practical every-day life; why not contend that a stop ought to

have been put to them in the ages past; why not six, or even sixty centuries ago? Why not insist that one branch, at least, of natural science attained its perfection in the naming of the animals by Adam; another in the planting of the Garden of Eden; a third in the cursory notice taken of the sun, and moon, and stars, as they rose successively over the smiling earth and spreading seas? Why not insist, that, in the sphere of the Fine Arts, men should have stopped short in the very first ages? In the sphere of music, for instance, with the famous exploits of the accomplished Jubal—"the father of all such as handle the harp and the organ?" Why not declare Poetry and Song to have reached their consummation in the memorable distich of Lamech? Or Sculpture to have attained its acme, and perfected itself in the rude and primitive carvings of the antediluvians? Why not pronounce Architecture completed, copy-righted, and permanently crystallized in the building of the tower of Babel, or in the fragile lake-houses and rock-dens of the pre-historic period and its naked savages, or in the rude tent of the roving Bedouin? There is no reason in the world for stopping short suddenly either now or at any future time, rather than at any one period in the history of the distant past. And so in the sphere of religion. Why not stop with the simple offerings of Abel and Cain, or the sublime prophecy of Balaam, or the setting up of the "tabernacle" in the wilderness? Simply, we answer, because the Church of God is a living, active, growing organism, and the religion of the Holy One a living and progressive religion. The Church of Christ, also, must advance perpetually in her united capacity, as well as in her individual members, viewed even in the light of the famous mathematical axiom, that "the whole is equal to the sum of its parts." In regard to the whole body of Christians, as well as in regard to any one of them separately taken, it is strictly true, that "the path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more until the perfect day." So in reference to her doctrines and her worship. The intellectual apprehension of the one,

and the fervor, sublimity, and elevating character of the other, should steadily advance, until, in the beautiful temple "not made with hands," the believing and consummated worshiper stands morally "perfect and complete, wanting nothing." The fundamental principles of religion—the ground truths—have, indeed, always been the same, and always will be the same essentially; but the very same thing may also be said of the principles of Science, of Art, of Philosophy, and even of the ordinary and every-day occupations of life. There is, in this respect, as Solomon beautifully says, literally "nothing new under the sun"—nothing new, that is, so far as principles are concerned; only new and ever-varying combinations of what has always been at hand—laid up in the great store-house of Nature.

What we have now said of doctrine and worship applies, also, with equal force to ecclesiastical order and discipline, or Church government. Neither the one nor the other of the various and somewhat conflicting forms of Church order, current at present, can claim absolute and sole right to recognition. The great diversity which we observe in the prevailing schemes of Church government, must convince any one, who has power to think, that the whole truth lies neither in the one nor the other of these different schemes exclusively—especially not in any of the extremes. Where, exactly, in the intermediate territory, the true and normal platform—the beau-ideal of Church Polity—shall be located, it is hard to say; but, we think, there can be no question as to the great improvements and extensive changes which will have to be effected on this checkered territory before the final consummation of the Kingdom of God in the world. As this question, however, does not properly come within the province of our present discussion, we shall not pursue this line of remark any further. What we designed showing by these casual remarks, is, that the general idea of progress runs through every department of theological and ecclesiastical science and discussion; and that it will be necessary for the Church of the future to bring all

these earnest questions under careful review. How else can the much-desired union of Churches ever take place? How can we ever hope to see such union effected, except there be very material concessions made on the part of the several denominations in this matter of Ecclesiastical Polity?

We must therefore, insist on continual progress in the Church of Christ, as both necessary and legitimate. The rich mines and hidden treasures of the Divine Word must be carefully explored, and brought out in ever clearer light and greater power; the deep "mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven" must be more fully apprehended and accurately formulated; the divine-human Person of Christ must be more lovingly brought into the fore-ground of all our theological speculations; the Church, the mystical body of Christ, must be made to rise upon the soul of the believer in ever brighter glory; the Holy Sacraments, the divinely ordained means of grace, must be more fully studied, explained, and appreciated; the overwhelmingly solemn and profound mysteries connected with the "last things," death, judgment, and the state of the departed, must be unraveled; and the blessed services of the sanctuary must be elevated, beautified, and rendered more hearty and fervent, in the use of better, loftier, and more appropriate forms of devotion—of public worship!

Art. III.—SOME REMARKS UPON THE APOSTOLIC COMMISSION.

BY REV. E. E. HIGBEE.

"And Jesus came, and spake unto them, saying, All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."—Matthew xxviii. 18, 19.

The challenge which Christianity makes to the world, is essentially the same now as when Christ first commissioned His apostles. Although the world may have changed, and the possibilities lodged in the constitution of our human life may have been more largely brought out in the process of history, and although men generally may more clearly apprehend now, than ever before, what is involved in the heavenly and earthly; yet the risen Christ holds the same central significance and authority in the whole sphere of our spiritual and earthly existence, and continues to be the source and substance of the commission under which alone the Church now, as at the beginning, challenges the attention of mankind. And so also, as we shall see, there is the same fundamental necessity, now as ever, to bring mankind into discipleship—to bring them into the obedience of faith—to baptize them into the presence and power of the full revelation of God which challenges them in the person of Christ, that thus they may complete the meaning of their own existence, and not fall back overwhelmed with the sense of mighty struggles ending at last only in absolute failure. The words of St. Paul to the Colossians contain an imperishable truth, applicable to all ages, "In him all the fullness of the Godhead dwelleth bodily, and ye are complete in him, who (seeing that he is) is the head of all principality and power."—Col. ii. 9, 10.

In trying to present the claims of religion in its highest and

absolute form as it meets us in Christianity, we might begin with the specific self-revelation of God which is made to confront our spiritual being, and show how this revelation, entering history at the start as the Word of God, reaches at last its consummation in the person of Christ, the Word made flesh, and perpetuates its presence in history through the Spirit in the Church unto the end, and demands, therefore, with full authority the assent of our life in so far as the idea of religion is a necessary factor of its moral organism. We prefer, however, in accordance with the practical interests we have now in view, to commence with man himself, as he is in the world, and see how the very constitution of his life looks forward necessarily according to its idea, to such a mystery—such an inflow of life from above—and that, unless he put it away from him, and suppress its light, and judge himself *unworthy* of everlasting life, that is, shut out of view the very highest possibility of his own moral being, he must recognize its claims, and come to know in proper obedience its significance and power, and find the true content of his own being. St. Paul clearly implies a truth of this kind in the declaration "If our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost: in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believed not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them."—2 Cor. iv. 3, 4. The eye of the spirit is made originally with capacity to open and receive the inflowing light of the divine Word, and is only kept from this by being blinded by the god of this world.

In both methods, above referred to, the obedience is alike; but we wish to emphasize its freedom rather than its necessity, and see the claims of Christianity as entering into the deepest inner world of character, rather than as coming from without. We pursue this course also, because while men seem to be willing to recognize the claims of moral ideas, as these meet them in the organism of the State, in law and politics, in art and philosophy, and would not be accused of neglect here, nor fear the charge of servitude in striving to complete their lives so

far as possible in these spheres, as the capitols, and court-houses, and schools of the land attest; yet, when the idea of religion, more fundamental and comprehensive than all others, meets them in its very substance and full realization in the Kingdom of God among men, they are prone to set aside its claims as not essential to the completion of humanity here, however necessary for some vague and visionary condition of life beyond the grave. Christianity becomes a sort of appendage—an ornament of civilization, and something quite apart from the practical or theoretical pursuits of men. This is what St. Paul styles a return to the rudiments of this world, in place of a will and intelligence illumined by Him in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. We begin with man also, because this age is predominantly humanitarian; and this is a sublime truth or a gross heresy, just as our life is made to seek its fulness of meaning either in the Kingdom of God, or in the sphere of mere worldly ends and resources.

All are willing to acknowledge that man is firmly rooted in nature—that there is a large fund of material at hand wrought up in some way into the mould of his body—forces coming from behind his own active consciousness, and in which his life at the start is imbedded. Although it may be difficult to determine these forces which are busy constructing the body as by a phantasy, (a plastic soul activity), already indwelling and at work, yet the fact cannot be denied. This all can recognize at once in the difference of sex, the peculiarities of family, of nation, of race, and of temperaments in which the individual is bound. The whole individual physical existence stands in the bosom of such general forces necessarily. Just as there are forces of this character coming from behind each individual conscious existence on the physical side, so also the same truth meets us on the spirit-side. There is a spiritual world—spiritual forces, coming down from above, coming into the spirit from behind its conscious activity, constituting a spiritual birthright—a spiritual fund, opening up possibilities which reach out into the whole field of man's moral culture.

> "Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God, who is our home."— *Wordsworth.*

It is not our purpose to discuss these spiritual plasticities, inworking ideas from above, and show how they come to an utterance within us—high instincts, breathing inspiration

> "* * * before which our moral Nature
> Did tremble like a guilty Thing surprised."

What we wish to call attention to is just this, that every person is confronted with this general life problem, viz., to carry this whole natural base, this whole birth-right of forces, physical and metaphysical, up into the reality of freedom, to assimilate the whole, so to speak, and cause it to enter by the determination of his will and intelligence into the mould of character, and thus become the organ and medium of his own rational existence. What is required now for the solution of this moral problem challenging every man is strength in the will to realize in act amidst all the varying circumstances and relations of life, and light in the intellect to see at all times, the highest good. In other words, there must be power for each man to make the actual of his own being become one with the idea of the same as in the Divine mind, so that the "thou shalt," which comes with absolute authority, may be forever met with the loving response I will and I do. What is required still further, as necessarily involved in this, is, that not only the individual will should have this power, but that the whole order of society, the collective will as this meets us in the family, the state, the nation, in fine as it meets us in all the organisms of history, should do the same, so that the idea of humanity, and its actualization in history may be one; that history may image forth in its own glory—the glory of God.

This problem, we repeat, confronting every man, is the problem whose solution underlies the whole movement of history, but it is forever unsolved, and must remain so, unless the

Word of God in whose original energy the whole order came forth, and in the presence and power of which it can only stand, becomes for us and in us *spirit* and *life*. The whole economy of the world in which we are reaches no completion without this, but ends in inevitable failure. It struggles towards it, reaches out after it, as though just this was the aim and law of its evolution, the very heritage of man its crown. It falls back, but only to enter again upon the restless effort, moving on in worlds unrealized. It gropes through darkness as by the force of a light still shining and which cannot be suppressed; and the sublime declaration of faith is as the rejoicing welcome of a radiant morning long desired and yearned for: "We know that the Son of God is come, and we are in Him that is true, even in His Son, Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life."

Take, for example, the general idea of right, which underlies our moral being. It is a birth-right of the spirit. It asserts its presence of necessity in every moral judgment. It has given birth to all those customs and habits which meet us in the *common law*. It has inspired, as with divine breath, a Lycurgus, a Solon, and others. In its continuous application to given cases it has formed and is now forming a body of statute law. It has entered into the whole movement of history, and confronts us with the reality of jurisprudence. The power of self-vindication involved in it has also awakened from its slumber, and armed magistracy with its penalties from fines through jails and prisons to the gallows. In itself universal and immutable, it has, however, found but a poor, broken, fragmentary actualization in our individual or collective life. It looks towards full actualization in will, but in vain among men. There is not power to bring it to pass in its fullness. Who has ever in his life at all times married the eternal idea of right with individual act, so that the twain have become one flesh? Who has incarnated in his life the eternal idea, so that the one is glorified in the other? What will has been filled with its inspiring presence so as to be strong and steadfast?

What intelligence has been able to see the good involved in every occasion, with an ability of prompt and precise application to bring it into reality? Who has risen so high above self, so mastered the mere impulses and appetencies of nature, the prejudiced maxims of a disorganized society, the wider yet relative duties of profession or nationality, as ever to dwell in the serene, untroubled vision of the absolute idea of right itself, and to have all power in this sphere to bring it to utterance—to will it everywhere and at all times with full freedom, whether the struggles of the wilderness, the agony of the garden, or the passion of the cross stand in his pathway—to subordinate at once all earthly and spiritual power, meeting in the will, to do it homage—to restore the perfect image of its beauty shattered among men, while the Father, midst the glory of such transfiguration of human life, declares "Thou art my Son in whom I am well pleased"?

To ask such questions as these is to answer them. Humanity struggles here in vain; and yet the very struggle shows its high moral worth and dignity, as though the human spirit had power to see from afar the glory it cannot reach, as though while far inland it yet had "sight of that immortal sea, and could hear its mighty waters rolling evermore."—*Wordsworth.*

All power, and just here in one aspect is the challenge of Christianity to the world; all power, not simply to arm the idea of right with its awful might of self-vindication, and hurl sinful mankind beneath its terrible penalty, but all power to actualize the idea in fallen human life and history, first in His own person, and then in us through the inbreathing of His Spirit, unselfing the will and intelligence, and making us free in Himself who is truth—all power also to breathe into customs and statutes and the whole body of jurisprudence an inspiration of strength, and purity, and dignity, and love, such as can come from no other source, for He is the creative source and sustaining substance of the idea itself; all power here is given to Christ, the sinless one; *therefore* go forth into the desert of the world, amidst its shadowy, fragmentary approximations to

right, and herald this glorious reality which glorified the wilderness and the garden and Calvary, and disciple the nations, baptizing them into the presence and power of such revelation of spirit and life for and among men, until righteousness shall fill the earth and cover the seas.

The power of this perfect righteousness in Christ, rests not in this, that He has made a clearer representation of the ethical idea, but in the fact of a sinless personality, in which the will of God is realized in act—a *personal* revelation of God among men. This gives to the righteousness of Christ a universal and eternal significance. It is itself a revelation. It is, in the ethical sphere, the brightness of the Father's glory streaming in upon the world. What in fact are the new heavens and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness but our humanity fully open to the inflow of the life of Jesus? "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature. Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new."—2 Cor. v. 17.

Again, take another factor of the moral process, entering of necessity into every development of moral life, the so-called social principle, the mutual complementing of personalities in the organism of humanity. This of course lies behind all individual existence, preceding reflection and volition. The idea of the whole underlies all the relations of its constituent parts. This principle asserts itself universally wherever man meets his fellow-man. It utters itself in the spontaneous salutation, in the disposition to please, in the instinctive desire of recognition from others, in benevolence and gratitude, in love and wrath. It underlies the family, the neighborhood, the municipality, the State, the arts, and sciences and language. The idea seems to have infinite sweep. It reaches out toward a full integration of our human life, where all shall come to see and realize that they are bound together in a perpetual friendship, where being flows into being, and each and all mutually complement one another. It has inspired a thousand Utopian dreams, and been the source of many bloody revolutions. It

is now agitating modern civilization with a force which is coming to be felt more and more.

Here again the glorious idea fails to find anything more than a poor fragmentary utterance in our human life. We cannot here enter into detail. Enough if we so present the course of thought that the reader may carry it out.

Who has ever at all times in his life not lived unto himself? Who has risen up from family and town and country and nationality to such all-embracing love of humanity as to be willing to bear its awful burden of misery and woe to deliver it and perfect it? Who has, when forsaken of all, and driven to lonely mountains, and persecuted and stoned from the communion of the Synagogue, yet wept tears of love ineffable over the coming desolation, and when betrayed with a kiss and spurned of mankind and nailed to a cross, yet poured out the yearning prayer, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do"? Who has ever been able to give himself up for man? (Philippians ii. 4–7.) What feeble, broken love, what fragmentary family life, what envy of neighborhoods, what jealousy of municipalities, what animosity of States, what war of nations, mark the whole pathway of our life!

Here, as before, the moral economy demands for that completion toward which it is made to look a spirit and life breathed into humanity from the living Word of God. There must be a power to bind men together freely in the life of each other and of God, not possibly gained from earth—a community of being where, in St. Paul's sublime words, "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all."

All power, and this is the claim and challenge of Christianity—all power to bind men together in friendship and spiritual interchange of being, perfect and ever enduring—all power, not simply to kindle divine wrath against the wrongs of social life, the pride and envy and ignorance and contention of mankind, but power to carry from the hills of Bethlehem, with an ever widening crescendo, over the broad earth the melody of

heaven, "peace on earth, good-will towards men;" all power is given to Jesus, go ye *therefore*, and among the dissevered nations herald the glorious mystery, baptizing them into the presence and power of that communion and fellowship which He brought down to earth, and which closed, as with a breath of celestial love, His intercessory prayer, "I in them and Thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one."

What has thus far been said of the moral economy in which the idea of the good is inwrought, working in us toward an actualization quite impossible without the incoming of that living Word of God in whom the whole order stands from the beginning, is in itself sufficient to show that our human life must feel the need of this, and is in some way capacitated for it. Indeed the idea of God, of revelation, of religion is at work in our life from the very start, as the most fundamental and comprehensive birth-right of the Spirit.* No survey of the history of man can exclude this from view. We see everywhere a sense of the divine, a feeling of something required from above. More than this, we find the feeling so powerful and universal as to inspire the imagination to the construction of religious myths, and to the peopling of earth and air and seas with deities innumerable. It seems as though humanity must join to itself a supernatural world to satisfy its own wants and complete itself. It hungers and thirsts for an unseen and eternal world, and the very hunger and thirst bring up through the phantasy a visionary, unreal spiritual world, which proves in the end, however, to be but a mockery of satisfaction, like a dream. The idea of religion thus originally working into our life looks forward, the more deeply we examine it, to a real objective union of our whole life and being with God,—a revelation of life from heaven in which our life may find completion and rest.

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* "Ut porro firmissimum hoc afferri videtur, cur Deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam sit immanis, cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio. * * * Nec vero id collocatio hominum aut consensus efficit: non institutis opinio est confirmata, non legibus. Omnis autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda est." Cicero Tusc. Disp. i. 30.

The religion of nature has a law and movement which seem to hold within view an end which it cannot attain. Myths are not wholly irrational or capricious. Commencing with the merely physical they rise higher and higher till they reach the spiritual in man. From the impersonal East to the personal West there is a progress. In the Greek poetry and sculpture a double effort shows itself, to deify the human, and to incarnate the divine. In the Scandinavian fable, out of the chaos of a burning universe arises a new world, and a palace more resplendent than the sun, where are joys and pleasures forevermore. The myths all look and move in a certain definite direction, and have definite contents, as though the idea of religion ruled the phantasy with an objective force, guiding it in its activity. But myth is not reality; and man strives in vain to reach the reality of which the myth is but a dissolving dream. He seeks it and cannot quench his aspirations for it. He struggles up towards it and falls back again entangled and ensnared with self and the world. He passes not into the heaven. ("ὁ χάλκεος οὐρανος οὔ ποτ' ἀμβατος αὐτῳ" Pindar). Just here as in a focus, concentre the weaknesses and disorganizations of our whole life. Here the very light within us seems to verge on darkness. "Wretched is he," says the poet Empedocles, "whom *dark thought* concerning the gods perplexes." Man is forced to feel in the way of utter helplessness at last and never-ending want, that the Divine must come to guide him.

We see, just in proportion as we have eyes to see, that our whole moral being demands the idea of religion, and that this idea, as it works in upon us, finds no power of actualization. We see that we have no power to join our life truly and freely with the powers of the unseen and eternal world, and that the struggle is helpless,—an endless endeavor and an endless failure. There is no power to unite and hold together the two worlds, although there is a dim sense that they belong together originally. "One is the race of men, and one is the race of gods, and from one mother we both draw our breath," sings the religious Pindar.

There is no power indeed to hold together the physical and spiritual as united already at the start in our individual existence. The dust returns to dust, and our life ends here in a full dissolution of soul and body, a mystery and terror overwhelming to thought. This terror is borne in upon us with ten-fold power when we realize that the whole world lieth in the wicked one, that there are hierarchies of evil in heavenly places, powers and principalities and dominions, and that the very glory of the world after which we are striving comes in the end to be but the religious capacity of the human spirit filled not by the heavenly but by the infernal,—a man of sin and not a man of God,—a hell and not a heaven,—an everlasting bondage, and not eternal freedom.

Now all power, and this is the sublime challenge of Christianity, is given to Christ to bring into our life the powers of the world to come; to join the two worlds together; to reveal the Father among men; to unveil the supernatural by opening up to the eye of faith the absolute life and light of God centering in and flowing forth from Himself as the "brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of His person;" to breathe His Spirit into man, and carry our life, as made to be in Him everlasting, through sin and death and hades into the full glory of the heavenly; to actualize the idea of religion first in the mystery of His own person, the Word made flesh, the very substance of the idea itself, and then in us by the indwelling of His quickening Spirit whereby we are in Him and He in us, so that our mortality shall put on immortality and our corruptible shall put on incorruptibility;—all power in this sphere is given to Christ; go ye, *therefore*, and herald the glorious mystery among the nations, baptizing them into the presence and power of His new-creating kingdom, that they may have a hope full of life and immortality.

To be in Christ is righteousness,—the perfection of self,—the sphere of life and light in which the genius of each and all can alone come to any full consciousness of its meaning and aim. Here the divine purpose,—the most fundamental

work assigned us, is reached. "This is the work of God," before which all others are at once subordinate, "that ye believe on Him whom the Father hath sent." How can any other aim of life for a moment stand in the place of this? This is the most original, principial, right and duty of personality.

To be in Christ is the ultimate of social completeness. He is all and in all, and if members of Him we are members one of another. "I in them and Thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one." Where is there an integration that can pass beyond this? To be in Christ is the highest good. He is the absolute good. To be in Christ is to have the will free by its being brought there into union with the ground will, the source of all life and law. God wills Himself—"If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." "I am the truth." To be in Christ is the very substance of religion, beyond which there can be no other revelation. In Him the whole world of the supernatural has its source and substance, and faith in Him is at once union with the eternal,—the eye of the Spirit opened to the life and light which stream forth from Him, the absolute fountain. "No one hath seen God at any time. The only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him." The mystery of authority and power behind the Commission involves all this—ALL power is given to *Me*, as the very presence of Jehovah among men, as God manifested, as the very life itself which is the light of men; go *therefore*, that is, go filled with the sense of such overwhelming centralness and universalness of power, of such full self-evidencing of truth and grace, and disciple the nations.

We cannot forbear quoting here a hymn, selected by the Hymn Committee of our Church, which, with a poetic beauty only equalled by its profound grasp of the Gospel, brings into view the thought which we have been trying to express.

"Eternal Word! God's true and only Son,
Maker, and Lord, and Heir, and Judge of all;
First-born of every creature; Holy One!
We praise Thy Name, and on Thy Name we call.

"Jehovah dwells from everlasting years
In silence and in solitude concealed;
And yet from everlasting He appears
In Thee to all His universe revealed.

"And life and love and truth and joy and might,
And all the creature lieth incomplete,
Some darkness lingering in their purest light—
Only in Thee doth all their fullness meet.

"True Son of God, our sonship is in Thee;
True Light of God, our wisdom too Thou art;
O Lamb from earth's foundation slain for me,
Thou bringest life and peace into my heart.

"Ever in Thee the Father is revealed,
Ever in Thee all things are reconciled,
Ever in Thee our sins and wounds are healed;—
Glory to Thee, the Pure and Undefiled."

It is our conviction that the present age especially needs such a presentation of Christianity as the Apostolic Commission, now under consideration, certainly involves, where every thing is made to centre in Christ as the very fullness of the Divine revealed among men. All power is given to ME; go *therefore*, as with the very presence and power of the absolute God, and baptize the nations into this mystery, which involves the whole revelation of the triune God; the ever essential object of faith, without which all else in the sphere of religion will prove to be but darkness. We do not mean that doctrinal theology should be neglected, but properly focalized. We do not mean that confessional standards should not be properly estimated as partial images of the fullness of truth; but we mean that, before all else, faith in Christ as involving the only true conjunction of our life with the life of God, as the setting of our spirit fundamentally into the life and light of the heavenly and thus making possible the full completion of what is involved in our humanity, should be proclaimed as *the work*, the *all essential* work demanded of God.

The ministry should feel that their authority rests not in the confessional or denominational formulas which they may and should properly revere, nor in the organization simply within whose special limits they stand, but as did Moses, only with a higher warrant, the ministry should know and realize that the *I AM*, the absolute God, the one who hath all life and truth in Himself, all power in heaven and earth, hath given the commission with the breath of the Holy Ghost to perpetuate it among men unto the end. Faith here, thus centered upon its object, the very orb of Light which challenges and makes possible its activity, gives serenity in the midst of the necessary conflicts through which the now divided Church is called to struggle. It inspires the hope that a deeper apprehension of Christ, a profounder grasp of the mystery of His person, will in time give the necessary mastery of the new and solemn problems which confront the religious world with such powerful calls upon it for solution. It will serve to give to this age, as to the early age of martyrs, a firm conviction that in the crisis there shall be a reconciling advent of Christ; not however an abrupt and magical descent, which would be but an external sign-giving at the most, but an advent of Christ to the inner consciousness of the Church, an unfolding of His fullness in the apprehension of faith in such form as shall conserve the results of history, (though the fashion of it may pass away) and carry the vast resources of modern culture and science into a free, not servile obedience. Certainly the only alternatives are not infidelity on the one hand, and papal infallibility on the other.

Such faith, (and it is strange that it should be sneered at as Christocentric nonsense, and as a denial of the atonement, when Christ everywhere makes Himself the very centre of all revelation, the only possible revelation of the Father, and sender of the Spirit: "I am the truth," "I am the bread of life," "I am the resurrection and the life," "He that believeth in me hath everlasting life," "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us full of grace and truth" and so on from Genesis to the end—Christ *is* the Word of God): such faith, we con

tinue, organizes at once the method of presenting the Gospel, just as the Sun may be said to organize the orbits of the planets. Its architectonic power underlies the Creed, arranges the canon of Scripture, and gives such rhythmical order to the Church year, which moves from the Nativity into the Epiphany, which in one aspect consummates itself in the transfiguration, an unfolding from within of a glory which transfuses and transfigures the whole outward, and which, in another aspect, moves onward into the conflict with surrounding darkness until it bursts forth again in the hallowed Easter, and then again in the reproductive fruit-bearing of Pentecost, and then again onward until the mystical body shall be glorified, and the Church show herself a bride adorned for the Bridegroom.

It systematizes and centralizes the whole compass of religious thought. It spreads an illuminating glory over the whole record of Scripture, because here the eye of the Spirit is open to the Word of God, which Word is forever the Logos, who was made flesh and dwelt among us. "They (the Scriptures) are they that testify of me;" and by coming to Him their testimony unfolds itself, as mountains and hills and plains come out into form beneath the rising sun. It gives mouth and wisdom amidst adversaries. It brings in a new inspiring life into the will, and this streams in with enkindling warmth upon the intelligence, until *the good* and *the true* are married in the soul. "Add to your faith, virtue, and to virtue knowledge,"—an order which cannot be reversed or severed without the loss in fact of the whole series. No one can grasp the records of Scripture aright from any other point of view. They are unintelligible except as seen in their own light, and that light is the Sun of righteousness. Heaven and earth flow together in His presence. Amidst His miracles He stands Himself the central glory, and they are but the flowings forth of the power and virtue which are in Him. They constitute the *aura*—the atmosphere of His glory. Without Him, the miracle is itself an unsolved enigma, a magic overthrow of all that is rational and moral. *What think ye of Christ?* is the question of all ques-

tions. The Commission is itself an answer. All power is given to *Me* in heaven and in earth; therefore go ye;—herald the mystery till all creatures shall "fall down before Him that is seated on the throne, and worship Him that liveth forever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and power: for Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are and were created."

ART. IV.—CHRIST'S SELF-REVELATION.

THE Christian Creed starts in the confession of Peter, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God*, in reference to which our Saviour declared, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Around this as its centre the Apostles' Creed organized itself, which has become the creed of all ages.

We propose in the present article to notice somewhat the manner in which Christ revealed Himself so as to draw out this response of faith. The subject is interesting and important, because the manner in which He revealed Himself to His first disciples and they apprehended Him by faith, is essentially the same as that in which He reveals Himself and is apprehended in every age.

There is no reason to suppose, so far as we can gather from the Scriptures, that a knowledge of our Saviour's extraordinary conception and birth had anything to do in leading the disciples to recognize Him as the Son of God. It is probable that during a portion of His earthly ministry, if not the whole of it (some commentators think until after His resurrection), this fact was not known to them. It was known, of course, to the Virgin Mary, and was revealed to Joseph in a dream. Elizabeth, the

mother of John the Baptist, whom Mary visited after the holy conception, must have received some information in regard to it, but beyond an inner circle composed of but few it was concealed from the knowledge of the world. It was shielded from such knowledge indeed by Mary's marriage to Joseph, who was commonly reputed to be the father of our Saviour.

The reason of this, doubtless, is to be found in the fact that the mystery of His holy conception could be understood and received only after men had come to apprehend Him as the Son of God, and Saviour of the world, and such faith could be awakened only when He began to reveal Himself in His ministry. When Philip was called to be His disciple he speaks of Him as "Him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, *the son of Joseph.*" John i. 45. So the Jews spake of Him also as the son of Joseph: "Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?" John vi. 42. "The mystery of the supernatural conception was a pearl not to be thrown before the multitude who would have misunderstood and abused it." (Dr. Schaff in Lange's Commentary).

We may perhaps go further and say that even in the case of Mary herself, it was not this supernatural conception which led her to the knowledge of Christ as the Son of God, and her Saviour, but the knowledge of the latter by faith which led her to comprehend the true significance of the former. For such a supernatural conception might be thought of as an ordinary miracle, and the fruit of it a child miraculously brought into the world, but there is an infinite difference between a human person thus miraculously born into the world and the incarnation of the Son of God. Mary doubtless at first regarded her son as in some sense a divine child, but she too could only rise to the apprehension of Him as the Son of God when He revealed Himself to her faith. Perhaps as the years after His birth went by without any outward signs of His supernatural character, she may have found it difficult to make any special account of His wonderful birth. Something of this may be

inferred from the reminder which He addressed to her when she sought Him in the temple. "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy *father* and I have sought thee sorrowing. And He said unto them, How is it that ye sought me, wist ye not that I must be about *my Father's* business?"

The wonderful epiphanies connected with His birth, the appearance of the angel-choir to the shepherds, the star that appeared to the Magi, and the prophecies of Simeon and Anna, all had helped to support her faith. But thirty years passed by before He entered upon His ministry, and the impression produced by these events must have well-nigh faded away from the recollection of men, and even in the case of Mary they were recollections treasured up and pondered in her heart, but to be explained and illumined by the light that was to shine forth from His person.

We may say, then, that the faith of the disciples in Christ did not come in the way of an intellectual conclusion drawn from the fact of His supernatural conception and birth.

In following the Scripture narrative we shall not stop to inquire at length how John the Baptist came to know Christ. There was a preparation in him as the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth, being filled with the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb, for the special revelation to which he refers in John i. 33. He enjoyed the highest degree of Old Testament inspiration, he was more than a prophet, but he was not among those who stood in the new dispensation. He believed from the Old Testament stand-point, and was dependent to the last on a more external revelation and testimony, as compared with believers in the kingdom of grace.

It was his mission to proclaim the presence of Christ. He did this to the Jews (John i. 19 *et seq.*), but without any favorable result. He also pointed out Christ to his own disciples as "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." (John i. 29). Upon this proclamation, two of his disciples, John and Andrew, followed Christ to His place of abode, and in this first meeting with Him they became His followers. John

the Baptist pointed them to Him as the Lamb of God, and was thus the means of bringing them into the immediate presence of the Saviour. What passed in that interview (John i. 39) we know not, but we may infer that our Saviour's presence and instruction won them to become His disciples. It seems to have been a memorable day for St. John, one of the three memorable days of his life, as he refers to them in the latter portion of the first chapter of his gospel. Andrew found and brought his brother Simon to Jesus, who gave him a new name, Cephas, or Peter, and at once secured him as one of His followers. Then St. John records the calling of Philip, who seems to have been ready at once to respond to the call, follow me. He findeth Nathanael, who was won over from his doubt as to anything good coming out of Nazareth to faith in Christ, by the Saviour's exhibition of that penetrating knowledge which enabled Him on certain occasions to lay open the secrets of the heart and life. The first exhibition of this knowledge is contained in the words, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile." And when Nathanael, astonished at this knowledge of his character, said to Him, "Whence knowest thou me?" the Saviour advanced to a greater revelation: "Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree, I saw thee." Nathanael, we may suppose, had been engaged in some special exercise, some special meditation or prayer under the fig-tree. At any rate these words of the Saviour seemed like a flash of light that revealed to him that he was in the presence of one who could look into the depths of the human spirit, of one who possessed more than ordinary human insight into his life and experience. He was overwhelmed and exclaimed, "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel."

Thus were the first disciples won by Christ. They had as yet, however, but a very inadequate conception of His character. He was to them the Messiah, in some sense divine, the Son of God, but only as yet a Jewish Rabbi, a prophet of Israel.

The disciples whom Christ gathered around Him were now

brought under His instructions, though they did not at once remain with Him continuously. At the marriage at Cana in Galilee He performed His first miracle in their presence, the main design of which was to increase and establish the faith of His disciples. "This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth His glory; *and His disciples believed on Him.*" In the miracle of the draught of fishes again the superhuman character of Christ was revealed so as to overwhelm Peter with a sense of his sinfulness. "When Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord." Thus through His words and works the Saviour revealed Himself more and more to His disciples, and their faith grew in a corresponding manner, until they were prepared to confess Him as *the Christ*, the Son of the living God. While the question still hung in the balance, What think ye of Christ? whose Son is He? the Saviour draws out the response of faith on the part of His disciples by His question, "Who say ye that I am?" Peter answers for himself and his fellow-disciples, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."

This faith, as we have seen, included at the beginning a very imperfect knowledge of Christ. As confessed by Philip it included, indeed, positive error, and such error as would be sufficient now to render it grossly heretical. Now that Christ has been fully revealed as the Son of God, to believe that He was the Son of Joseph would be to deny the faith. But before the revelation was fully made, and the doctrine of His person defined, there was no such heresy in the statement of Philip. His faith was implicitly sound and whole, and he trusted in Christ for salvation although he did not yet comprehend fully who He was. Accordingly it grew with the progressive revelation until it reached the full confession of Peter. We may suppose that even Peter, at the time he made the great confession, would have been unable to define the contents of his faith in the way of theological definition, as this has been given by the Church, for instance, in the statement of the Council of Chalce-

don. But Peter's confession contained all this in germ. It included an apprehension of the great mystery which can be known only to faith, and only by an internal inspiration corresponding to the revelation made from without.

When the Saviour says, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven," He asserts this much. It was not by any process of reasoning on the part of the natural understanding that Peter came to know Christ. His confession was not a conclusion drawn from reasoning in regard to the words of Christ, but it was a spiritual intuition, a direct apprehension of the object of faith, just as by the senses man apprehends objects in the natural world.

We must take into account here the preparation in the case of the disciples for receiving the Messias when He came. They were not heathen, but Jews, and were under the influence of the Jewish religion. They had already received the revelation of Jehovah made to the chosen people, and shared in the grace of the Old Testament dispensation. They were, some of them at least, disciples of the Baptist, and under his teaching they had received the baptism unto repentance preparatory to the coming of the Messias. There was in this already a prevenient grace, for Judaism carried in it an inspiration, or grace, corresponding to the revelation made in that dispensation.

If we view the Old Testament dispensation as the dispensation of the Father, as it is sometimes called, in distinction from the New Testament dispensation, we may regard this grace, as it was increased under our Saviour's instruction, as *the drawing of the Father*, the inward testimony of God in favor of His only begotten Son, to which Christ refers, when He says, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but *my Father which is in heaven.*"

Inspired by this prevenient grace, the drawing of the Father, the disciples were enabled to discern the revelation in the Son, and to confess Him as the Son of God, the Saviour of the world.

This confession included in it, as appeared subsequently, and

especially after the day of Pentecost, all the articles of our holy religion in relation to the person of Christ. It included faith in His *atoning death, His resurrection from the dead, His session at the right hand of God, His coming to judge the quick and the dead; the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgivness of sins, the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting.* But all these have their centre in the mystery of Christ's divine-human person, and they are not to be taken as objects of faith apart from this mystery. Not even the Atonement can be taken as a work apart from the significance of His person, for the former derives all its meaning and value from the latter. We may indeed go backwards and forwards from this centre of the Creed and see on the one hand how Christ as the Son of God reveals to us the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and on the other hand how the Holy Spirit comes forth from the ascended and glorified Christ, then the founding of the Church in which is the blessed communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins and life everlasting.

The revelation made to the disciples from without, and apprehended by faith, came to an inner union with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. The mystery was here introduced fully into the sphere of the Spirit, and the disciples by their spiritual baptism were fully brought into this sphere, in which they now came to apprehend Christ with new spiritual insight and with new firmness and strength. It was as though a new flood of light burst in upon their spirits. Think only of the clear treatment of the Old Testament Scriptures which marks the teaching of the Apostles on and after the day of Pentecost, and the full understanding which they had of the meaning of the life of Christ, His death and resurrection, His ascension and session at the right hand of God. They were in living union with Him through the Holy Spirit, and looked forward to the full fruition of redemption and bliss in the final resurrection and in the kingdom of glory. Thus the revelation which Christ came into the world to make found

lodgement in their spiritual being, and they were brought into union with God.

If now we go back to examine more particularly the manner in which Christ revealed Himself to the disciples we can see

That it was not by means of an external assertion of His divine-human character, in the form of a statement or proposition. We may notice here the remarkable fact that Christ often seeks rather to keep concealed the fact that He is the Christ. "Tell no man," He says to those whom He had cured, and He enjoins the same upon His disciples. And in agreement with this He at times retires or escapes from the excitement and enthusiasm of the populace when they would come and make Him king. We may find in this a repudiation of that temporal, worldly kingship with which the carnal Judaistic spirit would invest Him. To accept this would be to renounce that true, spiritual, character of the Messiah which He came to assert and make His own. He did not come to be an earthly sovereign, and He could not encourage this false hope on the part of the people.

But we must see in it also this other design, to conceal a knowledge which instead of leading to faith would only lead to a rejection of Him and hence the incurring of greater condemnation. Faith could not be generated in the human spirit by such mere knowledge. The mystery of His person could not be conveyed to the mind in the form of a statement or a proposition. To say, "I am the Christ, the Son of God,—I am the infallible teacher sent from God, and I therefore demand assent to my teaching on the authority of God," would be of no avail when addressed to men who were not prepared to receive Him. And even if assent were given to such a statement it would not be faith, it would carry with it no moral power for those making it. There must be a sympathy with the truth as a prerequisite to faith in Him. He charges the Jews as being destitute of this. "If ye were of God ye would hear my words." If they were in sympathy only with the teachings of Moses, they would be able to see that He was the Prophet of

Israel. He charged that they were not the spiritual children of Abraham, but a bastard race, having indeed carnal descent from the father of the faithful, but really the children of the devil.

Faith is not primarily an assent to a proposition. A proposition addresses itself to the understanding. Faith may be reduced to a proposition when it enters the understanding—and then we have creed or doctrine. Thus Peter gave expression to his faith when he said, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." And thus Christian faith expresses itself in a series of doctrines. We are accustomed to say these doctrines are to be believed. We mean (ought to mean) by this that they ought to be accepted as statements of faith; but this already implies that faith has preceded the doctrine.

An announcement or statement may go along with the revelation to assist faith, as when God announced Himself to Abraham and to Moses—"I am the Lord," "I am that I am." But it was God Himself who confronted these Old Testament saints, and they apprehended Him as the object of faith. Faith and reason mutually interpenetrate each other. The revelation is for both; but it does not address itself first to the reason, and through the reason to faith. If we follow this order we land in rationalism,

The Roman Catholic theory of faith stops here. Faith, according to this theory, is assent to the truth on divine authority. God has appointed His Church to teach the truth to me, and the Church, for this purpose, is infallible. The first proposition claiming assent here is, that the Church, or the Pope, as it is now taught, is infallible. Man must have an infallible teacher, else he can never be absolutely certain that what he assents to is the truth. The Pope, as the earthly head of the Church, professes to be this infallible teacher;—therefore he must be the only true guide for men.

Even Christ did not proceed in this way in announcing Himself to men. We have already seen that He seldom stated that He was the Christ. To the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well

He said, "I that speak unto thee am the Messiah," and when adjured by the high-priest to say whether He was the Son of God, He replied, "Thou sayest," *i. e.* I am. But besides these two instances we cannot recall any others in which He stated in so many words that He was the Christ. He did not first proclaim His infallibility, and on the ground of that claim that men should believe Him. To have done that would have been to make one of His attributes of more account than His person, or Himself. It would have been to confront men with an abstract proposition, and to require their assent to that as a condition for exercising faith in Him.

The order was just the reverse. How did the disciples know that Christ was an infallible teacher or guide? They first believed in Christ, that is, they discerned in Him as He confronted them, and in His words and works, the presence of the supernatural. They saw that He was more than man. They discerned the presence of truth and holiness in Him. They felt that in Him God was speaking to them. All this was a revelation to their spiritual aptitudes. The proposition that Christ was an infallible teacher was involved in their faith, but it came as a result of their faith.

We know that the Roman theory claims to hold also that Christ is the object of faith. After the proposition is accepted that the Papal Church is the only true Church, the only infallible guide, and the individual enters that communion, then he becomes prepared to apprehend the mysteries of faith. It is doubtful whether they look upon faith in this way, even as exercised by those in the Church. Practically at least it comes to this for the great majority of their people: they take all that the Church teaches as true, and this assent to teaching is faith. But even allowing the claim, the order here maintained is not according to the order maintained by Christ. His order was believe on Christ first, apprehend Him by faith, then and in the act you will have the assurance that He is infallible.

How do we know that Christ is the Son of God, the Saviour of the world? The Roman theory says, we know it because

the Church teaches it and the Church is infallible. Therefore we assent to it, and in assenting to it we need ask no questions, the assent itself is the act of faith. Here we have another mystery placed before the mystery of Christ, viz: the infallibility of the Church. We would reverse this order. First we are confronted with the revelation in Christ. We must apprehend that revelation as the Apostles did. Then we shall see and know that the Church is a true teacher. Her teachings will receive their authentification from Christ.

How do we know that Christ is the Son of God, the Saviour of the world? An erroneous Protestant theory says, we know it because the Bible teaches it, and the Bible is inspired, infallible. Those who hold this theory place the inspiration of the Bible first. Believe in the inspiration of the Bible, and on the ground of this faith believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and your Saviour. The Evangelical Alliance, we perceive, continues to make this *the first* article of its doctrinal statement, and much of the Protestant theology makes the Holy Scripture occupy the *first locus*, after the order of the theology of the 17th century.

The Scriptures can bring Christ before us, in the way of giving us the account of the preparation for His coming, of His life, death, resurrection, &c., but faith must first lay hold of the substance of the revelation here brought before us, and then in the light of this faith the Scripture will authenticate itself as inspired. To believe in Christ because we believe the Scripture is infallible, is after all reducing faith to a mere assent to a proposition, and it is making the lesser support the greater. But faith as we have tried to illustrate by referring to the manner Christ revealed Himself to His disciples, is not a mere assent to a proposition, but a real apprehension of, in the way of being brought into union with, a living person, even the Lord Jesus Christ.

In presenting this view of CHRIST'S SELF-REVELATION, we do not undervalue the Church and the Scriptures. And we do not contradict the teachings of our theology which lay so

much stress on the Church, the ministry, and the holy sacraments? Rather it is this view which gives to the Scriptures and the Church their true character. For if Christ Himself, in the mystery of His divine-human person, and not a statement or proposition in regard to Him, nor yet any work He has accomplished, is the primary object of faith, then we can see how it is that the Church is a living constitution and the Scriptures a living word. Christ must be ever present to faith. This requires that there shall be a constitution or order in which He lives and dwells on earth. This constitution or order of grace is the Church, which is His body, in which He is present by the Holy Ghost, throughout all ages to the end of the world. As such, it becomes, too, an object of faith, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," and membership in it becomes necessary for salvation.

Instead of making faith the bond of union between all Christians, and the Church a mere empirical association, as Dr. Hodge teaches in his address before the Evangelical Alliance, we find this bond of union in the common life of Christ of which all believers partake. This life fills the Church, so that in being really a member of the Church, we are at once in living communion with Christ. We cannot accept the view that we come to Christ first and then enter the Church, any more than the other view that we come to the Church first, and then to Christ. Both are wrong. The life of Christ is present in the Church by the Holy Spirit as the life is in the tree. Every branch partakes of this life immediately and directly, because that life fills the tree at all points; and yet the connection of the branch with the tree is a necessary condition for partaking of the life. It is the Saviour's own analogy; "I am the vine, ye are the branches."

Or, we may refer to the order and constitution of nature as the shrine of God's presence, to illustrate this point. We cannot be confronted with God naturally except in and through this order of creation, in which we include of course man's own constitution. It would be an error, on the one hand, to

imagine that we can have to do with God naturally apart from this natural order, and equally an error, on the other hand, to put nature in the place of God, and worship it as God. This latter is idolatry. But to escape idolatry we need not deny the presence of God in His creation.

So this view gives us a proper understanding of the nature of the Holy Scriptures. When faith is taken to be assent to a proposition, the Scriptures are viewed as giving us such statements, and these statements then are the revelation itself. While in this way the Bible seems to be specially honored, it is really deprived of its chief glory. "Ye search the Scriptures," says our Saviour, "because *in them* ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of *me*." The revelation shines through the Scriptures, and the centre of the revelation is Christ. Only as we can behold Christ in these sacred writings do they become for us invested with living power.

The Scriptures are now studied, as we study the life of Christ, with a distinction between their divine and human elements, but not with a separation of them. The very fact that we discern in them the presence of the divine, the substance of revelation, renders them the more sacred, while we do not shut out investigation and criticism as to their human elements. Just as the life of Christ has become enriched for our understanding by the emphasis that has been laid on His true humanity, in opposition to all Gnostic conceptions of His person, by the more recent works on this subject, so the Holy Scriptures have been invested with new interest by bringing out these two sides, the divine and the human. Even the labors of rationalists have been overruled for good in this respect. Strauss, and Bauer, and Renan have unconsciously, or unintentionally, contributed to the establishment of the truth.

But our space will not allow us to pursue this interesting subject further at this time. The problems of the age all revolve around the great question, What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is He? When the Church comes back to this cen-

tral theme, and finds here the true centre of all revelation, she will be on the right way towards the realization of that unity which she has possessed from the beginning. As there is one Lord, so it will be seen there is also but one Faith and one Baptism.

Art. V.—EASTER DAY; ITS OBSERVANCE AND CUSTOMS.

BY FRANK R. DIFFENDERFER, LANCASTER, PA.

To the religious element in man's nature, the establishment and observance of Feasts and Festivals may undoubtedly be traced. They are the outward expression of an indwelling necessity, which has thus manifested itself in all ages wherever the wide-scattered lineage of Adam has found an abiding place and a home. This self-existent principle was fostered and encouraged by God Himself, among His chosen people, the Jews: and feasts of various kinds were ordained among them, which had for their object the commemoration of His mercies in bygone times, as well as to solicit His protection and favors in coming days, and keep bright the links of that common faith, that bound the different tribes so closely together. The institution of these festive occasions, while designed more particularly to satisfy the religious aspirations of mankind, also carried with them, other and more worldly benefits. They kept alive the ties of kindred and friendship; families and friends were thus gathered together, who else, perhaps, had never tasted the pleasures of such a reunion. The social nature was cheered and gladdened by this intimate interchange of mutual feelings, hopes and aspirations, and the higher and better elements and tendencies of man's nature developed and strengthened.

But not among the Jews only were certain times and events thus celebrated. Pagan nations as well, instituted for them-

selves rites and ceremonies that appealed to idolatrous believers and worshipers, as strongly as the divinely instituted Passover to the devout Jew, and oft-times the excesses attendant on these occasions among those to whom the Divine will had not been vouchsafed, were such as to make the Christian man and woman of to-day, start aghast at deeds whose very memory forty centuries have not been able to obliterate. The cultured Greeks, while more given perhaps than any people who preceded or have come after them, to the observance of stated days by games and ceremonies, were far in advance of those nations whom they conquered and absorbed. In the early days of Greece, however, when society was yet rude and unsettled, and before Hesiod had construed that Theogony out of their fables and traditions which Homer afterwards elaborated in the Iliad and Odyssey into a system of rare beauty that to this day charms the casual reader no less than the student and scholar, there was little form or system in their religious worship, and we find only the crude and sensuous ideas that are ever prominent in the beliefs of barbarous peoples. With the rapid increase of his divinities and the amplification of the many legends and traditions that environed them, the prayers, rites, ceremonies and sacrifices kept pace, and, aided by the plastic arts which soon assumed a development that has been the admiration and despair of all succeeding ages, the pompous and gorgeous ceremonials that characterized Greece in her proudest period, soon appealed to the intellect and æsthetic taste of the Athenian with irresistible power of persuasion.

Among the conquering Romans also, in course of time, Festitivals became so numerous and long continued, as to interfere very seriously with matters of state: this evil was partially remedied by the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who by special enactment ordained that at least two hundred and thirty days in each year should be devoted to public affairs, while the remainder might, if desired, be given to the observance of Festivals. This was a severe innovation on the pleasures of the pageant-loving Romans, but this decree of the emperor of the second

century might be profitably imitated by the Pontiff who to-day sways a priestly scepter over a household of faith embracing in its ample folds, a territory whose extent his imperial predecessor never compassed in his wildest dreams of conquest and power. So numerous indeed have these *dias de fiesta* or feast days become in the Roman Church, that in some countries, notably among which are Mexico and the colonies founded by Spain in South America, they interfere with the proper performance of the duties of every-day life.

Turn we now from the record of ancient festivals and superstitions, crimsoned with the blood shed by idolatrous worship, to a more modern period—to times nearer our own, when a purer faith gave birth to a new and a purer worship. The Just man so dimly foreseen by Plato, at length became manifest in the flesh, and from the manger of Bethlehem went forth a ray of golden glory that illumined the earth with a knowledge unknown before. Through the light brought into the world by Christ, the lisping child that on bended knees offers up its prayers and supplications to the known God, has become wiser than the wisest ancient that ever grew hoary in the love of wisdom. The empty tomb in Judea proclaimed the risen Saviour, confirmed the new-born faith of the doubting and verified the prophecies of three thousand years. This triumph over death and the grave, fixed firmly in the hearts of thousands, the teachings of the Master while yet in the flesh. To keep alive in the hearts of His children throughout all coming years the record of that unsullied and sinless life and triumphant resurrection, it was meet to institute a festival upon whose yearly recurrence His followers of whatever race or clime might clasp hands in friendly greeting and chant soft strains to the green memory of the Redeemer of men.

The precise day on which our Saviour burst the fetters of the tomb, has not come down to us: we can in the gladness of our hearts only approximate as nearly as may be to that auspicious time; we celebrate the event, not the day. The spring-time of the year, when the earth reassumes her robe of living green,

and when all the world seems to teem with a fresher bloom—when flowers burst from their wintry graves, reminding us of a new life full of promise and fruition—this season has been fitly chosen to image and commemorate a day so full of promise and fulfillment.

Easter Day, the "Queen of Festivals" as it is oft-times called, is the chiefest of the three great festivals of the Church, the other two being Christmas and Whitsuntide. It is known as one of the so-called movable feasts, falling upon different days every year, but recurring on the same day, every nineteenth year: it determines the place of all the other movable feasts in the calendar. Several derivations of the word Easter have been given, but the one most generally accepted, supposes it to be derived from the Saxon word *Oster*, to raise, or from the Saxon goddess Eostre. We learn from the venerable Bede that this day was so called for the first time when Christianity was introduced into Britain; the worship of this goddess was celebrated at this season and the early missionaries wisely took advantage of this fact, by engrafting thereon the Christian festival of Christ's resurrection.

This day has been observed by the Church from the very earliest time; probably from the days of the Apostles themselves. A controversy concerning the proper time for observing it early divided the Church. The Christians of the East were still so pervaded by Jewish customs and modes of thought, that they held it on the same day that the Jews observed the Passover, which was the fourteenth day of the month of Nisan, corresponding with our April. Christ's resurrection having occurred on a Sunday, the Western Churches kept the Sunday following the fourteenth of April. These differences in time amounted to a week and occasionally to a month, and this disputed question in the course of time became a most bitter one, not exceeded even in acrimony by the hostility and ill-feeling manifested in the polemical discussions of more recent times. Lecky in his "History of European Morals," says this dispute assumed such a formidable aspect, that the proper time of cele-

brating this festival was believed to involve the question of salvation or damnation. A most curious fact to which this unchristian controversy gave birth is preserved by Bede. In consequence of having been taught the Christian doctrines by different teachers, the king of Northumbria was celebrating the festival of Easter while his queen was still observing the injunctions of Lent. Polycarp, the famous Bishop of Smyrna about the year A. D. 158, visited Rome, and in friendly conference with the Bishop of that city, pleaded the custom of St. John and St. Philip who had celebrated the day at the time still usual in the East; the Roman bishop confronted him with the equally authoritative examples of St. Peter and St. Paul, upon whose dictum the Western Church had founded their custom. Both parties being thus supported by precedents, were unwilling to make concessions, and nothing came of this friendly discussion. But, like all unsettled questions, time only increased the difficulty, and when some time after, Victor, the then bishop of Rome, authoritatively enjoined on the Eastern Churches that they keep Easter when the Western Churches did, they refused to do so in very decided terms, and the dispute grew more acrimonious than ever. The Council of Arles A. D. 314, at length decreed that it should be celebrated by the whole Christian world at the same time, but in the East this edict remained a dead letter. So great was at length the scandal caused by this unnatural controversy, that the Emperor Constantine called together the celebrated Œcumenical Council of Nice, A. D. 325, for the settlement of this and some other questions that distracted the Church, and where the following canon was finally passed :–"That everywhere the great feast of Easter should be observed upon one and the same day; and that not the day of the Jewish Passover, but, as had been generally observed, on the Sunday afterwards." And further, to do away with all pretexts for conflicting opinions, these fuller definitions and regulations were subjoined :—

1. That the twenty-first day of March shall be accounted the vernal equinox.

2. That the full moon happening upon or next after the twenty-first of March, shall be taken for the full moon of Nisan.

3. That the Lord's day next following that full moon, be Easter-day.

4. But if the full moon happen upon a Sunday, Easter-day shall be the Sunday after.

In this way was this troublesome and perplexing question finally decided, and Easter-day has ever since been observed in accordance with the foregoing rules.

We are informed by nearly all the early ecclesiastical writers, that Easter time was a season of gaiety, mirth and festivity. All classes, from the peasant to the peer, abstained from their usual avocations, and merry-making was the only occupation that engrossed the attention of the people. For once, even the weighty matters of State were put aside, and the court as well as the camp and cot, had its time of relaxation; as nearly as might be, it was made a season of undisturbed happiness and rejoicing. Its observance penetrated rapidly into the most remote regions. The venerable Bede relates that Oswald, King of Northumbria, whose era was about the year 640, sent an embassy to the Scots for a prelate capable of instructing his subjects in religious matters, and relates at the same time, that in the ceremonies wherewith Easter was celebrated, they were already as well instructed as he. He likewise tells us, "the northern Scots and the whole nation of Picts celebrated Easter, and also the Scots who inhabited the southern parts of Ireland."

It was customary also for persons away from their homes to rejoin their friends and kindred at that season, when possible. Miss Strickland in her "Lives of the Queens of England," notes the fact, that William the Conqueror in the year 1066, left England for the first time since the conquest, and crossing back to Normandy, passed the Easter holidays with his good queen Matilda. In 1072, Matilda herself crossed over to the white cliffs of Albion where her lord then was, with the like purpose. The historian James, states that in consequence of the rebellion of some of King Henry II. subjects in Aquitain, the three sons

of the monarch, Henry, Richard and Geoffrey, were ready with a large force to cross the strait and proceed against the rebels, but Easter intervening, they delayed their embarkation until after the Easter Holidays. The same author also mentions in his life of Richard Cœur de Lion, that when Baldwin III, the leper-king of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, married his sister Sabilla to the fugitive homicide, Guy of Lusignan, an alliance that brought no strength to the crumbling monarchy so much in need of it, and however objectionable the marriage was in a political point of view, "such was the haste with which it was concluded, that no time was allowed for remonstrances, and contrary to all the usages of those days, the ceremony was celebrated during the solemnities of Easter, much to the scandal of the devout men of Palestine." A paragraph in Macaulay's History of England affords additional confirmation of the solemnity with which this day was regarded in England as late as the seventeenth century. In his XI. Chapter, he has this about the meeting of the House of Commons: "It had been suggested that the House ought in conformity with ancient usage, to adjourn over the Easter Holidays: the Puritans and Latitudinarians objected; there was a sharp debate; the High Churchmen did not venture divide; and to the great scandal of many grave persons, the Speaker took the chair at nine o'clock on Easter Monday; and there was a long and busy sitting."

As we might expect from the well-known enthusiasm of the Crusaders, they were extremely particular in their observance of all the Church festivals. Geoffrey de Vinsauf, whose Chronicle, we can assure the curious reader who may be inclined to examine it, is in every way more respectable than his name, writes thus in the year 1192: "King Richard (of England) celebrated the feast of Easter, which fell on the 5th of April, at Ascalon, with great magnificence; and he supplied all who needed with abundance of meat and drink. For he caused his pavilions to be pitched in the meadows outside the city, and provided in abundance every necessary for his people to celebrate

the occasion with splendor." We glean further from the fighting chronicler, that the impetuous and fiery Plantagenet did not sit and feast long, but began on Easter Monday to rebuild the walls of Ascalon, which shortly before had been leveled by the chivalrous Saladin. The Lord de Joinville in his life of St. Louis, the crusading monarch of France, makes this entry in the year of grace 1248: "Before my departure (for the Holy Land) I summoned all my men and vassals of Joinville, who came to me the vigil of Easter-day: During that whole week I was occupied in feasts and banquets with my brother de Vancouleur, and all the rich men of that part of the country, where after eating and drinking we amused ourselves with songs, and led a joyous life." It is a real pleasure to know that this doughty warrior, who doubtless knew how to put a lance in rest with as much dexterity as he could wield the pen, returned from his little excursion with a sound body and unbroken bones.

If the Easter Holidays generally implied a cessation from serious business, there were nevertheless occasional exceptions to this rule. The wearers of the Triple crown sometimes infringed the ordinances decreed by themselves, and indulged in little matters falling into their line of business. King John of England, not wishing to give the Pope any more trouble than was necessary, took it upon himself to appoint an Archbishop of Canterbury selected by himself. This was a usurpation of Papal authority that Innocent III. was little inclined to let go unpunished, so he threatened to put an interdict on the kingdom and excommunicate the King besides. The haughty monarch could little brook the menace thus thrust in his face, and a cotemporary, Roger de Wendover in his history, describes the King's wrath as follows: "He became nearly mad with rage, and broke forth in words of blasphemy against the Pope and his Cardinals, swearing by God's teeth, that if any other priests soever, presumptuously dared to lay his dominions under an edict, he would banish all the English clergy, and if he found any of the Pope's clerks in England, he would send them home to Rome with their eyes torn out and their noses cut off, that

they might be known there from other people." The Roman Pontiff was as good as his word, and on Easter Monday, the 23d of March, 1208, an interdict was laid on England that led to the most unhappy consequences. The usual places of worship were closed, the priests no longer officiating; the dead were buried in fields and pits without the usual rites of sepulture: marriages were forbidden and fear and distrust prevailed over all the land. King John was made of sterner stuff than to bear this quietly; in fact he was equal to the emergency; he seized the priests, confiscated their property and served out such rations to the monks, that their former allowance of bread and water was a feast compared with what they now got; as often as they were found, robbery and ill-treatment followed, until as many of the wretches as could, fled from the realm. For six long years did the innocent people of England suffer from this Easter quarrel between the King and the Pope.

On an Easter-day nearly six hundred years ago, was enacted a tragedy that freed an entire people from a yoke of tyranny. Charles of Anjou was king of Naples and Sicily. He was a ruler in every way the compeer of the worst of Roman emperors, and whose vices we dare not soil these pages even to name. An indignity offered to a lady of Palermo while on her way to hear vespers, was the signal for the uprising of the long-suffering people. The citizens rushed to arms as one man, and a general slaughter of their French rulers began, which ceased only after the blood of five and twenty thousand victims reddened the soil of that summer isle. Thus, on Easter Monday, 1282, originated that memorable occurrence still called by historians the *Sicilian Vespers.*

Wall Street, through the financial operations of a single day, has made the word "Black Friday" forever memorable. By an untoward occurrence during Easter week, five centuries ago, England also became possessed of a "Black Monday," still found in the pages of her chroniclers. The antiquarian Stow narrates the event wherein it had its origin, in these words: "It is to be noted that the 14th day of April, and the morrow

after Easter-day 1360, King Edward, (better known as the Black Prince) with his host lay before the city of Paris; which day was full dark of mist and hail, and so bitter cold, that many men died on their horsebacks with the cold; wherefore unto this day it hath been called "Black Monday."

The festival of Easter was originally appointed by the Church, but its observance was sometimes controlled by special enactments of the State also. In the reign of King Alfred the Great, a law was made ordaining that the entire week following Easter-day should be observed. Nowhere were these holidays kept with so many customs and ceremonies as among our English ancestors; they engrafted so many games, sports and pastimes upon them, that in time they no longer partook so exclusively of a religious character, but became deeply tinged with many observances of a purely secular nature. The writings of British antiquarians are filled with references to these customs, and in addition to our own gleanings on this subject, we will also lay under contribution the labors of others whenever we find their studies illustrative of the matter under discussion.

It was customary in England on Easter eve, to put out all the lights and fires in the churches and kindle them anew from flints, and what were called paschal tapers were used to illumine the buildings; these tapers were sometimes no insignificant affairs, for we read of one used in Westminster Abbey in 1557, that weighed no less than 300 pounds. It was likewise an almost universal custom to decorate the churches with evergreens at this season, and with all the flowers that could be procured; these were regarded as emblematical of the resurrection, as they also burst from their earthly tomb at this time. Hence, no doubt, our custom of to-day, of decorating our places of worship at Christmas time with evergreens in token of the ever fresh and living memory of our Redeemer.

Rome bears away the palm in observing the Easter Holidays: The festivities usually begin on Palm Sunday; an immense concourse of strangers from all countries is always in

attendance; the theatres are closed, but shops of all kinds are generally open, and the churches draped in mourning; the ceremonies are very imposing, and have often been described by modern visitors. Let good, honest John Evelyn tell what he saw there in 1645: "On our Lady Day, March 25th, we saw the Pope and Cardinals ride in pomp to the Minerva, the great guns of the castle of St. Angelo being fired, when he gave portions to 500 young women, who kiss his feet in procession, some destined to marry, some to be nuns. The next day his Holiness was busied in blessing golden roses, to be sent to several great Princes. The sacrament being this day exposed, and the relics of the Holy Cross, the concourse about the streets is extraordinary. St. Veronica's handkerchief (with the impression of our Saviour's face), and the next day the spear, with a world of ceremony. On Holy Thursday the Pope said mass, and afterwards carried the Host in procession about the chapel with an infinity of tapers. This finished, his Holiness was carried in his open chair on men's shoulders to the place where reading the Bull *In Cœna Domini*, he both curses and blesses all in a breath. On Good Friday we again went to St. Peter's, where the handkerchief, lance and cross were all exposed, and worshiped together, and at night there was a procession of several who most lamentably whipped themselves till the blood stained their clothes, for some had shirts, others upon the bare back, at every three or four steps dashing the knotted and ravelled whip-cord over their shoulders, as hard as they could lay it on; so the whole week was spent in running from church to church, all the town in busy devotion, great silence and unimaginable superstition."

A very singular custom was at one period almost universally prevalent in England during the Easter Holidays. By contribution and purchase, large quantities of malt were procured by the parish churches, which was brewed into very strong ale; this was sold to all who could or would buy it, and the proceeds applied to the necessary church expenses; this procedure would hardly find much countenance at the present day, although the

intention thereof was at that time meritorious, having been to bring into disuse the then widely spread wakes where strong drinks were also supplied, and at which, debaucheries and bacchanalian orgies were practiced that rivalled the most dissolute practices of heathen nations. From Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes," we learn that horse-racing was one of the diversions especially pursued during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, at this season, but another writer informs us that in the seventeenth century this pastime was discontinued, as not being in consonance with the holiness that should be observed. Hand-ball was another sport practiced for wagers of tansy cakes, which latter article perhaps may be traced back to the bitter herbs of the Passover for its origin—a diet we opine, more wholesome than toothsome. Not only the Anglo-Saxons but all the Germanic races, Chambers says, were given to preparing and eating consecrated cakes during their religious festivals; "the hot, cross buns at Easter are only the cakes which the pagan Saxons ate in honor of their goddess Eostre, and from which the Christian clergy, who were unable to prevent people from eating, sought to expel the paganism by marking them with the cross." In the Scilly islands, off the coast of England, it was formerly a custom for young men to dress as maidens and maidens as men, and in this disguise, with masked faces, to go from house to house, perplexing those on whom they called, by the relation of incidents and events, supposed to be known only to the person to whom they were then told. This practice has its counterpart at this very day in some of the South American republics.

Foot races were also common, wherein both men and maidens took part; the prize was the same for both sexes, and was usually a cake. We learn too, that although the Puritans allowed a certain departure from their general austerity at this festival, they permitted no games at which wages of whatever kind were contended for. From Durand we gather that on Easter Tuesday wives used to beat their husbands, and on the following day, husbands their wives; this latter practice has

not yet fallen into disuse like many other customs, but the perrusal of almost any daily newspaper affords abundant evidence that it still prevails in all its pristine vigor. The same author also states that on one day the men used to remove the shoebuckles from the women's feet, and on another the women did the same for the men. Brand, quoting from the "Public Advertiser" newspaper of April 13th, 1787, has this: "As late as 1787, the following curious custom prevailed in various counties of England; on Easter Monday, a party of men go with a chair into every house to which they can get admission, force every female to be seated in their vehicle, and lift them up three times with loud huzzas. For this they claim the reward of a chaste salute, which those who are too coy to submit, may be exempted from by a fine of one shilling, and receive a written testimony, which secures them from a repetition of the ceremony for that day. On Easter Tuesday, the women claim the same privilege, and pursue their business in the same manner with this addition—that they guard every avenue to the town, and stop every passenger, pedestrian, equestrian or vehicular." These were called *heaving days*. Pennant, the naturalist, also mentions this custom as prevailing in Wales when he visited that country, and there are besides other confirmations of its very general prevalence.

Many superstitions in time insinuated themselves into the observances of this day, such as the belief that by abstaining from eating flesh on Easter, no fever would attack the person so doing, during the ensuing year. Several Church Councils condemned this practice by special decrees. The following lines also, would seem to have a superstitious origin:

> "At Easter let your clothes be new,
> Or else be sure you will it rue."

Such too was the custom once practiced of dividing two great cakes in the church on Easter Day among the young people for purposes of divination, but Parliament very sensibly interfered,

and directed that bread for the poor should be purchased with the money formerly expended for the cakes. The decrees of Legislative bodies, we regret to say, are not always pervaded with so much practical good sense, at least not in these latter days.

Singularly enough, at this season of gladness and gratitude, when we might suppose the hearts of all Christian men and women filled with naught save thankfulness to God and charity towards their fellows, the same bitter spirit of intolerance that has in every age characterized the partisans of opposing creeds, here also manifested itself. Forgetful of the dreadful crown of martyrdom worn by so many of Christ's followers in the early days of the Church, their descendants 500 years later often imposed the same fearful doom on the Jews at Easter time, and the inelegant and uncharitable distich,

> "Christ is risen, Christ is risen,
> Let us send the Jews to prison,"

but too plainly indicates the vindictive spirit borne towards that despised and persecuted people. Eating a piece of bacon on Easter-day was a common practice all over England, whereby the people manifested their abhorrence of Jews and Jewish practices. Indeed, Jews were in evil repute at all times in Britain. It was charged upon them, that they abducted Christian children, whom they sacrificed on Easter-day by the infamous death of the cross, even as Christ Himself fell a victim to their cruel persecutions. In Mathew of Westminster's Chronicle a number of apparently well-authenticated instances of the abduction of children are given, with many accompanying details, that seem to give color to this accusation: we must in justice add, however, that this author's veracity is not rated very highly by later historians. In one instance it is known that no less than nineteen Jews were drawn and quartered for this crime, real or imputed. Philip Augustus banished all the Jews from France on similar charges. In "Percy's Reliques," is pre-

served a very old and famous ballad called "The Jew's Daughter," founded upon a similar occurrence. In a brief introduction to this ballad, it is but right to add, that the learned Bishop utterly discredits these tales about the Jews, and remarks that they were never wanting when some impecunious monarch was desirous to replenish his exhausted coffers.

We have found no other custom so wide-spread and almost universally prevalent during the Easter Holidays, as the use of colored eggs. From the earliest times, and from almost every land, notices of their use during festivals in spring-time, have come down to us. This use undoubtedly had its origin from the fact that the egg possesses and contains within itself the germ and elements of a future life, which although quiescent for a time, will, under proper conditions, burst into new and vigorous vitality, and therefore among Christian nations it came to be considered, in a certain sense, emblematical of the Resurrection. The Oriental nations all seem to have made use of eggs during their festivals; this may be attributable to contiguity and inter-communication, inasmuch as one nation is apt to adopt or assimilate in some degree, in the course of time, the customs or even the religion of its neighbors, to whom it may be allied either through its commercial relations or the intermarriage of citizens. Affinities of custom, like affinities of language, are often widely disseminated. This will perhaps account for the wide-spread use of eggs, with symbolical meaning during the spring-time of the year in the East, while nothing can be clearer or better demonstrated than that the people of Western Europe borrowed from thence the practice under consideration. Hutchinson in his history remarks, "eggs were held by the Egyptians as a sacred emblem of the renovation of mankind after the Deluge;" and we are told the same by Gebelin, who finds traces of the giving of eggs "in the theology and philosophy of the Egyptians, the Persians, Gauls, Greeks and Romans."

As an article of diet, eggs are almost universally liked, being both delicate and wholesome food, and following the dietetic

observances of Lent, may perhaps have contributed additional consideration to them. Some writers have deduced the custom of coloring eggs at Easter to the Catholics, from the gladness consequent upon being allowed to again partake of this food after a long abstinence, but this would seem to be clearly an error, as eggs were also sometimes colored at New Year's Day, and we have besides notices of colored eggs being in vogue in very ancient times. Brand, with great learning and patience has gathered together much curious lore, bearing on this subject, of which we freely avail ourselves. The usual custom seems to have been to use them as presents to friends, and consequently much time, taste and even money was lavished in coloring and ornamenting eggs at Easter. Designs of the most elaborate kind were often etched upon them with rare taste and skill; names, dates and representations of particular events, also formed part of their decoration. Sometimes they were covered with gold-leaf, which apart from the trouble, entailed no small cost on the donors. We learn from an Expense Book, still preserved, that four hundred and fifty eggs were purchased one Easter Sunday, which were covered with gold-leaf, and then distributed among the members of the household of King Edward I.; the original purchase money was only 1*s.* 6*d.*, proving that the rise in the price of eggs since then has not been trifling by any means; the expense of decorating these eggs, the original record unfortunately neglects to give.

From Dr. Chalmers' Travels in Asia Minor, Brand quotes the following: "The Greeks now celebrated Easter. A small bier, prettily decked with orange and citron buds, jessamine flowers, and boughs, was placed in the church with a Christ crucified, rudely painted on a board, for the body. We saw it in the evening, and before daybreak, were suddenly awakened by the blaze and crackling of a large bonfire, with singing and shouting in honor of the Resurrection. They made us presents of colored eggs, and cakes of Easter-bread." In Hakluyt's Voyages, we find what was the custom in Russia several centuries ago; he says, "They have an order at Easter, which they

alwaies observe, and that is this: every yeere, against Easter, to die or color red, with Brazzel (Brazil wood), a great number of egges, of which every man and woman giveth one unto the priest of the parish upon Easter-Day, in the morning. And moreover, the common people use to carrie in their hands one of these red egges, not only upon Easter-Day, but also three or four days after, and gentlemen and gentlewomen have egges gilded, which they carry in like manner. They use it, as they say, for a great love, and in token of the Resurrection, whereof they rejoice. For when two friends meete during the Easter Holydayes, they come and take one another by the hand; the one of them saith, 'The Lord, or Christ, is risen;' the other answereth, 'It is so of a trueth;' and then they kiss and exchange their egges, both men and women, continuing in kissing four days together." The following verse also expresses how intimately the giving of Easter eggs was interwoven with the religious sentiments of the people in the Fatherland:

"Alle gute ding seynd drey,
Drum schenk dir drey Oster Ey,
Glaub und Hoffnung sambt der Lieb
Nie-mahls auss dem Herzen Scheib.
Glaub der Kirch, vertrau auf Gott,
Liebe Ihn biss in den todt."

An old usage of Easter-time which has survived the mutations of several centuries, is no doubt familiar to all readers, being still a favorite pastime with young heroes of belligerent proclivities. Waterton, the traveller and naturalist, whose name was familiar to most school-boys a quarter of a century ago from his adventure with the cayman in the wilds of Guiana, most graphically describes this custom as practiced in his youth: "On Easter Sunday we were always treated to 'Pasche' eggs; they were boiled hard in a concoction of whin-flowers, which rendered them beautifully purple. We used them for warlike purposes, by holding them betwixt our forefinger and thumb, with the sharp end upwards, and as little exposed as possible.

An antagonist then approached, and, with the sharp end of his own egg struck this egg. If he succeeded in cracking it, the vanquished egg was his; and he either sold it, or reserved it for his own eating. When all the sharp ends had been crushed, then the blunt ends entered into battle. Thus nearly every Pasche egg in the school had its career of combat. The possessor of a strong egg with a thick shell, would sometimes vanquish a dozen of his opponents, all of which the conqueror ultimately transferred into his own stomach, when no more eggs with unbroken ends remained to carry on the war of Easter-week." Perhaps the reader as well as the writer of this, can recall with regret, akin to grief, the hour when some favorite egg, the champion of a hundred combats, succumbed under unnumbered attacks, and assumed the shape of the legendary egg of Columbus in the demonstration.

Much pomp and ceremony always attended the celebration of Easter during the Middle Ages. Primarily, as we have already said, it was a strictly religious festival, but in time, the opposite extreme was nearly reached, not only by laymen, but by the sacerdotal orders also. For once, even the secluded inmates of the cloister gave freedom to those worldly instincts which even abbey-walls had proved ineffectual wholly to suppress. The long repressed vanities of the outer world would again struggle for the mastery, and the troubadour and glee-maiden were gladly welcomed, where at other seasons, only exclusion and banishment awaited them. The wish for tidings from distant lands—the scene perhaps of many a stirring deed ere cowl and gown had been assumed, or of a former brother-in-arms, whose friendship was still green in the cells of memory,—these threw wide-open the door of the friar's cell, and the devotions of the monk were once more mingled with the vanities of the outer world.

Most of the old-time customs of Easter-day have died away, never more, let us hope, to be resurrected. Many of them were rude and boisterous, adapted to the rough age that gave them birth, but unsuited to our more cultured times. They were the

chaff, which has been sifted out; let us hope the grain—the germ pregnant with new life, still abides with us. And while we gladly bid adieu to that pageantry which in other days environed the festivals of our time-honored religion, let us not lose sight of these ordinances themselves; they, like stars, have adorned and illumined the midnight of all the ages of our Most Holy Faith; they are the foot-prints on the sin-laved shores of Time, that will remain forever; memorials that have indeed proved more enduring than brass, and which wasting showers and the countless succession of years shall not destroy.

In clouds of sorrow and suffering, the Redeemer sank into the darkened sepulchre of death. The splendor and glory that cast their halo over His early career, had apparently been extinguished in the gloom that hung over the silent gates of the grave. There was left scarce a faint summer twilight to assure the devout believer, that the fair dawn of an immortal day would soon meet his longing gaze, and dispel the doubt that fell upon his sorrowing soul when the Master was laid away. And as we gaze back through the dim vista of nearly two thousand years, and listen to the soft swelling anthems that have been chanted by the lips of Christian men and women on Easter-day through all these by-gone centuries, they rise as sacred pæans to the memory of that Resurrection-morn, that broke upon a disenthralled world; and as we reflect how often the memory of that long gone spring-day has rekindled the light of faith in eyes growing dim in the twilight of death, does not that life so pure, so unsullied, so true, gather a brighter radiance from the buried centuries that lie between it and us?

ART. VI.—THE CONCEPTION AND PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHRISTIAN DOGMA.

FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. WOLDEMAR SCHMIDT, BY PROF. J. S. STAHR.

THE present time is deeply agitated by a conflict concerning the authority of Church dogmas. Very often the dogma is regarded as a product of the human spirit, which appears only as an obstacle between the Scriptures and the Christian; the result of subjective, individual thinking, which unjustly claims determinative influence upon a community; a dry formula, without significance for the Christian life, which restrains the freedom of ecclesiastical development, and puts the letter in place of the spirit. How widely this opinion is disseminated, and what distress has come upon the Church in consequence of it, is no secret. The estrangement of so many from the doctrine and life of the Church, the distrust with which they regard the sense for truth, manifested by evangelical science, the growing scarcity of such as choose the holy ministry as the sphere of their activity, are all very largely due to that fear of Church dogmas which is characteristic of our times. At least the dogma, so it is asserted, has no true home in Protestantism. Dogmatics may be as essentially necessary to that Roman Church, as canon law; but it can only force itself temporarily upon the Evangelical Church, under peculiar historical conditions, without being in harmony with the permanent character of the same.

The latter point, however, cannot be historically proved. It is true that the name "Dogmatics" was introduced into the Evangelical Church, at a comparatively late period. It was first used among the Lutherans, as is well known, by Reinhart (1688), and among the Reformed by Wyttenbach a century later. But this does not prove that they intended to set forth something new in their treatises, something foreign to the

nature of Protestantism. Previous to this time, without mentioning others, Gerhard's *Loci* (1610) and Calov's *Systema* (1655) really were systems of Dogmatics; and afterwards Pfaff and Buddeus, notwithstanding their dislike to scholastic formulæ, secured increased favor for the name "theologia dogmatica." Nor is the history of more modern theology, altogether in favor of such an assertion. "Dogma, Dogmatics," says Schweitzer, "has already become a detested word, and a problem that can no longer be solved." But a short time before, P. Lange (1849) and the sainted Liebner (1849) had published a system of Christian "Dogmatics;" soon afterward Martensen (1856) and Ebrard (2d Ed. 1862) did the same, and when Biedermann (1869) at last also defends the title which had become customary, he assures us that this is no mere logomachy. Schweitzer himself, on the other hand, published a "Glaubenslehre" resting upon premises quite different from those of Hermann Plitt (1863). Dogmas, therefore, have long been in existence, only that their development was not called "Dogmatics;" and although "Dogmatics" and "Doctrine of Faith" claim to be different conceptions, they encroach perceptibly on each other's ground.

This variable use of terms is alone sufficient to prove that the conception and significance of the dogma is not always sufficiently considered. Even text-books on Dogmatics are very defective in this respect; and what theological science has thus neglected, is abundantly reflected in the thinking and mode of expression of the many. The present discourse does not make the remotest claim to be an exhaustive treatise on this important subject; it will scarcely amount to more than a few brief suggestions. The course to be pursued, however, is indicated by the theme itself. We ask first: What is the Dogma? and then: What Significance has the Dogma for the life of the Church?

I.

It has been repeatedly said, that the contents of the Christian faith are never called *δόγμα* in the New Testament. No

doubt this deserves the more attention, because such a designation would perhaps not have been altogether without an analogy. The Septuaginta make use of the word in speaking of the edicts of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. ii. 13) or of Darius (6, 8 et seq. x. 12-16); so also later Judaism in referring to laws of divine authority (3 Mac. iii. 1, comp. 2 Mac. ii. 8); and we find Philo in full accord with this, when he calls the contents of the Old Testament Scriptures the *ἅγια δόγματα* of the Jews (*de alleg.* p. 50) as well as Josephus when he calls these contents the *δόγματα θεοῦ*, which Israel was prepared to seal with death (c. Ap. i. 8). In this double sense we also find the expression in the New Testament, referring on the one hand to the edicts of a pagan emperor (Luke ii. 1; Acts xvii. 7), and on the other to the laws of God, which were abrogated by Christ, as mere dictatorial statutes. (Eph. ii. 15; Col. ii. 14). It means, therefore, simply a *decretum statutum* (Hesych.: *νομεθεσία, πρόσταξις*), an expression of opinion or will which demands observance in life, whether its authority be grounded in the person of a temporal prince or God Himself. The doctrine of Christian salvation is called *τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ* (Rom. x. 17; Eph. vi. 17), *ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (Col. iii. 16), *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ περι τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ* (Rom. i. 13), *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (Matt. iv. 23; Mark i. 1). Whilst these names do not imply that Christianity is mere doctrine, they nevertheless remind us distinctly of the fact that, Christianity has its own peculiar substance, and that this is Jesus Christ: the incarnate Son of God, as the manifestation of the love of God; He, in whom came the "Word," the perfect revelation, after which the world need wait for no other; grace, which has founded an ever valid salvation; the life, which affords us full satisfaction. This substance of which we obtain authentic knowledge in the word, is permanent, subject to no change of time, Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. He does not belong only to the past, nor can He find His glorification in the present, like the heroes of antiquity; on the contrary as the exalted Son of man He is the ever living One, who even now

enters with His activity into the limits of time and space, and reveals in them the fullness of His truth, His love and His life. His actively self-communicating person, not a compendium of doctrines rationally developed, delivered to the reason and treasured up by the memory, forms the contents of Christianity. But the life which entered principially into the world, is specially intended to become the new life of the single individual; and this takes place whenever the human ego apprehends the divine-human person of Jesus Christ, or more precisely when the will appropriates the offered salvation, in other words, when faith, the highest act of the human will, makes this salvation its own property. Jesus Christ will take up His abode in man, John xiv. 23; Eph. iii. 17; but He dwells only in the believer. Whoever believes, has Jesus Christ, is in Christ (2 Cor. v. 17, Gal. iii. 28), just as Christ is in the believer (Rom. viii. 10; Gal. ii. 20), and mediates to him a new, that is, eternal life. Apprehended by Christ, man receives Christ by faith; he follows Him that draws him; he answers Him that calls. On the basis of this necessity of receiving an impression, ("Eindrucksnothwendigkeit") he gives himself up to a life-giving union of his entire person with the exalted Christ. Christianity is thus objectively the never-changing person of its founder offering Himself in love; subjectively, the new life brought to pass by faith in Christ; and in this sense Hamann has beautifully said; "The pearl of Christianity is a hidden life in God, which consists neither in dogmas, nor conceptions, nor customs."

Do not dogmas therefore appear to be something foreign to the nature of Christianity, perhaps even in conflict with it? We think not. For the faith which receives Christ, involves already knowledge, knowledge concerning the holy object toward which it is directed; and this degree of knowledge must be followed by a continual growth in knowledge. So highly is it prized by the Apostle Paul, that he calls it a divine *Χάρισμα* (1 Cor. xii. 8), thanks God for it as for a precious treasure, and considers progressive growth in it, the

moral duty of every Christian (14, 20). "The marriage of faith with reason," says Ullmann, "takes place in heaven; sound faith will always strive to come into the light of knowledge, and living knowledge always has its origin in the maternal bosom of faith. The Christian will only then be really satisfied with his thinking, when he endeavors to know according to its ideal significance, the salvation offered to him, and to apprehend the Christian life kindled within him, also in its true conception. Not as if he were guided in this by a purely theoretical interest. In the sphere of Christianity, we find the purely theoretical so little, that even the result of such thinking is a *scientia ad praxin*. And because Christianity alone, in opposition to all forms of culture, lays hold of man in the totality of his powers, therefore it is possible to conceive of this process of thought only in the sphere of Christianity. The natural religions could generate only myths, for feeling was overpowered by the sensuous element. Judaism was in its very nature too closely bound to a particular form of the state, and could therefore not develop doctrine with real freedom. But the faith of the Christian incites to knowledge; untrammeled by a poetical or political element, it aims to give definite form to the idea of the Christian life, which is for this faith an irrefutable fact of experience. This is precisely what the dogma is intended to accomplish. And the faith that apprehends Christ, cannot be conceived of, apart from a longing for communion. The believer is indeed already certain of his salvation. But with faith, love has been kindled within him, and love does good to all men indeed, but especially to them who are of the household of faith. Therefore the believer wants to know in what other men the same life lives. If he did not know them, his love could not be directed to the kind, and he himself would grow poor in his isolation. And yet, how can he learn to know the others, if not by the expression of their faith? Faith and love do not enable us to discern the spirits as long as our eyes are still held; the believing subject therefore looks for a bond to bind it to its kind, and to order

its life according to the laws of its kind. This bond is found in dogmas.

This would be enough to enable us to infer the relation between dogmas and the essence of Christianity—a relation which has generally been determined in a two-fold manner, with very different results. Some regard dogmas as something purely arbitrary, subjective opinions concerning theology as held by the individual teacher. This is essentially the rationalistic view. *Δόγμα* here becomes *δόξα*, a *placitum*, a purely human, more or less tenable opinion. It may be that this assertion is not altogether unsupported by the terminology of Christian antiquity, and that the term, viewed etymologically, appears to mean rather doctrinal opinion than doctrinal truth. But the letter of the apostles and elders in Jerusalem already speaks against that view. It contains the words *ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν*, according to Luther "it seemed good to us" (Acts xv. 25, comp. xxii. 28); but those who wrote thus, undoubtedly stood on firm ground, and demanded that their *δόγμα* (comp. xvi. 4), should be respected by their brethren from among the Gentiles. History also proves the falsity of that view. After serious struggles the decisive word was spoken, after anxious conflicts the signal of peace erected in the dogma, around which the members of the communion gathered with one accord. How could it have become the bond of union for the Church communion, we may well ask, if it is only something accidental, without true internal relation to Christianity? This unifying power of the dogma alone, a power amply demonstrated by history, is sufficient to set aside that rationalistic view. According to others, dogmas are something stiffly objective, scholastic formulæ, which have been prescribed to a church communion by single individuals in the conscious exercise of certain authority. This is the harsh supranaturalistic view. *Δόγμα* thus becomes a *placitum regium*, to which the Christian must submit, the formation of dogmas becomes legislation, and the Christian life, the fruit of a strict doctrinal regime. But here it must be admitted that this view also is not without sup-

port in the ancient Church, inasmuch as several of the Fathers mention divine dogmas, the dogmas of the Lord and of the apostles. The view of course was consistently developed only in subsequent times. We need only call to mind the fact that Thomas Aquinas looked upon revelation as a *sacra doctrina*, and regarded faith as a willing submission to a certain number of doctrines; that the Roman councils dictated their decrees as absolute law, and pronounced an anathema upon all such as refused to obey this law. But here the conception of the dogma is so thoroughly obscured, that it can scarcely be recognized. How little in favor of this view is the conduct of the apostles in Jerusalem! When they send their epistle to Syria, they do not mean to impose a yoke upon the necks of the Christians by their decision; they appeal much more to the free conviction of the brethren. They expect their sentence to prevail, because it bears the stamp of truth (comp. Acts xv. 29). And how little does such a view harmonize with the true nature of objective and subjective Christianity! When Christ came, truth appeared as the power of life for the whole internal man; but here the gracious gift of Christ threatens to shrink into a doctrine. Christ is the end of the law, but here the gospel is to become "a new law." Those who belong to Christ are called unto liberty; but here they are led as if they were minors, their faith consequently becomes a work, and the firmness of their faith is judged according to the measure of their insight into traditional doctrines. We may say therefore that the two views which we have described do not express the true relation between the dogma and the essence of Christianity.

According to our previous development of this subject, the dogma is something derived, not original. Christ Himself preached the gospel—and how powerfully He proclaimed it;—but His preaching does not establish a uniformity of conceptions, nor supply finished formulæ to which the Christian might cleave in the confusion of subsequent times; much rather is it made the problem of the Church to apprehend the new life in intelligible terms, and to work its way into the

possession of the doctrine which prevails in it. And the Church commenced the solution of this problem from the beginning. Wherever it remained in the divinely approved way, it went back to the "written Christ," the word of God. With the contents of this, unified in the faith, it has run through the historical process, to which it saw itself appointed by the demands of the times, and at the end of which came the decision; this again influenced the life of the Church precisely to the extent to which such decision became a bond of communion. The dogma thus appears not as a substantive factor of revelation, for it is the result of a work of the Church; nor yet as something absolutely new, for in Christ indeed the whole truth was opened to the world; it is rather a product on the basis of that which was given in Christ, formed by the Church according to the necessities of the times.

That this is the true relation of the dogma to Christianity, appears clearly from that dogma which proceeded from the council of the apostles. James speaks there after Peter, Paul and Barnabas, and makes the proposition to which the decision given at Jerusalem was due (Acts xv. 13 seq.). His sentence was organically connected with the inmost essence of Christianity; for in Christ free access to the grace of God is opened to the world. And yet it also contains something new; for here for the first time, the antithesis between Jewish and Gentile Christians is wiped away. Again the correctness of our former definition becomes evident from the dogma of infant baptism. It is not necessary to prove in this connection that in establishing this dogma, the Church has not departed from the genuine spirit of Christianity, or from the original institution of baptism. And yet we look in vain, for an express command in favor of pædobaptism in the New Testament. For this very reason, we have called the dogma a product on the basis of that which was given in Christ. Or, to repeat an illustration used by P. Lange, we may say, it has grown from a germ found in the Bible as the authentic record of the divine-human life. We add further: It was produced by the Church,

and therefore not by a particular class in the Church as a class, perhaps by means of learned investigation; it was rather the work of those in general, who joined themselves in faith to the highest good, and submitted to the guidance of the Spirit. Even in Jerusalem the apostles do not speak the decisive word, still less Peter alone; not even the apostles in connection with the elders; but the whole congregation is present, and takes an essential part in solving the question before them. And finally we have called attention to the fact, that the Church produced the dogma according to the necessities of the times. If this were not so, then its production would either be deceptive appearance, vain show, or like the edict of a despot, the result of caprice. But history contradicts this. We cannot assert, that the dogma leads immediately to the symbol. Augustinian ideas, *e. g.* prevailed long in the Church without being really recognized, and Roman Catholicism ruled over the spirits all through the middle ages, whilst the full expression of its dogmas did not come to pass until the Council of Trent. The history of the formation of confessions, gives us a most faithful picture of the formation of dogmas, and shows clearly how the Church, according to its condition at any particular time, establishes the dogma. For a crisis in the life of faith is always its historical condition. In the days of the primitive Church, the Jewish world produced Ebionism, and the heathen world, other forms of Gnosticism. These contradictions of the world were answered by the Church in its dogmas, and when in the days of Luther, a mighty protest arose against the authority of Rome, the principles of the newly awakened life indeed authenticated themselves immediately to the conscience of our people, but the clear refutation of the Roman error, was only accomplished by the writing of the Reformers, which at the same time raised this new life into clearer self-consciousness. Thus the *thesis* of the Church comes after the *antithesis*, coming either from without or from within, and this thesis, choosing its own language, assumes form according to the condition of the Church at the time.

II.

We pass on to consider the second part of our subject, viz: The Significance of the Christian Dogma. That this significance is great and important, one that is intimately connected with the nature of Christianity, appears evident, at the outset, from the fact that we really find dogmas in the true sense of the word, and still more dogmatics properly so called, or better yet, a history of dogmas running its course according to fixed laws, only in the sphere of Christianity. But that the significance of the dogma must not be exchanged for that of Christianity, as is often done, follows from what we have said concerning the conception of the dogma. For the very reason that the dogma is not the beginning, not the original form of salvation, can it be made an object of reflection and study, can it be appropriated even by those who are not in possession of salvation itself, just as *per contra* Christians are not necessarily in different relations to Christ, when there are dogmatic differences between them. Yea, we can go further in drawing our conclusions. Older dogmatists, as is well known, made a distinction between fundamental dogmas, and those, the reception of which is less essential to salvation. This would be a very proper distinction if the dogma were more than something merely derived. But it becomes unintelligible when the same dogmatists, in the true evangelical spirit, call faith in the person of Christ *fides salvifica;* the faith that lived in the woman who touched the hem of Jesus' garment (Matt. ix. 22), in the woman who came from the land of Phœnicia (Matt. xv. 28), in the thief on the cross who, whilst dying, tasted the fruit of Jesus' death (Luke xxiii. 43); the faith that can also dwell in the soul of a child, or in those who remain children in understanding all their life, and are never able to come to a conscious unfolding of their faith. Stress has very properly been laid on the fact that our relation to salvation is an individual relation; and the misapprehension of a truth which may prove no obstacle to the salvation of one man, may become very dangerous

for another who has reached a higher grade of development. For this very reason the fundamental importance of the dogma is to be determined not from its relation to the salvation of the individual, but from its relation to the preservation and development of the Church, and we inquire accordingly into the significance of dogmas for the life of the Church.

This significance confronts us when we endeavor to set before us, besides the free, movable side of dogmas, also their social obligation.

We say first of all: Dogmas have a free, movable side, and this lies above all in their objective ground. We have said that this objective ground is the Word of God, the authentic expression of that which was once given to the world in Christ. It is the *unica regula et norma, secundum quam omnia dogmata æstimari et judicari oportet* (Form. Conc. p. 570). "The Word of God," says Luther, "is to establish articles of faith, no one else, not even angels." (Art. Smal. p. 308). The same Scriptures, then, which alone enable the Church to form dogmas, become again a limit to the process, and give one side to the dogma from which it is continually subject to serious examination. And if, during the last decades, biblical criticism and exegesis have manifested uncommon activity on Protestant ground, much valuable assistance has also been derived here for the proper criticism of dogmas. Earlier theology was frequently content to obtain from the Scriptures only the *dicta probantia*, and to base its argumentation upon these; but later theology has shown that the Bible is rather something concluded in itself—an organism, and has made a very promising beginning to secure proper respect for the teaching of the Scriptures as a whole. Modern theology aims to explain the particular from the general, and the general from the particular; not only to elucidate a particular passage which may be important at the moment, but also, and no less, to examine its relation to all the rest. These principles, once obtained, put an end to caprice in the use of Scripture as well as to all external mechanical procedure, and strengthen the eye when it

becomes necessary to discern the life substance of a dogmatic form, to trace back this form to its biblical ground, and to apprehend the right or wrong with which it is filled out or supported.

As a further basis of dogmas we have mentioned the rational life of the Church, as conditioned by the state of the Church at the time; but this means already, that the significance of existing dogmas is not that they are to serve the Church as something immovably objective because they are an inheritance of the past; on the contrary because they have this basis, they have also a free, movable side. Christian truth and Christian life have entered into history. As Christianity resembles the grain of mustard seed, which manifests its life-power extensively in the growth of the tree, so does it also resemble the leaven which manifests its power intensively in the mass of meal. Planted in the heart of man, it is intended and aims to bring about a renewing, reformation of all the spiritual powers; yet never suddenly, but according to the laws of life, gradually, never magically but with continual reference to the external relations of Church communion. If this is the order in the divine kingdom, then the rational expression of Christianity cannot at once come to the light of day in a perfect form. The faith of the Church must find expression in different degrees, so that *e. g.* Origen and Augustine were both organs of the Church, but in different ways. The faith of the Church may seek to be formulated under different circumstances, so that, *e. g.* in the great Christological contests, the fundamental question of the sixteenth century was thrust into the background.

The faith of the Church must find expression in different forms, now in the language of the Orient, now in the language of the Occidental Fathers and of our own people. All this enables us to discern that side of dogmas on which they are not thoroughly unchangeable, immovably firm, a side which presents itself to us as soon as we sharply fix the eye on the close connection between contents and form, thought and expression. For this reason also, there are dogmas which have led far be-

yond themselves, as for instance the one established at Jerusalem; it has been well preserved in its essential contents; but just in proportion as the national antithesis between Jewish and Gentile Christians disappeared, was also the prohibition against eating blood given up, at least in the Occident. And the dogmas of our Church, do they claim to regulate life and doctrine for us, claim to be preserved, mechanically repeated, externally handled as so much traditional matter passed on from generation to generation? If there ever was a time that served to impress the saying that "we bear heavenly treasures in earthly vessels," it is surely the present with its deep and far-reaching conflicts. The man who knew how to put forth and honor the theology of the Formula Concordiæ,* has lately said: "The earlier dogmatic work of the Church, however lasting its results may prove in other respects, is certainly not sufficient for the present time, for the reason that the points of difference as well as the premises of the conflict are now essentially different from what they were in any previous period of the past history of the Church, and that the certitude of the Church, to be conscious, demands a clear and firm position with reference to these points. In this sense existing dogmas have a free movable side; this lies above all in their objective ground.

And not less in the manner of their subjective appropriation. It is most intimately connected with the duty of examining the authority of a dogma in the light of the word of God. But if all true knowledge (Erkenntniss) on the part of man must be acquired in an ethical way, if all true knowledge (Wissen) is indissolubly bound, as to its genesis with conscience and conscientiousness, this is pre-eminently true with respect to knowledge concerning the highest good, the knowledge of the new, divine-human life, to which the Christian must penetrate. A man can therefore become certain of Church dogmas only by revolving them freely in his mind, and inquiring concerning their determining ground; in other words, the apprehension of

* Frank System der Christlichen Gewissheit. Erlangen, 1870, Vol. I, p. 13.

dogmas if it is to be a real appropriation, depends least of all upon a renunciation of one's own consciousness of faith, is not an act of resignation; on the contrary it is an energetic activity of the individual ego, an act of conscience in an eminent sense.

This free side alone is sufficient to remove from dogmas the appearance of stiff traditions or burdensome formulæ intended to bind the Christian, of absolute laws which could not stand in the presence of the apostle's word: where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. If that were really the object and the significance of dogmas, it would not only be our right, it would be our duty also to draw them without exception into the stream of criticism, to let them perish there; for since the time of Christ, humanity has moved forever beyond a merely legal relation to the truth. But the liberty of the gospel exists also in a community which is consciously bound together by a circle of definite dogmas. The free, movable side of these guarantees the free movement of the science as well as the life of the Church. Of the science of the Church; first of all of the interpretation of Scripture, and of Dogmatics. For what prospect of success would the exegete have, if he were to bring a finished result to the words of Scripture, and would proceed to put a meaning into the Bible instead of getting one out of it? He works much more faithfully in the service of the Church, if he allows himself to be guided by the doctrinal norm of the Church, only so far as this is itself measured by the Scriptures and finds its corrective there. Would the dogmatist even in the remotest degree approximate the solution of his problem, if he were to report concerning dogmas as productions of former times, or in other words, give us a "cross-cut from the History of Dogmas?" He will only then attain his end, when he stands in continual contact with the internal motives of newly arisen points of difference, with the tendencies of his age, with the deepest needs of life, and thus on his part, in internal union with the dogmas of the Church, he helps to make these the point of origin for a course of fruitful development. And could Church-life even claim the name of life, if it were to begin in

an unfree way, and would thus spin its thread in a firm unchangeable order? It finds true expression only where each and all in a community with free self-determination subordinate themselves to its principles, and exhibit these principles in the manifold changes of relations, manners, and customs of civil life.

It is not without reason that we lay stress on the free, movable side of our dogmas. Let it be for many an occasion for sharp criticism of dogmas: let it be called an illusion by others, particularly in our day; we prize this side, because the significance of dogmas for the life of the Church, rests in a large measure on this basis. For this proposition certainly cannot be called in question: A good which has been tested by the Word of God as to its value, and which has been affirmed, received and appropriated by a free act of conscience, has unifying power for those who possess it; and therefore it should be our problem to set before our minds the social obligation of dogmas.

That the significance of dogmatic forms is really to be found in this unifying power, could easily be proved from the unique continuity of the entire development of the Church in general so far as it is according to Scripture. If the life substance of the true dogma comes from the Bible, there must be immanent in it something which the Church must always consider as its inalienable inheritance, as a precious jewel for all ages. Errors in doctrine and life, are permanently vanquished by means of it, and if Sabellian or Arian, Manichæan or Pelagian views return from time to time, their essential falsity is already proved for the consciousness of the Church. Every age, indeed, is also theoretically placed before its special problem; but it could not solve this problem at all, if it had not received a treasure of knowledge from earlier generations, which it can use as its capital. In the work of the Church we see the growth of Christian knowledge, and in the inheritance with which the work is begun, we see the unity of the development of the Church, or in other words, the unifying power of Church dogmas. But

this need not stand here in the foreground. This power meets us, as in the history of past ages, so also in the present time of the Church, notwithstanding its internal divisions. Dogmas express their social obligations very distinctly even in the worship of the Church. For in its essence, worship is not merely the expression of a religio-human feeling, still less an act intended to instruct the worshiper, or to incite him to actions acceptable to God; it is a reciprocal action between the exalted Christ who communicates Himself both in Word and Sacrament, and the congregation who receives Christ, an act of the congregation before the Lord, who wishes to attest Himself to the congregation. But if so, then the cultus assumes a form analogous to the consciousness of the congregation concerning its relation to Christ. Christ did not Himself prescribe liturgical forms like Moses. Nor has the apostolic age left us its order of cultus as a regulative norm. The truth is that the worship with its hymns, and prayers, and all its solemnities is always a faithful impress of the order of life and faith which prevails in the Church, and thus it becomes a testimony in favor of the binding power of Church dogmas. The social obligation of dogmas again finds expression in the sermon. The dogma as such of course, receives homiletical treatment only in special cases, as for example by Claus Harms in his sermons on the *Confessio Augustana;* it is also necessary, as Palmer has aptly said, "to distinguish carefully between formulated doctrine, such as is to form the safe doctrinal treasure of the Church, and a free smoothly flowing proclamation of the gospel, in a form adapted to satisfy the hunger and thirst of the soul." But every sermon, as Palmer also demands, must not only in general be based on the dogma, but it must also take the dogma into itself, and lead it back to its fountain; it must be in this sense, a reproduction of the dogma from the word of God by faith. For it is an act of the Christian congregation. The congregation wants to hear the consciousness of faith, which lives in it, proclaimed abroad by him who is the bearer of the ministerial office. And thus the sermon in the Christian worship re-

flects most of all the unifying power of dogmas. Again the social obligation of dogmas makes itself felt in the Church instruction. If this instruction accomplishes what it ought to accomplish, it leads the generation of minors into the confession of those who have attained their majority in the Church. This object would be missed if such instruction were calculated only to make the catechumen acquainted with the accidental views or opinions of the instructor; it aims rather to make the children thoroughly at home in the organism of the doctrine and life of the adult congregation. The congregation itself desires this; for it establishes the office of the ministry, and the service of the minister whom the congregation appoints, is *eo ipso* a service performed to the catechumenate. But if the doctrine and life of the congregation find rational expression only in the dogmas, then catechetical instruction also is a proof of the unifying power concealed in dogmas. A great work is committed to this instruction, particularly in our time. To say nothing of a solidifying of conceptions, the present time is ruled by an almost overgrown subjectivism, individualism, positive and negative ignorance. The criticism bestowed upon the treasure of knowledge acquired by the Church is often only the ratiocination of a mind subject to the influence of foreign objects, whilst true knowledge comes to the Christian only as it does to the scientist, by experience, that is, it is called forth by media appointed by the Lord for this purpose. All departments of life seek in our day, a clear expression for the order of their life; the Church also cannot dispense with such expression, and finds it actually in its dogmas. Born of the word of life, they serve the life of the word in the Christian congregation. Apprehended with full freedom of conscience, they guard against a false tutelage, keep us in true freedom.

And if now Christian intellectual life finds expression in the dogma, it necessarily follows that only the dogma of Jesus Christ, of the Son of God and the Son of Man, can be central. Luther says: "Whoever is right and firm in this, that Jesus Christ is true man and true God, that He has died and arisen

for us; can also safely count upon the firm possession of all other articles. Again, I have also observed that all error, heresy, idolatry, offense, abuse and wickedness in the Churches come originally from the fact that this article or part of faith concerning Jesus Christ has been despised or lost." In all ages, whenever Christology was emptied of its proper contents, the Church also lost the fullness of the contents of its Christian doctrine in general. Therefore let the work of the Church mass itself more and more around this article of faith.

Art. VII.—THE HISTORICAL NECESSITY OF CHRIST'S GLORIFICATION.

BY REV. P. S. DAVIS, D. D.

There seems to be a common impression among men, that the immediate disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, had the highest apprehension of His Person and work during the three years that He taught them upon the earth. This idea is certainly very erroneous. It is true that the instruction He gave them was all important to their mission in the world; for they were to be not only the bearers of His life, but also the authenticated witnesses of His ministry.* But it was only after the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost that the nature and glorious power of His salvation were revealed to them in anything like a full measure.

This is evident enough from many Scriptures. In reading the gospels, we are constantly meeting with declarations which go to show that they did not apprehend Him while He was with them as fully as they did afterwards. For example, when He spoke to them of His betrayal and crucifixion, it is said "They understood not this saying, and it was hid from them,

* John xv. 26, 27.

that they perceived it not." * When He entered Jerusalem with hosannas, it is said, "These things understood not His disciples at first, but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of Him and that they had done these things unto Him." † So, too, when He said, "But now I go my way to Him that sent me," He added, "And none of you asketh Me whither goest thou? But because I have said these things unto you, sorrow hath filled your hearts." ‡ They did not see the historical necessity of His going, and everything that He said in regard to it was veiled with an impenetrable mystery, into which they had not the heart to inquire. In regard to His crucifixion, they were not only as He afterwards told them, "fools and slow of heart to believe" but they actually protested against it. In fact, they were wonderfully attached to His person, and instead of seeing that He ought to suffer these things and to enter into His glory; they looked upon His humiliation as fraught with evil only, both to Himself and to them. They could not realize His triumph, and His departure, they thought must mar and abate His relation to them in such a way that no Comforter could compensate them. All was repugnant to their natural feelings, and made them very sad.

Our Divine Redeemer, although He, on all proper occasions, rebuked any want of faith on the part of His disciples, did not in this case blame them because they failed to realize all things. On the contrary, He told them that this defect of theirs constituted in part, the reason why He should do that which seemed so strange to them. It was in order to a fuller manifestation of *Himself*. "These things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you. But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." (John xiv. 25, 26). "But when the Comforter is come, whom I shall send unto you from

* Luke xi. 45. † John xii. 16. ‡ John xvi. 5, 6.

the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify of ME; and ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning." (John xv. 25–27). Again. "Nevertheless, I tell you the truth; It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you: but *if I depart*, I will send Him unto you. And when He is come, He will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment. Of sin, because they believe not on Me; of righteousness, because I go to my Father and ye see me no more; of judgment, because the Prince of this world is judged. I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.* Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth is come, He will guide you into all truth: for He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak: and He will show you things to come. *He shall glorify me:* for He shall receive of MINE, and show it unto you. *All things that the Father hath are Mine: therefore said I, that He shall take of Mine, and show it unto you.*" John xvi. 7–15.

We think it important that the truth here declared, should be brought prominently into notice, because there is a tendency just now to sink it out of sight, through an ignorant zeal for the crucifixion of Christ, as if the Saviour were not here declaring the way in which His sacrifice was to be honored. And the consideration of this subject is all the more important, because the wrong views men get by a departure from what our Divine Redeemer here emphasizes, effect not simply some doctrine lying out on the periphery, but the central fact of our holy religion, viz: God's revelation of *Himself* to us.

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* Ἀλλ' οὐ δυνασθε βασταζειν ἄρτι (John xii. 12). This expression is very decided· βαστάζειν like the Latin *ferre*, often signifies to apprehend: δυνασθε is from δυναμαι—a verb, expressive of *ability*, (the Vulgate has *potestis*) and the essential idea is, that at this stage (ἄρτι) of the manifestation of Christ, there was a limitation which the disciples had not, in the nature of the case, the *power* to transcend; and that, only after our Saviour had been glorified, and the vivifying power of the Holy Ghost given to men, would this bar be removed. The expression stands in marked contrast with the ουκ ανεξονται which St. Paul uses (2 Tim. iv. 3) when he says they *will not endure* sound doctrine.

Even those who profess to believe in, and to teach of, "God the Father and our creation; God the Son and our redemption; and God the Holy Ghost and our sanctification;" thereby asserting three Persons in one God, yet do so in such a manner as to destroy the Trinity *in unity*. Thus, God the Father is often represented as the Creator and Preserver of the universe, independent of Him by whom He made the world and who upholds all things by the word of His power (Hebrews i. 2, 3). As a consequence of this, there is no proper conception of the fact, that in the Incarnate Son, "dwelt the *fullness of the Godhead* bodily." (Col. ii. 9). He is not the I AM of the Old Testament (Ex. iii. 14) whom He over and over declares Himself to be (John vii. 58, Matt. xiv. 27) * and who conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the virgin Mary, has so revealed the Father, that He could say to Philip, "He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou, show us the Father?" (John xiv. 9). Nor can the manifestation of God in the flesh be of full importance to those who look upon Christ's mission in the world as not to give a new life to our humanity, nor yet to raise that humanity free from the power of sin and death, to the right hand of the Majesty on High, but *only* to die. For them, His work *terminates* in the bloody tragedy of Calvary. When His precious blood was shed, the penalty to God's wrath was paid, and men might now be justified in an outward forensic way independent of the resurgent power of His theanthropic life.

His words upon the hallowed cross, "It is finished," † are understood to mean, not that the atonement had been made, but that His work was completed so as to leave no necessity for His resurrection and ascension. His Divine life might just as well have ceased forever in the darkness of that awful hour.

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* Not "It is I" as in Eng. trans. but εγω είμι, that is, I AM. This presence of Jehovah, was the reason why the disciples should "fear not."

† The changes rung on this passage might apply with equal force to John xvii. 4: "I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do," and this would cut out the crucifixion; as this declaration was made before He went to Calvary.

For now everything was done, as far as our salvation is concerned. All we have to do is to look back to His atonement, in the way of memory as a thing of the past. To say that the High-priest of our profession, must enter into the Heavens to intercede for us; * that the *force* and merits of His sacrifice made once for all, are ever pleading for us at the mercy-seat, and that they are authenticated to us by faith in prayer, the Lord's Supper, or in any other *transaction* between the believer and the God of his salvation, is set down *nolens volens*, as savoring of the idolatrous repetitions of the Romish Mass. We have no right to say, "This man *because He continueth ever*, hath an unchangeable priesthood; *wherefore* He is able to save them to the uttermost (*εις το παντελες*, to completeness) that come unto God by Him, *seeing He ever liveth* to make intercession for them." (Heb. vii. 24–5). †

According to the theory of which we are speaking, the third Person of the adorable Trinity—the Eternal Spirit through whom Christ offered Himself without spot to God, (Heb. ix. 14), is regarded as being poured out upon men abruptly, not as flowing out of Christ's ascension (Eph. iv. 8, Acts i. 8–11), without which it would have been impossible; (John xvii. 7) but only to make available in some mercantile sense,‡ that

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* Heb. iv. 14, vide also Acts iii. 21.

† Ebrard in speaking of the contrast here made between the Levitical High-priests and Christ says, "The priesthood of Christ, on the contrary, is according to vers. 1–3 and ver. 17, *απαράβατος*, such as cannot pass to a successor, *because he ever lives*. On the one side, we see the weakness of mortality; on the other, *the power of an endless life*," vide Com. in loco. This is just the idea that Dr. Nevin unfolded in his magnificent sermon before the Synod at Danville (vide Mer. Rev. vol. xvii. pp. 105 et seq.) and which his opponents, who profess to quote Ebrard, are carping at. "From this now," continues Dr. Ebrard, "proceeds the inference ver. 25 that Christ, because He ever lives, is able to save *to the uttermost* all who come to the Father through Him." Εἰς τὸ παντελες does not signify "evermore," but "to completeness," *i. e.* perfectly; it forms, both in its etymology and its place in the context, the precise antithesis to the words ver. 19, *the law made nothing* perfect.

‡ To hear some people talk, one would be led to suppose that the literal red blood shed for the redemption of man, and without which we know there could have been no remission, must be sprinkled upon *their outward persons*, for they will admit of nothing mystical in our holy religion. Any mystery destroys the reality. Others, as every

blood which having been once shed, would have been quite as efficacious if Jesus had remained forever under the power of death. There is no reason in this view why the Holy Ghost might not have been poured out on all flesh the moment after our Divine Redeemer expired on the cross; and whoever makes any account of the triumph over death by which His vicarious sacrifice was honored, is looked upon as *depreciating* His atonement, St. Paul's words to the contrary notwithstanding.

The faultiness of this view lies in the fact that it sees no difference between the transient manifestations of the Spirit to the Old Testament fathers, which cannot be called visible missions, because they were not made, as St. Augustine says, to designate the inhabitation of a Divine Person by grace, but to manifest something else.* According to this, there was no necessary sequence in the coming of the Paraclete. He might have come at any time, and indeed instead of abiding

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one knows, regard the atonement as something brought about *simply* to pay a debt due from man to God. And our Blessed Saviour did pay the awful penalty due to sin; but this must not exclude the side of mercy and love which God had for man. Upon this subject, Ebrard has a forcible remark. In commenting upon Heb. ix. 14, quoted above, where Christ is said to have offered Himself through the Eternal Spirit without spot to God, he says, "This verse is in a practical point of view, one of the most important in the whole New Testament. For as directed against the doctrine here taught concerning the value of Christ's sacrifice, all that calumnious talk of old Rationalists and new German Catholics, about a theology of blood and wounds and a tyrannical God, who "could look only on blood," is put to a shameful silence. The main thing in the sacrifice of Christ is not the blood, this red substance—for then might the blood of the animals under the first covenant have sufficed,—as little is it "the Spirit" alone, if by the Spirit be understood an abstraction, a misty ideal of virtue, or freedom, or of man-deification (in which case, it is too often the mere σάρξ that falsely boasts of possessing "the Spirit of Christ")—but it is that *eternal spirit* of absolute eternal holiness and eternal love which has efficaciously manifested itself in time, inasmuch as it endured the real bloody death for the sinful world." The new Catholics here mentioned are of course not to be confounded with the "Old Catholics" as they are called, who, under the lead of Döllinger, have more recently excited great interest, by their protest against Papal Infallibility.

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* Divi Thomas. *Sum. Theol.* prima pars, quæst. xliii. art. 7.

with us forever (John xiv. 16) * since the day of Pentecost, He is regarded as leaving us, so that He must be called into the world, it may be very often in a single hour. There is in all this no apprehension of the fact that the Holy Ghost was to manifest the Son, as the Son had manifested the Father; and that the advent of the Comforter could not properly take place until Christ had in His own Person borne that humanity which He had assumed, through all its stages and carried it in triumph from under the power of death to the right hand of God. Till that had been done, showing a most actual victory in the second generic Head of our race, the Holy Ghost could not properly be the Comforter for us. The stem and stalk of humanity, must first bear its perfect flower in Him who was at once its root and its crown. Any defect or any incompleteness in what Christ had become and done for us, would bar man from the presence of God, and send him back to howling despair.

And those who think differently can have no appreciation of the words our Saviour uttered to His disciples before His crucifixion, and in His High-priestly prayer as these are recorded by St. John. For there He speaks of His departure as necessary, not only to His own glorification, with the glory He had with the Father before the world was, (Jno. xvii. 5), but also as necessary to His glorification in His people. "He shall glorify

* In this verse the Master is telling His disciples of the advantage His going away would be to them; viz., that the *permanent* abode of the Holy Ghost, with them, would be a characteristic of the advanced Spiritual dispensation which the third person of the Holy Trinity was to inaugurate. This therefore is a fundamental truth. And yet it seems, that some men who claim to be orthodox and saintly, to a degree that raises them far above their brethren, can never get done jeering at this most solemn declaration of our Saviour; averring as they do, that this saying has never been realized in the history of the Church, and is therefore absolutely untrue. They appeal to certain hymns in justification of this reviling. All we have to say to this, is, that the sooner any hymn that antagonizes this or any other declaration of the Lord Jesus, is put out of the way, the better, however much such hymn may be embalmed by religious association. But *some* of the hymns referred to, are not in conflict with these words of Christ. According to the sense that these men would *put into them*, they could not invoke the presence of Christ Himself, without praying for His re-Incarnation.

me; for He shall receive of Mine and shall show it unto you. All things that the Father hath are Mine: therefore said I, that He shall take of mine and show it unto you." (Jno. xvi. 14, 15). Our Divine Redeemer is, in this connection, speaking of the expediency of His going away. He makes the coming of the Holy Ghost contingent upon it, and declares that when the Comforter had come, He would "convince the world of sin, and of righteousness and of judgment." He gives certain grounds for this, and in doing so He makes everything to centre in Himself: "Of sin, because they believe not on Me; of righteousness, because I go to My Father, and ye see Me no more; of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged." In all this we have no piece-meal particularization, but an exceedingly broad and exhaustive statement of the facts in the case, and an examination of these words may help us to understand this whole subject.

It will be observed that our Lord Jesus says that the Comforter will convict the world "of sin." But why? Is it simply because the world has fallen under the power of sin, and is sinful? No, that is not the reason given, but *because they believe not in* ME. Let this be held distinctly in mind. The *essential* ground of man's conviction is not that all men are sinners, because for all sin Christ has made a sufficient atonement. It is not for the absence of righteousness, because in Christ that has been supplied, so as to make it available. It is not that we are necessarily ignorant of this, for Christ says "I am the light of the world: He that followeth Me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." In Him was life, and the life was the light of men."* "That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."† Nor does the necessity lie in the fact, that men are

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* John i. 4. Not the light was the life of men, as men would have it, thus reversing the Divine order of things.

† John i. 9. ὁ φωτίζει πάντα ανθρωπον ερχομεον εἰς τον κοσμον. Properly, who coming into the world, is to enlighten all men, and "*this*, 'it is said,' is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light."

too weak to follow after that light—to renounce sin and accept of righteousness, "for when we were without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodly." Besides, the Paraclete *having come* is to reveal Christ and help our infirmities. The difficulty does not lie then, in any of the things of which men are apt to complain, but in this: *that when a supernatural constitution of grace has been let down from heaven to earth, in the Person of God's only begotten Son, men reject it.*

This is everywhere set forth as the ground of condemnation. "For God so loved the world, that He gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him, should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through Him might be saved. He that believeth on Him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, *because he hath not believed* in the name of the only begotten Son of God." "Ye do search your Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of Me. And ye will not come to me that ye may have life." This rejection of Christ then, is what clothes sin with such awful turpitude, and is made the reason for ultimate judgment against man. Indeed our Saviour speaks, as if this aggravation constitutes the entire heinousness of sin; and He certainly declares that it takes away all excuse for it. "If I had not come and spoken to them they had not had sin; he that hateth me, hateth my Father also. If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now have they both seen, and hated both Me and My Father."*

In full accord with this general idea, we hear the Apostle saying, "Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should let them slip. For if the word spoken by angels was steadfast, and every transgression received a just recompense of reward; how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation; which at

* John xv. 22-24.

the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him." * And again, "For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries. He that despised Moses' law died without mercy under two or three witnesses. Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of Grace?" †

In these declarations there is a recognition of the fact that "the powers of the world to come" have been brought to us in Christ, and that apart from Him, everything must remain under the disintegrating power of sin and death. Outside of or beyond the realm of grace that is manifested in Him, there is nothing upon which man can rest any hope.

Now the faith necessary to the enjoyment of Christ, is not something set as an arbitrary condition as though God simply willed to exact something from man; and as if the exercise of any other grace would have done as well. In the economy of salvation, faith is the only *receptive* grace, and it is required here, because we are justified and saved not by offering to God anything that we can do, but by receiving from God that which Christ has done for us; or rather by receiving Christ Himself, whose glorified life underlies His works. This is in accordance with the teachings of the Heidelberg Catechism, which tells us that we "partake of Christ, *and* all His benefits by faith;" not the benefits of Christ as separated from His person. This faith wrought in us by the Holy Ghost is itself the gift of God, and its function is not to offer our good works as a ground of merit, nor yet to present our emotions as a hopeful condition before God, but primarily, to apprehend Christ in such a way that His very life becomes our own. And so it is

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* Heb. i. 3. † Heb. x. 26–29.

easy to see how in the nature of the case, a want of this faith must condemn a man in the end. Christ and all the objective mysteries of salvation may lie outside of Him, and he fail of the grace of God through an evil heart of unbelief.

But our Divine Redeemer adds that the world will be convinced of righteousness, and only in view of His glorification at the right hand of God. It must be noticed that the mere death of Christ in which we have the atonement, and without which there could be no forgiveness, is yet not assigned here as the reason for this authentication of righteousness. And this is because the *mere* death of Christ unhonored by the resurrection would not have been a triumph, but a defeat; and could not as before intimated have been sufficient to save us. Hence, St. Paul says, "If Christ be not *risen*, then is our preaching vain, and your faith also is vain." "And if Christ be not raised your faith is vain; ye *are yet in your sins;* then they which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished." * And so the Apostle declares himself as "separated to the Gospel of God * * * concerning His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of David, according to the flesh; and declared to be the Son of God with power according to the Spirit of holiness, *by the resurrection from the dead.*"† So too, he declares that Christ "was delivered for our offences, and *raised again for our justification.*"‡ And still again, he says, "For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled by the death of His Son; much more being reconciled, shall we be saved *by His life.*" §

But then, something more even than His resurrection was required. It was not sufficient that He should return to the same order of life that He had before His death, like Lazarus for instance. He must be glorified, and this was fully consummated only at His ascension into heaven. Before that, He was not glorified with the glory He had with the Father before the world was. And until that was accomplished, we could

* 1 Cor. xv. 14, 17, 18. † Rom. i. 1–4. ‡ Rom. iv. 25. § Rom. v. 10. Does St. Paul *detract* from the *atonement* of Christ, in these expressions?

not know "the glory of the Father" and "the exceeding greatness of His power to-us-ward who believe, according to the working of His mighty power, which He wrought in Christ, when He raised Him from the dead, and *set Him at His own right hand* in heavenly places, far above all principality and power, and might and dominion, and every name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under His feet and gave Him to be head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fullness of Him that filleth all in all."* And this is just what our Saviour means when He says the Comforter will reprove the world of righteousness, *because I go to my Father.* It is as if He had said, because I having fulfilled all righteousness, now in my own Person, take humanity up to the very bosom of the Father, and thus actually redeem and vindicate it. There is a high propriety in this, for His presence there with our glorified humanity was the fact that in itself constituted the highest evidence of an accomplished righteousness. There could in no wise enter there "anything that defileth or maketh a lie,"—anything that deflected from God's own spotless holiness. The law must therefore have been magnified, and a positive essential holiness realized. His presence there, as we may well suppose, is in itself not only an intercession but a vindication. Therefore said He, "Because I go to my Father."

And when He adds, "and ye see me no more," He teaches His disciples another lesson. They thought that everything for them depended upon His visible presence; but there was to be an advance on that—an advance necessary to the accomplishment of His work. Faith was to supercede sight in the higher manifestation of God. The Spirit was to convince the world of righteousness, by revealing how our Saviour, though no longer an object of corporeal vision, was yet to work invisibly and perfect His righteousness in them that believe in Him. For this righteousness to avail fully must not simply be in

* Eph. i. 19–23.

Him as separate and apart, but as the Head of His members. By the coming of the Holy Ghost, the life and righteousness of Christ were to be made over to His people. These were to be reproduced and sustained in the heirs of salvation, who are also to be presented in the presence of the Father, as constituting a Church without spot or wrinkle. Here we may see in some measure the significance of the Church, and that holiness must be one of her attributes. And here we may see the advantage of all this to us, and understand our Saviour when He says: It is expedient for *you* that I go to the Father." The Spirit "shall take of mine and show it unto you." "I go to prepare a place for *you*. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto Myself; that where I am, there ye may be also." "If ye loved Me, ye would rejoice, because I said, I go unto My Father."

In this glorification of Christ then we are to share. "The breaking of the seal on His sepulchre was the breaking of the seal on every sepulchre; His ascension to Heaven is the warrant of our ascension; and its entire and eternal perfection exalted as it is, 'far above all principality and power and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world but that which is to come,' is the assurance of our own perfection in all the honors of joint-heirship with Him in the many-mansioned house of the Father." Yea, the righteousness of God may become our righteousness; and we may stand before Him—tolerated, approved, endorsed by that God who cannot look upon sin with the least degree of allowance. And then the world will know that there is such a thing as righteousness; that it has been actualized, and will appear as a fact.

And now as flowing out of this, the world will be convinced of judgment, because the Prince of this world is judged. This involves the triumph of Christ over the head of that dark and malign kingdom, which has gained a place here in this world. From the beginning, Satan was a liar, working evil only, and in apparent defiance of judgment. All his ways and

works are false—false as opposed to the truth of God, perverting the highest harmonies into the deepest discords; and so powerful and promising in his high carnival of scorn, that his poor dupes have often honored him above the Deity. But Christ was manifested to destroy the works of the devil, and it is significant in this view as well as every other that He says, "*I am the truth.*" We are exhorted to know the truth as it is in *Christ Jesus, i. e.* as it is *in the constitution of His Person, i. e.* as it is in Him who is the absolute truth as God is the absolute truth, and as it is at the same time in man raised up in his whole character to correspondence with the character of God. When God was manifested in the flesh, He laid the foundation of a kingdom of truth in the world, by bringing the untroubled harmonies of heaven down to earth, that man and his whole heritage might be raised up to glory.

The truth of God, as this was exhibited in the creation of man, was marred by the instigation of the devil, and all by falsehood. This enemy did not tell man of the misery that would flow out of sin, but appealed to an upward tendency that God had planted in the human heart: "Ye shall be as God." He raised a question of veracity between God and himself. God had said, "Ye shall not eat lest ye die," and Satan said, "Ye shall not surely die." It was with this syren song that the tempter prevailed; and that song has been repeated ever since, promising elevation and happiness to man. The history of the world; of nations and individuals in all ages; and of men, women and children now, apart from God, tells of a struggle for happiness where no happiness is to be found. It is a crying "peace, peace, where there is no peace." Witness Israel going after strange gods and rejecting the Messiah! Witness the case of others;—the anxiety of ambitious men in high stations, and the toils of men of low estate. How the gold that glitters at first, becomes dim. How they who desire to have their portion apart from the Father's house, are made at last to feed upon the husks of shame.

But notwithstanding the experience of the world: though

"Satan's garments have been red with the blood of man, and wet with the tears of woman, and warm with the sweat of the orphan's brow; though he has quenched the fires of love and banished heaven-born truth; though humanity like a sick child wrung with anguish, has cried itself to sleep upon his stifled heart, only to be tortured with his iron hand when it awoke," yet his influence has been great because he has said, "Ye shall not die but be as God." Yea, has this supernatural foe, seemingly all-pervading in his presence, and almost unlimited in his resources,* taken advantage of his poor victim's perverted nature, whether clothed as an angel of light, he has made sweet promises of happiness to man or whether in his undisguised deformity, he has urged him to unbelief and despair. As the Prince of the power of the air,† he has wielded even the forces of nature against man. Indeed he is acknowledged by the Saviour Himself, as "the Prince of this world;"‡ and He could take Christ up into a high mountain, and show Him all the kingdoms of the world in a "moment of time," and say, "All this power will I give Thee and the glory of them, for that is delivered unto Me; and to whomsoever I will give it."‡ And as the prince of this world, He contended for His kingdom even against the Son of Man, bringing all his legions and powers to bear against Him; and in every contest, except with the Incarnate One, with such entire success that men have said: as far as he was concerned, justice was a myth and judgment a song.

But that there is such a thing as judgment is evident, for even this high potentate is judged. And how? How is the falsity of Satan and the truthfulness of God established? Not by mere words or promise, even on the part of the Almighty, but by actual historic facts. God's promises are all "Yea and Amen in Christ Jesus." His sure word has been made good, in regard to the consequences of sin and of holiness. Paul might well appeal to the experiences of men and say, "When

* Eph. vi. 12. † Eph. ii. 2. ‡ Luke iv. 5, 6.

ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness. What fruit had ye then in those things, whereof ye are now ashamed? For the end of those things is death. But now being made free from sin, and become servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life. For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord."*

The power of Satan although restrained, was not essentially broken until God came down unto the service of man, that "in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, He might destroy sin in the flesh;" take it away and destroy the works of the devil. In Him the triumph of holiness was realized. The arch-fiend that with specious promises, overcame man in the garden of Eden, was himself overcome, when with like promises he squatted at the ear of sovereignty in the wilderness. The prince of the power of the air, that smote the corner of Job's house, was rebuked in his onset upon the bark of the sleeping Saviour. The unclean spirits that tore those whom they possessed, in their efforts at an incarnation, came out at His bidding and asked with fear "What have we to do with thee, Thou Jesus, the Son of God?" Thus acknowledging who He was; and that His kingdom was in conflict with their's and must prevail, as He Himself said to those around him, "If I cast out devils by the finger of God, then is the kingdom of God come among you." Well might the devils believe and tremble, when of him who had swayed the hearts of men since the fall, the serene and sinless One, could say, "The Prince of this world cometh and findeth nothing in me."

And now having maintained His own spotless purity, despite the assaults of Satan, and having shown His superior authority and power, He makes an atonement sufficient for all the sins His adversary had caused man to commit. Was there no judgment in *this* for the prince of the world? Surely here was the highest evidence that sin must call for a punishment;

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* Rom. vi. 20-23.

and that even he, old as he was and powerful as he had been, must suffer the extreme penalty of his own impious revolt.

But this judgment was more fully declared and Satan's realm more fully despoiled, as we have seen in the discussion of this subject, when the Incarnate One, overcame the last enemy, and "ascended up on high, leading captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men." For then it was manifested that only they, who believe in HIM and are made partakers of His holiness shall *never die*, but be *like God*—conformed to His image and made to dwell with Him forevermore. Well might the Saviour say, the Comforter will reprove the world "of judgment, because the Prince of this world is judged."

We may be permitted to close this paper with a few theses, adding a single remark to the last one.

1. Jesus Christ is *Himself* the central object of Faith.

2. All things that the Father hath, are made available for us *in Christ*, through the Holy Ghost.

3. The unbelief which rejects the provision and constitution of Grace, offered to us in Christ, is in the nature of the case, damning, and will be the final ground of condemnation.

4. The glorified SON at the right hand of the Father, constitutes a righteous *presence* of our humanity, which is the historical surety that the members of Christ's mystical body will stand there also, with exceeding great joy.

5. Satan's falsity is manifest; his power broken, and his final overthrow certain. And He who said, "Let not your hearts be troubled, ye believe in God, believe also in *Me*," intended that this should be a comfort to His people in the midst of the trials through which they are passing. Sometimes the evils by which we are surrounded seem to be unabated. We see not only that the "whole world lieth in wickedness," but also that the peace of the Church is disturbed. The eternal verities of Creed are either covered up by Romish superstitions, or else ignored, and thus seemingly in danger of being hidden, or else swept away by the surging tides of rationalism. The very Christ of God, is unblushingly supplanted by

an impersonal *doctrine*, which could not become incarnate, or shed precious blood, or rise from the dead, or *live* to intercede for us. In contending against these things on the right hand, and on the left, the ranks of the sacramental hosts seem to be bristling with the pikes and bayonets of controversy. Many are swinging censers at the feet of Satan, on the plea of offering incense to Jesus; and the good which is thought to stand not in *the Absolute Truth*, but in the opinions of men, is often seemingly put to the worse. But the issue is not doubtful. Christ's servants may be called to fill up that which is behind, for His Body's sake,* and many may be lost to sight under the clouds of reproach; but the truth, "as it is in Jesus," springs up eternally. And in the sweep of ages the darkness will be dispelled, and the Sun of Righteousness will brighten the very spots where His people wept and trembled. For Satan's realm has been essentially despoiled. The spear of the Mighty One has touched him. The mortal wound has been inflicted so that ultimate recovery is impossible; and not only an empty sepulchre, but a crowned Church shall see him as he is, falling like lightning to the dark marsh from which he rose; and even the world will be convinced of judgment, because the Prince of this world is judged.

* Col. i. 24.

Art. VIII.—MODERN SKEPTICISM.

BY PROF. F. A. GAST.

It is manifest to all intelligent observers that we have entered upon an age of skepticism. The old creeds that have answered man's highest needs for eighteen centuries are rudely thrust aside by a large and growing class in Europe and America, as no longer in harmony with modern thought and civilization; and the new creed of naturalism and humanitarianism, though in direct and irreconcilable antagonism with Christ and His religion as interpreted by the Christian ages, is unquestionably coming to be more and more widely adopted. A conflict between natural reason and supernatural revelation, more deadly, perhaps, than any the Church has yet witnessed, is upon us. The beginning and the first signs are already clearly discernible; the issue, however, lies hidden in the darkness of the future. To the believer, indeed, who has experienced the regenerating and sanctifying grace of God in Christ, the final triumph of Christianity, as a supernatural, divine fact, is a matter of certainty. What is uncertain are the changes which will be effected in Christian life and doctrine. These are veiled in obscurity: we only know that they will be the result of an advancement of Christianity to a higher stage of its history,—an advancement which will be the ultimate and necessary outcome of the impending struggle.

A wide-spread decay of faith, unconfined to any single country or class, is undeniable. Innumerable witnesses are testifying with sad hearts to the alarmingly rapid growth of skepticism in almost all sections of the nominally Christian world.

Read the Reports on the state of religion in the several coun-

tries of Europe, presented at the late Evangelical Alliance by the able and intelligent representatives appointed for that purpose. They witness, in painful terms, to a gigantic conflict with rationalism in its manifold forms. The picture is often gloomy and disheartening; but its accuracy is confirmed, if confirmation were needed, by numberless declarations of Synods, Bishops and observant men in all quarters of the Old World.

Mark the wide and rapid dissemination of an infidel literature. The abundant and increasing supply of books, periodicals, tracts and papers, that disown the claims of Christ, even when they do not treat them with derision, is indubitable proof of a large demand, which can be accounted for only by the prevalence of like views and sentiments in the general mind of the community. The time was, and that not very distant, when the reader of Paine was careful to conceal the fact, which, if it became known, was sure to awaken a feeling of horror. Now, works far more destructive in their tendency than the "Age of Reason," if not so ribald in their language, are found, not hidden away in dark corners and old chests, but openly exposed without fear or shame. Never was there as large a circle of readers for this class of publications, which, for the past decade or two, have been issuing from the press in a constantly swelling stream, until at length the whole community is overflooded with writings that unblushingly avow the most advanced skeptical opinions. It is only necessary to read the book notices in our papers and reviews, especially the Westminster Review, to see how large is the supply, and, of course, how extensive the demand.

It is this that has given birth to a new apologetical literature. Ages of faith are not fruitful in Apologies. What need for them at such times? Rather, it is when old, established beliefs are threatened and thought to be endangered, that men hasten to their defence. The multiplication of books that set forth the Evidences of Christianity in general or vindicate certain of its doctrines, is an infallible test of the acknowledged presence of skepticism.

It is unnecessary, however, to give additional proofs. No one acquainted with the present state of mind, especially in scientific circles, will deny that religious unbelief is very general. It is more important to understand the character of this unbelief. And we propose briefly to answer the question: *What is Modern Skepticism*, as taught by its ablest, acknowledged representatives? We must confine ourselves, however, to a general characterization.

It would be a grand mistake to suppose that modern skepticism is just like the skepticism of earlier ages. Unbelief in one form or another has prevailed in larger or smaller circles at different periods in the history of Christianity. Not to mention the Patristic and Mediæval ages, and to confine ourselves to the period since the Reformation, we have only to call to mind the Deism of England, the vulgar Rationalism of Germany and the Infidelity of the French Revolution, to see how many and how powerful have been the assaults Christianity has had to sustain during the last two centuries. Unbelief has at various times presented a formidable front. It has more than once threatened to sweep over the entire face of society. In Voltaire, it began its song of triumph, in the full assurance that in a few decades Christianity would, like the ancient mythologies, be universally relegated to the sphere of fable. Christianity, however, has survived all attacks. It has called forth a host of the ablest minds, such as Butler and the great English Apologists, to its defence. It has ever come out of its conflicts with enlarged powers, with a clearer consciousness of its divine origin, and with a stronger and deeper hold on the world's heart; while, on the other hand, one phase of skepticism has rapidly given way to another, each alike powerless to overthrow the foundations of our faith, yet each mightier than its predecessor.

And now, in this age of physical science, we are confronted with another and higher phase. It is a form of unbelief that strikes deeper and threatens to be more destructive in its sweep. We should err by supposing that it is just the skepticism of former times revived,—the same old enemy that has been met and vanquished time and again, reappearing in these last days

with his antiquated weapons and with no fresh reinforcement of strength.

True, the old time-worn objections to Christianity are brought forward to-day, as they have been ever since the introduction of the gospel into the world; the same difficulties are presented now that have all along been said to stand in the way of our accepting the Bible as an inspired book, and of our believing the facts and doctrines which it records. But these objections and difficulties are thrown up from a new point of view, and thus assume a new character. The old answers that satisfied a former age do not satisfy this. They were designed to meet, and they did successfully meet, a form of unbelief that has passed away and can never be revived. In consequence of the advance of science, especially of physical and historical science, the world has outlived many former modes of thought. It is not possible to-day to look at the universe through the eyes of our forefathers. Conceptions which seemed perfectly rational to them, are perfectly irrational to us. The present age has come to occupy a different stand-point: it is that of *law, and progress according to law;* and from this stand-point it surveys all things.

While, then, modern unbelief may object to miracles, prophecy, providence and prayer, its objections appear in a new light and possess a strength which was wanting to those of former generations. The older apologetics are inadequate to the demands of the present time. They have lost much of their force through the progress of thought. Honest minds, earnestly struggling against doubt (and who can question that there are many such?) find in them no solution of their difficulties,—find in them, rather, something foreign in their entire tone and method of thought. The unsatisfactoriness of the older apologists is universally felt, as well by the believing as by the skeptical mind. A silent acknowledgment of this feeling appears in the rise of a new apologetical literature, which is a sure proof that modern unbelief is unlike the unbelief of former periods.

It differs in its central principle, its ruling spirit, its entire

method. The earlier skepticism was simply *negative*. It consisted, for the most part, of the denial of certain facts and doctrines contained in the Scriptures, and did not aim to establish another creed in the place of that which it attempted to overthrow. Critical and destructive, it was properly *un*-belief,—a series of negations more or less sweeping.

Modern skepticism, on the other hand, is nothing, if it is not intensely *positive*. It affirms a *new*, and does not content itself with merely opposing an *old* faith. It is negative just because it is so positive. The skeptic of to-day professes to have no pleasure in negation for its own sake, and to be deeply pained at the necessity of assailing established beliefs and institutions. He claims credit for dealing tenderly with religion in general, and with Christianity in particular. But he tells us that, through the progress of science, he has attained to a new, positive view of the universe, and that whatever is at variance with this must be set aside as superstition and error.

The earlier skepticism had respect mainly to *the Bible as the inspired record of revelation*. It took exception to certain narratives, as those of Balaam and Jonah. It explained many alleged miracles, like the giving of the manna and the crossing of the Red Sea, as mere natural phenomena. It attempted to find material contradictions between the several Gospels. Above all, it professed to be shocked at the immorality of certain divine commands, such as the commands to sacrifice Isaac and to exterminate the inhabitants of Canaan. A book like this, it was said, could not be inspired; could not even be historically credible;—how, then, could it be accepted as the highest authority for faith in mysteries like the trinity and the incarnation?

Such was the course pursued by men like Voltaire and Paine. But, while they aimed to prove that the Bible is not a supernatural revelation from God, they never dreamed of denying the possibility of all revelation. It is said of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, that when he had finished his book "On Truth as distinguished from Revelation," he hesitated for a while, whether or not to publish it. That he might be assured by God Himself

that it would contribute to His glory, he cast himself upon his knees and prayed: "Give me a sign from heaven, or if not, I will suppress my book." And he himself tells us that he had scarcely uttered these words, when a distinct, yet gentle sound, unlike any earthly one, came from heaven, which filled him with such peace, that he considered his prayer as heard. Revelation as such, was not incredible to him, as it was not to any of the earlier skeptics. It was the Christian revelation and its doctrine that awakened their opposition.

Modern skepticism, however, can find no room in its thinking even for the *possibility* of revelation. That possibility once granted, it would readily concede that Christianity, of all the religions of the world, has the highest claims. But that possibility is just what it cannot grant. According to its fundamental principles it is bound to assume that all religions alike are of simply human origin, the result of a gradual evolution of the world's life, the product of antecedent historical forces. It can admit nothing as fact which it cannot verify by scientific methods. Earnest modern skeptics willingly acknowledge that Christianity is the highest and best religion the world has yet produced; while at the same time they set aside its claims to be a revelation, except in the sense that it is a revelation of the spirit of man, of his capacities and powers, but by no possibility a revelation of the Spirit of God *to* the spirit of man.

The skepticism of to-day relates to the very *foundation of all belief in the supernatural*, if not, indeed, in the super-sensible. It leaves nothing unquestioned that professes to lie above the reach of the senses and the logical understanding. It challenges all religious creeds, and calls upon them to show reason why they should be acknowledged by men who demand, and are accustomed to receive, such demonstration as science gives by its analyses and syntheses. It will take nothing on trust Experiment is with it the test of truth. Renan even complains that Jesus, when He raised Lazarus from the dead, did not invite a corps of *savants* to witness the experiment,—complains, in fact, that He did not perform the experiment a number of times, in

the presence of the learned and under such conditions as modern science imposes on physical research. That would be for him, as for the skepticism of our age generally, the only satisfactory proof that a miracle has been performed.

It is not, then, the doctrines and facts simply of the Bible that this skepticism disputes, nor yet only its claims to inspiration that it rejects; it goes far deeper, and touches the very foundations on which all our higher beliefs rest.

Modern skepticism is, in fact, *a new, positive conception of the universe*, widely different from the pagan conception of classic Greece and Rome, from the Christian conception of the Mediæval Church, and from the Deistic conception of later times. It occupies a new stand-point, wholly unlike that of any former age; it concerns itself with other problems than those of earlier generations; it pursues a different method of thought; and, of course, it reaches different results.

Its method is that of the so-called *scientific positivism*, which seeks and claims to find in the world itself the principle of all change in the world. It aims to construe all life, whether in the sphere of nature or in that of history, as under the dominion of fixed, uniform and inviolable laws, which are discoverable by the methods of physical investigation, and capable of scientific formulation. Whatever transpires in the universe it attempts to trace back to a cause lying in the present order of nature, and regards as the product of antecedent mundane forces. The world itself with its manifold forms of being it views as simply the result of a slow but grand evolution, advancing by insensible degrees from one stage to another, in such a manner that each lower stage gives birth causally to the next higher, that each higher stage is derived genetically from the next lower—organic life springing out of inorganic matter, and the light of mind flashing out of the darkness of nature.

It will hear of no breaks in the onward movement. It grows impatient at the mere mention of creative beginnings. These would interrupt the regularity of the sequences and introduce an element which science could not verify. "Modern thought,"

as represented by such men as Spencer, will tolerate no transcendent causes, no powers lying above the world of nature, that break in upon its order, implanting new fructifying principles and inaugurating new processes. The cosmos is for it an independent whole, that carries in its own bosom all that is needed to complete its development. It requires no extrinsic force. This, indeed, would only disturb the working of law. And, in fact, the sum of being in the world can neither be increased nor diminished. It is a constant quantity, ever assuming new forms, indeed, yet ever assuming them in obedience to predetermined laws and forces inherent in the world itself. Modern Skepticism, in short, as it appears in its ablest supporters, is a system of pure *naturalism*, whose distinctive feature is the principle of immanence.

It is needless to say that such a system can leave no room for the supernatural. In its fundamental principles it comes into conflict, not with Christianity only, but with all religion. For it is vain to speak of religion, where there exists no conception of a personal God and of a living relation between Him and man. Modern skepticism may and does speak of God; but if you ask what is meant by the word, Spencer replies: "The Great Unknowable," a something, a force, it may be, of which we can predicate nothing but that it is—which it is folly to pray to—which cannot help us in our needs. Matthew Arnold replies: God is "the enduring power, not ourselves," or "a stream of tendency;" and it is no wonder that, with such a God, which, at the highest, can be but an impersonal order, he should define religion as "morality touched with emotion." Strauss in his latest book unblushingly replies: God is "the Universe;" and religion resolves itself for Him into æsthetic emotion.

The ruling tendency of modern unbelief is necessarily *anti-theistic*. In its conception of the world, it can find no place for the living God, who is *in* the world, as its eternal ground, and yet *over* it as its all-wise Governor. A God who is more than an unconscious, impersonal force, who is an Intelligence and Will, guiding the universe wisely and freely to its eternally appointed goal, would be a transcendent cause, the existence of

which the skeptical scientist, in consistency with his first principle, must logically deny. And without this living God, who holds the threads of nature in His hand and weaves them into whatsoever woof He pleases, what have we but a dreary world, blindly driven by fate in the garb of natural law? Our boastful science, at least in many of its ablest advocates, dreams that it can dispense with God, whose presence is only an unwelcome intrusion, and who must be remanded, therefore, to the region of "the Unknowable."

It is *the Supernatural*, then, that is at stake, the supernatural in all its forms. This is the main issue between science and revelation. The great controversy which the skepticism of the age is holding with Christianity respects the supernatural claims of Christ and His religion. Let the Gospel cease to put forth these claims; let it acknowledge itself a simply natural growth of the human mind, like the religions of India and Greece; let it proclaim itself a new moral code, and not a new divine life entering into the bosom of the world's life from a higher transcendent sphere;—and the controversy would at once come to an end. It is a struggle of two antagonistic views of the universe, which admit of no reconciliation. For the one, the supernatural is a necessity; for the other, an absurdity. In the very nature of the case, there can be no adjustment of this central point of difference. They must grapple until one or the other is vanquished.

The main question, we say, is the supernatural; but the supernatural meets us in Christianity at every point. Christianity teaches that in the beginning God created the world. Modern Skepticism denies creation, or at least proclaims our incompetence to affirm anything about the origin of the world. All it acknowledges is an infinite force of which the universe is the manifestation; but whether by creation, by emanation, or by whatsoever mode, it forbids us to say. It will only affirm that the world had no supernatural origin.

Christianity teaches the fall of man from a state of innocence into a state of sin. Modern skepticism tells us that in-

stead of a fall, there has been a gradual and steady rise from the most degraded savage of the *Stone Age,* scarcely, if at all, distinguishable from the brute, to the civilized man of the nineteenth century.

Christianity teaches that sin and death are disturbances of the true order of nature. Modern skepticism has discovered that they are normal and necessary,

Christianity claims to be a redemption from the curse of sin and death. Modern skepticism denies the possibility of redemption, and tells us that our only hope lies in development, culture and civilization.

Christianity proclaims itself a new supernatural creation in Christ. Modern skepticism professes to explain Christ on natural principles, as the product of the historical forces of His age.

Christianity points to its miracles and prophecies. Modern skepticism says that miracles are impossible, and that prophecies, as far as they are not *vaticinia post eventum*, are only happy guesses.

Christianity teaches that a providence rules in all things, and that prayer has power with God. Modern skepticism would comfort us with the thought that all things are in the grasp of rigid, necessary, inexorable law, and proposes to disprove the efficacy of prayer scientifically by its prayer-gauge.

Christianity holds up the Bible as its supernaturally inspired record. Modern skepticism places it on the same plane with theVedas, the Avesta and the Koran.

Christianity looks forward in hope to the glorification of the world at the Second Advent of Christ. Modern skepticism forbids us to hope for anything more than can be attained through the progress of science and art.

Such, as we understand it, is Modern Skepticism, in its fundamental principle and ruling method. It is naturalism, pure and unadulterated, which, as long as it is true to itself, must wage war against the supernatural wherever it may come to view. The system, whether as presented in the pantheistic

schools of Germany or as organized by Herbert Spencer, is vast and comprehensive. It professes to cover the whole territory of knowable existence. It aims by a grand generalization to reduce all being to an organic unity. It puts forth the lofty claim of explaining all phenomena by a law that assumes nothing lying outside the natural powers and processes of the world itself.

The system may be, as we believe it is, a proud but vain endeavor of the reason to dispense with God; yet we cannot close our eyes to its existence. Its principles have taken deep root in the modern mind. Its influence is felt in all departments of thought. Its method is applied, not to theology alone, but to psychology and metaphysics, to morality and art, to history and sociology. There is, in truth, no sphere of human life into which this naturalistic thinking has not penetrated, and which it does not tend to revolutionize.

We are concerned with it now, however, only so far as it comes into conflict with the facts and truths of Christianity. Viewed from its own stand-point, it is the most positive belief. Viewed from the Christian stand-point, it is the most dangerous unbelief. The danger lies in its positive character. It is a well-organized system of thought with a central idea and definite method; and its principles become lodged in the mind, especially through the far-reaching influence of physical science, before their meaning and wide application are half understood.

Science has familiarized us with the idea of uniform, necessary law. It leaves nothing to caprice, but brings all things under the dominion of forces, which, under like conditions, act with the utmost regularity and precision. The universality of law is, indeed, not to be questioned. We trace its working not only in nature, but in history as well. The freest of all spiritual acts is under law. Only it is necessary to remember, what is frequently lost sight of, that each sphere of existence has its peculiar laws; that the laws which rule in the world of mind are not just the same as those which rule in the world of matter, but are of a higher character; that nature and the su-

pernatural constitute one comprehensive system, so ordered, that each lower stage forms the basis of the next higher, in which it finds its meaning, while at the same time the power of the higher is at work already from the beginning in the lower, guiding its development and lifting it up to its own plane.

Nature is in order to the supernatural, which it presupposes not only as its efficient cause, but as its ultimate sense. Every thing depends, as Martensen so admirably expresses it, "upon how the system of laws and forces which we call nature, is conceived—whether it be conceived as a system, finally and eternally fixed, or as a system that is passing through a *teleological* development, a continued creation. In the latter case new potencies, new laws and forces must be conceivable, as entering into the operation; the preceding stages in the creation preparing the way for them and prefiguring them, though not the source from which they can be derived. This is the Christian view of nature. In terming itself the new, the second creation, Christianity by no means calls itself a disturbance of nature, but rather the completion of the work of creation; the revelation of Christ and the kingdom of Christ it pronounces the last potency of the work of creation; which power, whether regarded as completing or as redeeming the world, must be conceivable as teleological; operating so as to change and limit the lower forces, in so far as these are in their essential nature not eternal and organically complete, but only temporal and temporary. Hence the point of unity between the natural and the supernatural lies in the teleological design of nature to subserve the kingdom of God, and its consequent *susceptibility* to, its *capacity of being molded* by the supernatural, creative activity. Nature does not contradict the notion of a creation; and it is in miracles that the dependence of nature on a free Creator becomes perfectly evident. But while nature does not contradict the notion of a creation, the assumption of a creation is quite as little inconsistent with the notion of nature. For, although the new creation in Christ does do away with the laws of *this* nature, yet it by no means destroys the notion of nature itself.

For the very notion of nature implies, not that it is a hindering restraint to freedom, but rather that it is the organ of freedom. And as the miraculous element in the life of Christ reveals the unity of the spirit and of nature, so the revelation of Christ at once anticipates and predicts a new nature, a new heaven, and a new earth, in which a new system of laws will appear; a system which will exhibit the harmony of the laws of nature and of freedom,—a state for which the whole structure of the present creation, with its unappeased strife between nature and spirit, is only a teleological transition period."*

Such is the Christian view of the world,—a view which allows as much room as science does for the working of necessary, uniform law in nature, while at the same time it sees no contradiction between nature and the supernatural, but rather demands the supernatural as the necessary completion of nature. The naturalism, however, which underlies much of our so-called scientific thought, views nature as in itself a complete and fully rounded whole,—a grand piece of clock-work, which, however it may have come into existence, now moves in obedience to its own laws and forces, and independently of any extrinsic power.

This idea, which natural science often presents with so much confidence and plausibility, has rooted itself widely in the mind of the age. It is there as a seed is in the ground, to germinate and fructify. What it involves may not at first be clearly comprehended. It may seem, indeed, a very harmless idea, and one that reflects honor upon the Creator, who has so constructed the universe from the beginning, as to relieve Himself of a multiplicity of petty cares inconsistent with His infinite majesty.

After a while, however, the mind by an instinctive logic applies this idea in various directions and sees the consequences which follow its adoption. It wakes up to a sense of inconsistency, lack of harmony, discrepancy, between the natural in this view and the supernatural. The supernatural comes to be

* Martensen's Christian Dogmatics, English Translation, pp. 19 and 20.

regarded as unnecessary after the first creative day. The general laws impressed upon nature are sufficient for the preservation and government of the world. Miracles, special providences, answers to prayer, in short, the apparently supernatural in whatever form, are accounted for as the result of natural law, so arranged from the start, as to bring about these surprises at appointed times, just as the clock sounds its alarm at the hour for which it was set.

A little later, the supernatural comes to be regarded, not only as unnecessary, but as impossible. As its action would disturb the established order of nature, which science conceives to be absolutely inviolable, it must be denied. The miracles of the Bible are then treated as myths, or, as at best, singular coincidences; revelation and all that it implies is surrendered; Christ is stript of His divine character, and the soul is left practically without God and without hope in the world.

This is the sad history of many a mind in these later times. Starting with the unquestioning faith of childhood, it has become entangled in the meshes of a system which leaves it nothing in the end but faith in the blind whirl of nature. Many, perhaps most of those, who are involved to a greater or less extent in this naturalistic thinking have no clear consciousness of the contradiction between their scientific principles and their religious beliefs. Desirous of holding both, they quit the vague doubts which occasionally spring up, by assigning Science and Religion to different and unrelated spheres.

Science is for them the sphere of calm, sober reason; Religion, (by which they generally mean a system of doctrines) is the sphere of what is properly only a blind, unreasoning credulity. In such a posture of mind, carrying in it, as it does, a self-contradiction, nothing more is possible than a half-hearted faith. There is but a frail hold on supernatural facts and truths, and religious skepticism is the almost inevitable result in the case of those who care to engage in earnest thought.

This inner decay of faith exists, where there is no open acknowledgment of disbelief, where indeed the subject of it would

resent the charge as an insult. It exists more widely than many of us are inclined to suspect. It is, in fact, the most alarming feature of the times. For with only a half faith in the supernatural in Christianity, what resistance can be presented to the encroachments of open skepticism?

We need hardly say what is evident to all, that Skepticism is massing its forces for a combined assault on the gospel of Christ. It seeks to enlist all the sciences into its service. It borrows weapons from Geology, Astronomy, Chemistry, Zoölogy, Ethnology, to overthrow the Christian conception of the Universe. It explores the antiquities of the race; it studies the Religious Mythologies and languages of man; it ransacks all history, deciphering its monuments in Egypt, Persia, Assyria, India, China;—and all with a view of showing that Christianity is not what it claims to be,—a revelation from God, but that it is as much a product of natural forces in the world's life, as the fetichism of the most degraded tribe of Africa. Nay, it does not shrink from a thorough study of the Scriptures from its own naturalistic point of view. It brings all the light of modern critical and historical science to bear upon the inspired page, often exhibiting such a familiarity with its every word and syllable and letter as ought to bring the blush of shame to the cheek of the believer on account of his ignorance. And when we inquire into the purpose of all this wealth of learning and this suprising ingenuity, we are amazed to learn that it is to destroy the divinity of the Bible by eliminating its supernatural elements, and reducing it to the level of other merely human books.

Skepticism is everywhere organizing for the contest. It is industriously propagating its sentiments in a thousand ways. Above all it is confident of success. Nor is this confidence surprising when we observe that much of our modern religious thought holds unconsciously the same naturalistic premises with skepticism, and is only illogical in drawing its conclusions.

In this regard there is occasion for alarm. Doubtless there will be a still greater falling away from the faith. Wide as is

the spread of Skepticism to-day, we are inclined to think that it has not yet run its full course.

When we observe the disposition that manifests itself in some sections of the Church to keep the supernatural in the background; to apologize for miracles as if they were mere outward appendages to Christianity and not an essential part of its constitution; to lay all stress upon the moral element of the gospel, as if the religion of Christ was simply a new and higher moral code; to regard Christ Himself in the light of a great Teacher, rather than as the mystery of the Word made flesh, the absolute revelation of God and the principle of the glorification of the world;—when we observe this, we can hardly err in concluding that, where this disposition exists, the foundations are already undermined, and that faith in Christianity as a supernatural system, must in the end give way before the attacks of infidel science.

All this is alarming enough; but shall we be alarmed for Christianity itself? Is there reason to fear that it is doomed, that its claim to be a supernatural revelation from God and a divine redemption for man will cease to be acknowledged in the future as it has been in the past; that, like the old belief in fairies, it is destined to take its place among the beautiful dreams of humanity? So an increasing number think; and having lost their faith in Christ, they go back and walk no more with Him. And to-day, Jesus is putting the same question to us which He put to His disciples in His day, "Will ye also go away?" But the true disciple like Simon Peter answers "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that Thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God."

Living faith in Christ carries in it the most absolute certainty, a certainty that cannot be shaken; for it is faith not in a dogma concerning Christ, not in a doctrinal statement respecting His character, teaching and work, but faith in a living divine person who authenticates Himself immediately to the heart. The certitude of faith is a certitude resting upon an inward

experience of the object which faith embraces; and the reality of this experience the true believer can no more doubt than he can doubt the veracity of his consciousness. It is easy, indeed, to find difficulties in Christian dogma, difficulties which the natural understanding, confined as it is within the limits of the finite and the conditioned, may not be able to solve. These are difficulties, however, for thought in the intellectual apprehension of the world of faith, not for faith itself, which is called into exercise in its true character only when confronted by the presence of its object. Faith is as immediate and direct in the supernatural sphere as vision is in the natural sphere. We see only when the object of vision is presented to the eye, and we believe only when the object of faith is presented to the heart.

The idealist may tell us that the sun which we seem to see is not an objective fact, that it is merely an idea in the mind; but his reasoning, however plausible, never has convinced the world and never will. There may be difficulties in the doctrine of perception, but the fact of perception we cannot doubt. So long as we are constituted as we are, we must believe in the objective reality of the world. It authenticates itself immediately to the sense. Belief in its reality rests upon a living experience.

In like manner the skeptic may say that the supernatural world centring in Jesus Christ is an illusion. But what the eye is in the order of nature, that faith is in the supernatural order. It brings the soul into living contact with supersensible realities, places them directly before our spiritual gaze, draws strength from their presence, and in the bosom of this higher world finds a freedom and a joy that are otherwise unknown. Christianity does not appeal to the reason exclusively, but to the entire spiritual nature. It is the revelation of God in the person and work of Jesus Christ for the redemption of the world. There is a correspondence between the need of redemption in man and the fact of redemption in Christ. The synthesis is effected by faith,—faith, not in the sense of an assent of the understanding to the truth of certain doctrinal propositions,

but in the sense of an activity of the soul which embraces and appropriates the Redeemer Himself. Faith brings us into the possession of supernatural realities, and thus carries in it a certitude which nothing can shake.

It is a vain dream of the skeptic that Christianity is nearing its final overthrow. As a divine supernatural fact, it has withstood the violent assaults of the past, and will withstand the still, more violent assaults of the future. Natural Science, Speculative Philosophy, Historical Research and Biblical Criticism, may, and doubtless will, unite their forces for a last onset on the religion of Christ. But, however gigantic their efforts, they will prove impotent in the end. Christianity as a divine fact will stand immovable. It needs simply to appeal from the understanding which deals with finite relations, to the heart, the conscience, the moral nature of man which relates him immediately to the world of supersensible realities; and it will always find a response. All that is highest and holiest in men testifies to the truth of the highest and holiest of religions. If indeed, man were mere intellect, he would possess no capacity to take in the supernatural and divine; for these in their substantive character, as living realities and not mere shadowy abstractions, are no more for the understanding than moral truths are for the senses.

Nothing can be more absurd, therefore, than the demand lately put forth by Mr. Blauvelt, that the truth of Christianity shall be scientifically demonstrated, like a proposition in Geometry. Apologetics in the sense of a scientific demonstration of the truth of Christianity, is an impossible science,—impossible for the reason that the supernatural and divine are in no case perceptible to the senses and the understanding. They must authenticate themselves to the higher capacity of the spirit which we call faith; and unless they authenticate themselves in this way they cannot authenticate themselves at all. They must find an echo in the heart and receive their demonstration in a living experience of their power.

And, as they come to view in Christianity, they always have

received such demonstration, and we may rest assured, always will. The redemption which is in Christ Jesus has met the highest needs of the human soul, when pressed with a sense of guilt and of longing for union with God. It is the solution of *practical difficulties*, in the presence of which mere theoretical difficulties fade away into insignificance. As long as it answers the questions and supplies the wants of the heart, it will stand as a divine supernatural fact,

But Christianity *as a fact* is one thing, while *the scientific apprehension* of that fact is quite another. Christianity is a religion, not a theology. It is the absolute revelation of God in the person and work of Jesus Christ, the mystery of the incarnate Word. That is a fact fixed and unalterable.

Theology, on the other hand, is the provisional reading of that fact. It is a human science which, like all other sciences, must vary with the progress of time. The interpretation of the facts of nature is not unchangeably the same from age to age. The great universe, indeed, stood out before the ancient sages as it does before us; its phenomena were then what they are now; and yet how different the reading! Facts come to be viewed under new aspects and in other relations, and science accordingly is constantly changing. Nature is the same, but the theoretical interpretation of nature varies. So "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday to-day and forever;" but the apprehension of Christ in the form of doctrine changes with the intellectual, social, moral and religious conditions of the several ages. Theology has a history. There is a progressive development in understanding the truth of revelation—a development in which the substance of the truth is faithfully preserved, whilst the form in which it finds expression is undergoing perpetual alteration.

And it may well be, that, while the Christian religion will remain unaffected by the skepticism of to-day, the ruling Christian theology shall be put to a severe trial. That theology is one of abstract, mechanical schemes. It refuses to regard Christ Himself, as the principle of Christianity, its sum and

substance, but views Him rather as an agent sent to earth to execute a plan devised in heaven. Nothing can be more evident than that it is losing its hold on the thinking mind of the age. Its fictions cannot stand the test of close scrutiny. It needs revision and reconstruction. And as even the dark events in the history of the Church are oftentimes providentially overruled for good, it is not too much to hope that the destructive unbelief of our times may serve as a negative preparation for such a regeneration of theology, as will make it truly Christian, which it can be only as it is positively Christological. Christ is a rock against which the waves of unbelief will dash in vain, and that theology which is the scientific expression of Christ, the mystery of the Word made flesh, will stand immovable.

ART. IX.—LIFE OF JESUS.*

BY REV. DR. THEO. APPEL, PROF. IN F. & M. COLLEGE, LANCASTER, PA.

DR. DEEMS, the author of another life of Jesus of Nazareth, has for some time occupied a front rank among the pulpit celebrities of New York. He is a popular preacher, a fluent writer and an earnest, practical, working Christian. He is active in promoting the various philanthropic movements of the day; but not in such a way as to interfere with the immediate duties of his calling, as a minister of the Gospel. He is just as active and industrious among the people of his charge, in visiting the sick and the poor, as in the pulpit or on the public platform. It seems that his congregation regard it as their special call to look after strangers, the friendless and forsaken in the great metropolis of our nation, to attend to their temporal as well as their spiritual wants, to bring them into relation to the Christian Church, and, if possible, to secure for them also proper

* JESUS: By Charles F. Deems, Pastor of "The Church of the Strangers," New York. pp. 756.

positions in society. In all these generous and noble works, their pastor has been the prime mover and organizer, and much good has been accomplished through their instrumentality. It is not strange, therefore, that he has been successful in building up from a very humble beginning a respectable and influential congregation and in imbueing it with his own practical and working spirit. By his classic and general culture he was well qualified to grace a professor's chair, which it seems was not without its attractions for him in his earlier years; but our civil war broke out, and in some way put an end to that, and accordingly leaving the South, where he had earned reputation and fame as a preacher, and a follower of Wesley, he came up to New York some years ago, where he commenced preaching in a somewhat independent style in a hired house to all that came to hear him. Under his earnest preaching and active pastoral care his small congregation rapidly increased, and just about the time they became straitened for the want of room and seemed not to know what next to do, they were supplied with a suitable church edifice by the liberality of Commodore Vanderbilt, who bought a house for them at once, instead of subscribing his share to purchase or build one. It is more than likely that this munificent act will be remembered long after the prowess of the great rail-road King shall be forgotten and buried in the records of the past.

It is therefore so much the more remarkable that Dr. Deems with so much work of a practical nature on hand should find time to devote to authorship. He has already published a volume of sermons, which are highly spoken of by the press for their literary value and intrinsic merit. The new work before us, a large octavo of over 700 pages, must have cost him much time and study. At least a part of its contents, it is true, as we take it, had been used in the pulpit before; it is oratorical rather than strictly biographical, and we instinctively feel in perusing it that we are listening to a preacher addressing a New York audience, rather than to the mere scholar giving the results of his own investigations. This we do not regard

in itself as an objection to the work; many will in fact regard it as a special merit and be charmed with the book just on this account, because it seems to be adapted to promote their spiritual edification. But it contains much matter of a different character; it examines all the vexed questions concerning the Saviour's life, in regard to which critics have differed in times past and in regard to which they still differ. Here we meet with no small amount of learning and the evidence of patient study and the use of the midnight oil. The learning displayed is drawn from good reliable sources, and reflects credit on the author as a scholar and critic, who is not satisfied to pass over any point until he has first learned all that can be said on the subject. In this respect Dr. Deems reminds us of good old Dr. Adam Clark, in whom erudition and practical piety went hand in hand. We have detected here and there some errors in the learned quotations, merely typographical, of course; but as a whole we regard the work in a literary point of view, as highly creditable to the author, to his profession. It will be read with interest alike by those who seek their own private edification and by those who seek to grow in knowledge in their religious reading.

It is just as true in our days, as it was when St. Luke wrote his gospel, that "Many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us." It could not be otherwise, for Jesus of Nazareth has become not only ideally but actually the central figure in the world's history. Everywhere throughout Christendom, notwithstanding the division of creeds and sects, He is the common object of worship and homage among His professed followers and the objective point of the opposition of His enemies. The old question, what think ye of Christ and whose Son is He? forces itself upon every man's attention and demands of each one of us an unequivocal answer. Faith in Him as the God-man, our Saviour, accordingly, is coming to be regarded more and more as the article of a standing or falling Church, the dividing line between the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom

of this world. It is in fact one of the most propitious omens of the times that increased attention is paid to the person of Christ as the central fact of Christianity, for this is the key that unlocks the mystery of His sufferings and death, and, in the end, the only unity that shall harmonize the endless divisions of our race, which unfortunately are still kept up in the bosom of the Church of God itself—here on earth. This change of base, as we may call it, so important in itself considered and destined to be so fruitful of results in our age and the future, was in a great measure brought about by the enemy himself. During the period of the Reformation, it was necessary to point to the merits of Christ as the only ground of justification, in opposition to the merits of good works: but in our day, the enemy has penetrated the inner citadel of Christianity and denied the supernatural character of its founder. There was the same progress in the solution of the great question in the age of the Apostles. Whilst St. Paul was called to dispute and contend with the Jews in regard to the method of justification, St. John, on the other hand, at a subsequent period, had to encounter heathen gnostics who denied that Jesus had come in the flesh; he accordingly was necessitated to hold up the divine-human character of Christ as the only source of life, hope and peace to the world. So it has come to pass in our day. Strauss in his "Leben Jesu" denied the historical truth of the Gospel, and reduced the life of Christ to an empty myth. This was much worse certainly than Judaism or any other extravagant estimate of the merits of good works. It aimed a blow at what Neander has appropriately called the "central fact" of Christianity. But the reaction was a healthful one in every respect. It called out replies from many directions and in different branches of the Christian Church. Germany here led the way in her Neanders, her Ebrards and her Langes. We now have many Lives of Christ, all of which are more or less polemical with regard to the destructive criticism and bold infidelity of Strauss and Renan, and all honestly endeavoring to do justice to the cha-

racter and person of our divine Redeemer. The effect of all this in the end will be no doubt to elevate the person of Christ to its proper central position as an article of faith, to bring all true Christians nearer to their divine Head and, as a consequence, nearer to each other, and to present Christ Jesus to the world in His true majesty, power, honor and glory.

Dr. Deems' book on Jesus belongs to this species of theological literature. It has a decidedly polemical cast about it, as it regards infidelity, which he may have imbibed to some extent by his reading of modern apologists, but which has no doubt also been called forth largely by the phases of unbelief which he daily meets and which he as a Christian minister must feel himself impelled to resist and refute. It prevails no doubt to a large extent, especially in our large cities, where materialism is the only faith of many and mammon the only God that is worshiped. Our only refuge from this, the greatest evil of our times, which is threatening to come in upon us as a flood in this new world, is faith in the God-man, and its joyful proclamation to those who have lost hope and are now the prey of doubt and dark despair. He is ever near, walking on the dark waves of this troubled world of ours, and ever ready to rebuke the disorderly elements of the world, and to come to the rescue of His disciples. They, however, must needs invoke His presence and seek for the display of His power.

As a matter of course our modern lives of Jesus or Christ must possess different relative values. They all necessarily fall short of the divine original. At best they can be considered only as contributions to the solution of the question, who is Christ, and what is He? Whilst He is many-sided, they are all more or less one-sided; they can claim, therefore, to give nothing more than an individual's view of Christ, whilst His full glory is ineffable and can be revealed only to faith. Every theological writer has his own stand-point, his own theology and philosophy, and these, whether he is aware of it or not, condition more or less his apprehension of Christianity and give coloring to his view of what Christ is. On this ac-

count many who have the most elevated conceptions of the glory of Christ look with more or less distrust on all attempts to portray His life. Whilst in ordinary human biography, as in art, a relative degree of perfection may be reached by the writer; it is otherwise when Christ Himself is to be presented to us in human language. Who shall declare His generation? He who can lay aside the most freely his own localism and the particularism of his times, of his age or country and rise highest into the region of a true catholicity, is the best qualified to understand and describe Christ, the universal man. This, however, is a gift that few possess.

The book before us does not attempt to say who or what Christ is. It describes simply His human side or appearance from the documents placed in his hands by the Evangelist, which must be considered as reliable certainly as those of any other historian, such as Josephus or Tacitus. The object seems to be to give the reader a vivid impression of the appearance of Christ in the flesh without note or comment, and then to leave him to his own impressions and to make his own inferences.* What those conclusions should be, according to Dr. Deems, we of course are not left in any doubt. The representation everywhere is so arranged as to lead the reader to see and acknowledge the proper divine character of Christ, just as such voluntary confessions were made whilst He was still on earth. This method of conducting the argument is not without its advantages, especially for a certain class of readers, to whom the divinity of Christ is a stumbling-block, and for whom His sinless humanity is not without its attractions. To many this latter has by its magnetic influence been the bridge by which they have been brought out of nature into a state of grace and of faith in the supernatural. But it has also its disadvantages. Beautiful, loving and attractive as Jesus was, His true honor and glory consist in the fact that He is the God-man, that in

* This is the course pursued by Dr. Shaff in his small work on the "Person of Christ," in which the true humanity of Christ is made to prove His divinity.

Him the fullness of the Godhead dwelt bodily and that He is the revelation of the great God in human form within the limits of our own human or mundane life. To the Christian, therefore, who constantly sees the glory of God revealed in Christ, it is tantalizing to read of Him, of His works, and His words in the same strain as that in which the career of any other human life is described. All true faith is demonstrative, and the appearance of Christ is sufficient occasion for the confession: Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. Such exclamations many persons would feel prompted to interpolate in all descriptions or eulogies of Christ where His divine and eternal Sonship is not the uppermost thought.

Dr. Deems purposely avoids all doctrinal statements in regard to the person of Christ as well as theology in general, and refers the readers to his printed sermons for his theological views. He may possibly imagine that in this respect he has been successful. But if such should be his idea, we think he is mistaken. The book, as we take it, is full of theology, not it is true in the way of dogmatic statement, but as underlying and giving color to all his other statements. It could not but be so. As every individual has his own philosophy, so everybody has a theology, and this latter always must reveal itself when he comes to tell us what he thinks of Christ. With much of this underlying theology in Dr. Deems' book we do not concur. In one form or another it has been resisted and earnestly opposed in the pages of this Review under the general name of Puritanism. By persuasion a Wesleyan, he is quite as much an independent as if he were in a purely Congregational body. Even that churchly element, which Wesley wisely stamped on the Methodist Church he disclaims and ignores practically and, as we think, also intellectually. He is unchurchly throughout his book, and seems to avoid no occasion to let fly a poisoned arrow at all kind of churchmen as clogs in the way of all true progress. He has himself no faith in the idea of one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in the old sense of the term. We presume he could not repeat the article in the Creed, I believe

in the Holy Catholic Church, without his own mental reservations and explanations, and yet this is the universal faith of Christendom. He seems moreover to be perfectly persuaded that this was also the mind of Christ Himself, who came into the world to establish a noble and sublime religion, but not a Church in the sense in which His disciples of all ages have understood it, as an organized body, in which He dwells and where He lives and rules. Much of what is said of this character is absolutely shocking to us Church people, who have been brought up from our infancy to believe in the Church which is the body of Christ, the fullness of Him, who filleth all in all. There are doubtless foolish Churchmen everywhere, who make an idol of their outward forms and who put their Church before Christ. There were very wicked ones in the time of Christ, for we know they conspired to put to death the Lord of Glory. But that does not prove that there are no true Churchmen, men whose zeal for God's house is commensurate with their love for Christ, yea, whose zeal for this same house is inflamed by their love for God, so that it consumes and eats them up, as was the case with Christ Himself. Neither do the sins of Churchmen nor the abuses that have in all ages crept into the Sanctuary, prove that Christ Himself did not *intend* to establish a historical Church, united and organized in its several parts, a "close corporation," as Dr. Deems calls it, such as we find growing and developing itself in its several branches down to the present time. Though black because the sun hath looked upon her, she is nevertheless comely as the tents of Kedar, the praise and glory of the whole earth. He, we think, has read the New Testament only with one eye open, who sees no purpose or intention on the part of Christ to establish such a universal Catholic Church in which all His people shall be included as living members. It matters not what work Christ employed, whether Church or Congregation, when He said, upon this rock I will build my Church, the idea is the same; it was to be an organization, in which His people were to be one as He and the Father are one. Christ was infinitely wise in

all that He said and did; but He would have been infinitely unwise had He given a written constitution for His Church. That could not be done, and the very attempt would have been suicidal to the entire idea of a Church, which was to grow up and enlarge upon the foundations which Christ Himself laid. A careful study of His life and words will show that the idea of a Church or kingdom on earth was uppermost in His mind, just as is the idea which He is now realizing on earth as He sits at the right hand of His Father in heaven. All Churchmen see this much, and others also who may not be pervaded with zeal for God's house. Reinhard, the celebrated German preacher, who was certainly not an extremist either as it regards the Church or orthodoxy in general, saw it and has ably and earnestly proved it in his "Plan of the Author of Christianity," which we would advise all unchurchly persons to read. It has been translated into the English.

With this general unchurchly feeling and sentiment, which pervade Dr. Deems' book, we notice a corresponding undervaluing of the sacraments, especially of the Lord's Supper. We would recommend to him kindly as our much esteemed friend to read over again what he has written about the Lord's Supper on page 617 of this book. As we understand him, it is no sacrament at all; nothing more than a memorial gotten up by the Churchmen, something however good and appropriate in its place. We would fain believe that we misunderstand him, or that he has failed to say all that he believes in regard to that matter. To us, and we doubt not to many other Christians, his utterances here will be painful in the extreme. They seriously mar his book, which in other respects has many real merits, which it affords us much pleasure here to recognize.

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ART. I.—RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO ART.

BY E. E. HIGBEE, D. D.

IT requires but a brief survey of history to perceive the great effect which Christianity has had upon the life of the world. The old mythologies of Greece and Rome have given way before it. "The oracles are dumb." Olympus is but a vanished vision. Ægis-bearing Zeus, and Apollo with his silver bow, live only in the memories of song. The Scandavian fables of our ancestors have yielded to its power. The shield-roofed Valhalla is a forgotten dream; and the thundering Thor, and Baldur, the beautiful, live no longer in the faith of men.

> "The flocking shadows pale
> Troop to th' infernal jail,
> Each fetter'd ghost slips to his several grave:
> And the yellow-skirted Fayes
> Fly after the night-steeds, leaving their moon-lov'd maze."

Not only has the *religious* life of the world been transformed by Christianity, but the whole order of civilization has come under its influence. Law and literature, philosophy and art, have been permeated by it. In fine, the whole realm of practical, theoretical, and æsthetical activity has felt its presence and power. The good, the true, and the beautiful, as well as religion, have received a new significance in the life and light

of its absolute revelation. The Sun of righteousness has risen with healing in His wings for our *whole* life. A proper pathway has been opened up before every legitimate activity of the human spirit, that it may go onward to its true completion. "Ye are" (in the whole compass of your being) "complete in Him, who is the head of all principality and power."

What we have now said may serve as a general preface to the particular theme which we wish to discuss, viz., the relation of Christianity to Art. We desire to show how faith in Christ influences the imagination or phantasy, as this latter is one of the functional activities of the human soul: how it has there a determining influence, more or less direct, in the construction of the ideal; and how in this way it comes to enter of necessity into the whole field of art.

Before entering into the discussion proper, however, we must define the terms which we use, that our meaning may not be misunderstood.

All the higher activities of the human soul have a base, we believe, in the physical, where they first show their presence in that original life-process of each one, which begins long before it comes under the clear illumination of self-consciousness. The process of thinking does not start at once with conscious thought. It has a latent lodgment in the conditioning of the life at the start. In the peculiar receptivity of material from without, the soul is theoretically active. Thinking slumbers also in every sensation, ready to be awakened. Neither do the will and the phantasy reach at once what may be regarded their full form. The will is already germinantly involved in the primitive determination of the *esse* of each individual. It is there at the very start as physical will, and as such is much more in man than plasticity or instinct, including possibilities which reach quite beyond the whole process of individuation in nature below man. So also, joined with it at the very start, as a functional activity of the soul, is the phantasy which shapes the body into an utterance of the being, into an image or type of the idea. This physical phantasy, or esemplastic power of the as yet undeveloped spirit, has, before coming into the illumina-

tion of self-consciousness, possibilities like the will which reach quite beyond the whole kindred process in nature below man, where the idea of the world in its lower stages is imaged forth in sensuous forms.

The physical will, as we have termed it, is but a beginning,—the link only where the moral movement finds itself to be not an abrupt contradiction of what has gone before. We have above this, the psychological will. Appetencies are developed as the being comes into wider relations of existence; and the power of determining comes now into the light of the advancing intelligence, and there is a crisis of choice, and a character-forming process commences. The material now coming under the determining power is not physical simply, but psychological. So also does the phantasy, inseparably connected with the whole process, rise in significance. As the physical body, an image thus far of the lower process, comes into wider relations, the psychological phantasy shows itself in language, (not artificial sign, but tone-embodiment of sentiment and thought), in gestures, in intelligent smiles and frowns, in blushes of modesty and shame, in those numberless visible and audible imagings of the inner activity of the soul,—those vanishing forms through which we look directly into the invisible spirit, or rather through which it looks out upon us from its own transparent depths, until the character is seen embodying itself before us. Here also our life in regard to what is without has passed beyond the sphere of merely outward sensation. There is an inward hearing and seeing. We mean not the power of analyzing facts empirically gained to reach the law behind and in them, but the power of seeing intuitively the manifold,—the primitive type looking out upon us directly in and through the individual form. It may seem a paradox, yet it is true, that the material upon which the phantasy is now active is psychological, not physical. The physical content of the form is giving way, passing into transparency. The physical body is transfigured, and a wider body is in process of construction. Intelligence and will and emotion can find no full objectification in mere flesh and blood.

Will, however, rises higher than the psychological sphere. It passes beyond appetencies and their organization by a self-determination which has as its end the satisfaction of some soul-impulse. It reaches, or at least it should reach, a sphere in which the ethical idea of the good enters the will in its fulness, and becomes an inner motive of conscious determination, so that the will at last is possessed with its proper content, and becomes free. Towards this end the whole process looks from the beginning. So also the phantasy meets us in this higher sphere, where the idea of the beautiful enters it with a power of inspiration, and the phantasy comes to hold within itself the pure, glowing image in which beauty is enshrined,—the ideal, which subsequently is projected into outward objective form or materialization in art. The image stands before the mind's eye, or rather there is within the spirit the "vision and the faculty divine."

By the phantasy, therefore, we mean that original architectonic power of the soul which throws the idea out into body, and which as it advances not only sees intuitively the primitive type of things through the form, but dissolves the time and space limitations in which phenomenal forms are, and builds up from within itself by a true inspiration an ideal world which shall satisfy, so far as possible, its own inward vision. Here the whole universe, visible and audible, is made to melt and flow into the inner creative process. Before there can be a world of art there must be this world of the ideal in the phantasy. The soul, attuned and inspired, must be filled with

> "Hyblæan murmurs of poetic thought"

before the pen can trace a line,—must dwell in a world,

> "Where the breeze warbles, and the mu'e still air
> Is music slumbering on her instrument."

> "The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
> Doth glance from heav'n to earth, from earth to heav'n,
> And as imagination bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
> Turns them to shape * * *."

It must not be supposed, however, that this activity of the phantasy is isolated and arbitrary, or that the subject has been so swept away by the flow of images, that there is no proper self-possession. The organic power is within the subject, and is conditioned in its process by a determination and aim already in the genius, which is itself in turn conditioned outwardly by the spirit and culture of the age, and the occasion of inspiration, and inwardly by the physical constitution and temperament, and character. The activity of the phantasy, therefore, in the construction of the ideal is capable of being influenced. It does not stand entirely apart from the will and the intellect, but with them really inheres in the life, and enters into the progressive movement of history.

We are now prepared to define faith, and see how it can come to influence this activity so briefly and feebly characterized. In this way we can hope to secure a point of view from which to survey the relation of Christianity to art in its fundamental character.

Faith is the recognition of Christ as the very presence of the Divine among men,—as the self-unfolding glory of the Eternal in the world. As such it is the opening of our spiritual being so as to receive from God manifested in the flesh an inflow of divine life and light of which He is the absolute source and substance. The certitude and confidence which it carries with it are grounded upon the conjunction of our life with the life of God in Him. The light from its own original fountain streams in upon us and authenticates itself in the faith which is open to receive it. Just as the eye is in light, and light is in the eye in every act of vision, so here. No other evidence from any quarter can be of any account except as it comes under the illumination of such vision of God in Christ. "No man hath seen God at any time: the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." In Him we are in the life and light, and the life and light is in us. No more sublime summary of the scope of faith can be given than that which is given by St. John in the conclusion of his first Epistle. "We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us

an understanding, that we may know him that is true; and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life."

Our union with Christ in faith opens up the possibility of the completion of our whole being. "Of his fulness have all we received." Out of this fulness there is brought into the will and intelligence, and indeed into every faculty the power of transcending the law of sin and death, and the warrant of entering into the heavenly. In the life of Christ present within us, the purpose of each functional activity of the soul becomes revealed; and with the revelation there is an accompanying energy rendering the accomplishment of such purpose possible. The revelation and the strength are joined in one like light and heat beaming together from the sun. Our union with Christ is the generative source of a total renewal reaching out into the infinite,—a new creation in the bosom of which old things have passed away, and the new are at hand. (2 Cor. v. 17.) Its influence upon our life, therefore, must be of the most fundamental character, reaching down to its very base in the physical, and transforming through the renewed powers which it calls into activity the whole being internal and external, together with its whole sphere of relations. Will and intellect and phantasy, and ultimately their spheres, gain by this union a divine content, and begin a movement which reaches out towards the eternal.

We have spoken of a physical epiphany of the soul in the body, where what we have termed the physical phantasy has wrought out in flesh and blood the image of the earthy. We have further spoken of a higher and less limited epiphany of the spirit in which the physical becomes as it were transparent, and the inner shines forth in those subtile forms of visibleness and audibleness which are transfigurations of the merely *sarkik* and which play upon the surface like angels hovering there from another world. We have spoken still further of that wondrous power under which all these outer images are fully melted down, giving room for a glowing image constructed within the phantasy itself,—the ideal; and then of the effort to throw this out into objective materialization in Art.

Now can we trace any influence exerted upon this whole process by the union of our life with that of Christ,—any new, quickening, glorifying energy working in upon it from the full sunlight of the Eternal beaming upon us from the presence of the Lord? To ask the question is almost to answer it. With what sublime assurance does St. Paul exclaim, "As we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the *image of the heavenly.*" We see the human in Christ, the physical even, made transparent as it were through the glory which dwelt within, until, on the threshold of its entering into the agonies awaiting it, it glows upon the Mount, as though holding within itself the very brightness of the Father's glory. And again we see it rising out from among the dead, and as spiritual body evanishing from our sensuous gaze through the uplifted gates of heaven. This is the heavenly, whose image we shall bear, and as faith feeds upon the flesh and blood of the risen Lord, the material of such image is coming within the scope of the spirit. It doth not yet appear it is true, except in the evidencing certitude of faith. "Now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is." The revelation of Christ in us shall find adequate utterance not only through will and intelligence, but also through the phantasy. It will be thrown out into visibleness, and the body of our life in Him shall be not flesh and blood, the image of the earthy, but a mystery of glory as yet unreached, although the process reaching out to it has already begun. This mystery of revelation apprehending us and being apprehended by us in faith, entering our life and the life of the world must also inspire and guide teleologically the whole movement of the ideal. Through transformation it carries our whole being, as on outstretched wings higher and higher into the infinite; and the only repose, if repose it may be called, is the beatific vision, the new heavens and the new earth. No ideal which includes only the sphere of earthly manifestation can possibly be joined with the impulse and inspiration of faith. "We all with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord."

Before such vision of the heavenly as in the Lord, the religious myth, as we shall see, must fade away as empty phantasms, and with it the old form of art, but not to leave emptiness only behind. On the contrary there will be an uplifted and purified yearning, a hopeful longing, and a rapturous ardor of love to pierce through the earthly into the heavens whither He hath gone and whence He shall come again in clouds of glory,—an intent listening to catch those celestial chords of harmony whose distant echoes fall upon us, and, vibrating within the soul, tarry long enough to inspire and charm before lost in the Babel din of the world;—a base for a movement of art which shall transcend the massive symbolism of the East, and the sculptured repose of beauty which meets us in classic Greece, and the source also of historical material to attune and awaken the inspiration of genius guided by faith.

Even in the canon of the New Testament Scriptures we have left to us a striking example of an inspired Christian phantasy. Of course in the Apocalypse of St. John we have more than the inspiration of natural genius, but not in such a sense as that the lower inspiration is annihilated or set aside. We here transcend at once the whole realm of religious myth, and are not called to ascend Olympus and gaze upon the classic beauty of Jupiter and Ganymede, or to mark the barbaric pomp of Valhalla. But we do not have in St. John a mere instrument upon which the divine plectrum strikes, or a merely blank tablet upon which the gorgeous imagery is traced. The occasion of the special inspiration is at hand, and the whole spirit is attuned and becomes accordant, so that the apocalypse finds a real lodgment within. St. John, by the tyrannic hand of heathen persecution, has been driven from the pastoral care of the Churches; and in lonely banishment his anxious heart goes out to revisit the large congregations under his apostolic supervision in Asia; and the present world conflict of the Church, partially portrayed by the Old Testament prophets, is forced as it were by his circumstances into the vision of his thoughts. Especially is this the case as the Lord's day dawns upon him in his exile, and as he recalls that mysterious picture of his own future which the risen Christ drew for him in the memorable

words addressed to Peter, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" As a response then to his own aroused and accumulating anxieties, and as a filling up of the wide expanse of his eagle-eyed intuition of the coming victory and glory of the Lord, he hears behind him the great voice, as of a trumpet saying, "I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, and what thou seest write, and send it unto the seven Churches." Image after image, the hidden correspondences of which we may not be able to determine, rises up before his inspired gaze, and choral bursts of song fill the heavens, louder than the surges of the ocean dashing against the rock-ribbed Patmos: and yet, although borne onward beyond the flight of natural genius and rapt in the Spirit, how plainly can we mark at every stage just that profound intuition of faith which so peculiarly characterizes all his writings. Uniformly by St. John, and with very significant emphasis, the whole Gospel is focalized in the mystery that Christ is the eternal Word, the essential revelation of the Divine, the Jehovah of the Old Testament among men, in whom the Father dwells and is seen, and out from whom the Holy Spirit is breathed. So here in the imagery of the Apocalypse Christ appears as the central glory of the great throne. He is the Jehovah, the eternal I am, the one which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty. Before Him do the prostrate worshipers cast their crowns and chant their hallelujahs. Indeed the preface before the vision begins is in perfect accord with the vision itself,—is an overture to the grand Messiah, like the proem of his gospel. And so also, when the new Jerusalem has come down and God Himself is with His people visibly, and when, with this grand consummation, the organific inspiring presence that guided St. John's phantasy has become calmed into ordinary vision, the glow seems yet to linger within his soul as part of his own being, the crimson glory of a sun receding from vision but not lost, in that touching prayer, "Even so come, Lord Jesus"—This *is* for him *God dwelling among men.* It is quite vain to say that we have not here the *poietic* power of St. John, although we hesitate not to acknowledge that we have more. It is nothing less than absurd to suppose that a Pindar, or an Æschy-

lus, or a Homer, or an Isaiah even, could have been the recipients of such an inspiration, or that any such ideal could have found lodgment in an imagination not attuned by the revelation of the Gospel.

We have already intimated that where Christian faith prevails the myth-forming process must of necessity pass away. We may call this the negative relation of Christianity to art. The myth is a product of the phantasy penetrated and aroused by the idea of religion. This idea demands the supernatural, just as much as the eye does light. It looks towards a real union of our life with the infinite. In the absence of any self-revelation of God, save the mediate revelation in nature and man, to answer the Spirit's need in the direction of the supernatural, the idea of religion not destroyed, but, because unsatisfied, filling the soul with a sense of hunger and thirst, reached in upon the phantasy with intense power universally in heathendom. And just as physical hunger and thirst, in proportion to their intensity bring up the visionary play of sumptuous tables and cool fountains and flowing streams, mere phantasms and a mockery of satisfaction in the end; so here the phantasy thus vehemently impelled to activity constructed the myth, a dream of the supernatural and divine, colored by that which in the national life was regarded as most absolute and unchanging. St. Augustine, when referring to the mythical elements involved in the Manichæan heresy, has well expressed this truth in a remarkable passage of his Confessions. "They placed before me in their dishes splendid phantasm (phantasmata splendida) * * *; and yet I ate thereof, because I thought them to be Thee; not eagerly however, for Thou didst not taste in my mouth as Thou art, for Thou art not these empty figments. Neither was I nourished thereby, but only more famished. Food in sleep is very like the food of those awake: yet by it the sleeping are not fed, because they are asleep."*

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* "Esuriebam et sitiebam; et apponebantur adhuc mihi in illis ferculis phantasmata splendida * *; et tamen, quia te putabam, manducabam; non avide quidem, quia nec sapiebas in ore meo, sicuti es: neque enim tu eras figmenta illa inania; nec nutriebar eis, sed exhauriebar magis. Cibus in somnis simillimus est cibis vigilantium, quo tamen dormientes non aluntur; dormiunt enim." Lib. III. c. vi.

Now faith, which realizes the presence of the absolute revelation, which recognizes that the Word was God, and was made flesh and dwelt among us, so satisfies the whole idea of religion, and so turns the now filled spirit towards the coming glory of which it already partakes, that the myth-impulse is for the Christian forever dissipated. Indeed i is of necessity viewed as in direct hostility to the reality of faith. The two cannot harmonize. Thus it is that this element of religious myth, so thoroughly inwoven in the poetry and sculpture and architecture which confronted Christianity at the start, called out that instinctive impulse of faith to reject the art wealth which surrounded it in the Greek and Roman world. Moreover, the Church in those early ages, called so immediately to the practical work of establishing its faith, and this too in the face of most persistent and vengeful resistance, had neither opportunity nor ability to replace what it rejected. Indeed this from the very nature of the case could not be done at once. The art of the Church had to be a growth from within the life of Christianity itself, and its ideal something quite distinct from that which ruled in the classic world.

In the *classic* world there was certainly an advance beyond the symbolic character of Oriental art. The personal, human spirit here asserts itself, and the symbol gives way to the human form. In the perfectness of the human body the spirit finds its manifestation. There is a marriage of the spirit and the physical form of manifestation, in which both seem to find an eternal repose. The spirit has blossomed into flesh, and so remains retained by the immortal sculpture of the Greek masters. The Titanic physical, quantitative mass and dynamic force, has been overcome, and the spiritual human has displaced the symbolic, elemental deities. But in the classic art no ideal has been reached in which there is a transcendance of this merely earthly repose of spirit in sensuous form, or where there is a disruption through death so as to open the way for the blossoming of flesh into Spirit. The resurrection is not grasped. The resurgent, spiritual body, the image of the heavenly, enters not into the Greek phantasy. No words perhaps can more

thoroughly express what was lacking here universally in the Greek spirit than those spoken by the Saviour when the disciples informed Him that certain Greeks desired to see Him. "The hour is come that the Son of man should be glorified. Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit." The Greeks are turned to a mystery in nature as involving a lesson that their ideal world, the material of which in reality embraced nothing beyond the present earthly sphere of manifestation, must be renounced and crumble away to give room for a real spiritual transformation, in which the image of the earthly shall be dissolved, and the image of the heavenly spring up as a fruit out from the dead. Death and resurrection thus joined together seemed to the Greek mere foolishness, as a complete rupture of his repose of the beautiful; and Christianity could not from the very content of its faith, either assume or rejuvenate the already decaying movement of Classic art. Its attitude here again was negative, not however as in the interest of illiterate boorishness, according to Lucian's taunting sneer, nor from an extreme puritan rejection of the beautiful, although there may have been danger of this; but because it stood itself in the bosom of a new creation in which the old had passed away, and in which a new body must be formed by a phantasy inspired and moving within its own new sphere.

While therefore rejecting the pagan myth, and unfriendly to the surrounding world of art in which the mythical was so intimately and universally inwoven, and while turned toward a real glory beyond the grave which made more deep the sense of the evanescent beauty of the Greek ideal, it must not be supposed that Christianity rejected art itself, or that the presence of faith despoiled the human spirit of one of its most original and powerful functional activities.

Already at the earliest period, the new emotions awakened by the revelation of Christ,—the new consciousness of full reconciliation in the union of our life with that of God,—the new experiences of the spirit illumined by the glory of the Sun of righteousness flooding in upon it,—the depths of penitence and

heights of love hitherto unreached,—the thrill of joy and the seraphic fervor of adoration,—the seasons of rapturous vision, when, although at the blazing stake, or among the wild beasts in the amphitheatre, yet as

> "* * in an hour of solemn jubilee,
> The massy gates of Paradise were thrown
> Wide open, and forth came in fragments wild
> Sweet echoes of unearthly melodies
> And odors snatched from beds of Amaranth,"

—in fine, this whole new, inner world of inquickened spiritual sensibilities concentering in Christian worship was laying at the very start the deep and broad foundations of such a structure of lyric grandeur as the world had never seen, and was generating such a living mass of new æsthetic material as would of itself burst the too narrow restraints of classic art.

Most naturally in the element of the lyric did the art of the Christian Church begin. In the irrepressible impulse to give utterance to the adoring spirit as drawn heavenward by our ascended Lord the faith-inspired phantasy commenced its work. It is true there was at hand for this end much material from the Old Testament, in "Job's pathetic plaint" and "rapt Isaiah's wild, seraphic fire," and in the Psalms of David, with perhaps the old temple music: but all this had to be reorganized around a new centre and new festivals,—had to be wrought up into a new and higher Christian cultus. Soon, we hardly know how soon, the early Greek liturgies, so rich in lyric power and fulness, blossomed into being.

What a contrast between these liturgies as creations of the lyric genius of the Church and the very best lyric compositions of the Greek poets! The religious Pindar almost ceases to be lyric in spite of the native fervor of his genius because the myths which he uses have no real power over his soul. He himself stands above them, and they do his bidding. In them lie hidden the 'hæc fabula docet.' He becomes didactic. The mythic tales, instead of opening up before him a heavenly world which thrills his spirit, are selected, as he himself says,

like darts from a quiver to strike a blow of reproof, or encouragement, or warning. The rhythm is exquisite. The sculptured form is faultless; but the lyric throb is not there, for the very use which he makes of the myths is a dissolution in thought of all the inspiration of faith in them. Now turn from the very best ode of Pindar with all its marble purity of form, rivalling in this regard the choicest work of Phidias, to the so-called Liturgy of St. James, and mark what a new, fresh lyric glory is brought to view as dawning upon the world. It receives its light and warmth from the self-same faith which inspired the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews to call up, not the Olympic conquerors, but the crowned athletes of the old Covenant as encompassing clouds of witnesses, and then at last, as in flight towards the ascended Lord, to burst forth into the triumphant pæan, "Ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels." Indeed the part of the liturgy which we now quote in way of illustration is the expansion of this into a rapturous eucharistic prayer.

"It is very meet, right and our bounden duty that we should praise Thee, sing hymns to Thee, bless Thee, worship Thee, glorify Thee, and give thanks unto Thee, maker of the whole creation visible and invisible, the treasure of eternal good, the fountain of life and immortality, the God and Lord of all, whom the heaven, and the heaven of heavens adore, and all the powers therein, the sun and moon and the whole choir of stars, the earth and sea and all that is therein, Jerusalem the heavenly assembly, the Church of the first-born written in heaven, the spirits of just men and of prophets, the souls of martyrs and apostles, angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers, and fearful dynasties, the many-eyed Cherubim and winged Seraphim crying one to another with never-ceasing voice, and uninterrupted shouts of praise, singing with loud voice the triumphal hymn of Thine exalted glory, and saying, "Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts. Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest."

Where can you find a deeper lyric glow, a more rapturous sweep of enkindled emotions? There seems to be an ecstatic thrill of joy which strives in vain to utter itself; and when the words have ceased there yet lingers in the heart a throbbing music, like the "choral harmonies of heaven."

The liturgies with their wondrous harmony of parts, crystallizing around the eucharist, the organization of festivals in the cycle of the Church year in such form as to make the whole organism an advancing epiphany of Christ's glory, and the developing hymns reaching to the sublimity of the Ambrosian 'Te Deum,' show the presence of a creative phantasy of extraordinary power and significance, the dawn of what has been termed *romantic art.* This we have at the very beginning. But there must be added to this the Gothic Cathedrals with their pinnacled spires, the frescoed walls, the stained windows, the sounding organs, and the pealing bells, before the lyric ideal has fully uttered itself. Indeed at the start we have not only the lyric side in prayers and hymns and music, but the side of representation also. In the catacombs the rude crosses and monograms of Christ, the pictures of the good shepherd, and the Virgin Mother and the martyred saints, were in reality the first infant gropings of that phantasy whose creations meet us subsequently in the master-pieces of Raphael and Angelo and others.*

Christianity then was not hostile to art as art. Faith did not seek, as some suppose, to overthrow the phantasy as though it were an abnormal illegitimate activity of the human spirit. Such a work would be irrational and vain, as much so as to seek to overthrow the will and the intellect. Faith does not live by any auto-da-fe of our rational moral life, but is ever

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* "En effet, le Christianisme vient; il donne aux derniers de ses croyants le sens des choses qui ne se voient pas et ne se mesurent pas: las ouvriers des catacombes décorant de peintures les tombeaux des martyrs; ils travail'ent à la lueur de la lampe et sous la menace des persécutions. Ils représentent le Christ, la Vierge, les apôtres, des chrétiens en prières. Ces figures trahissent quelquefois une grande inexpérience, souvent les proportions leur manquent; mais tout le ciel est dans leurs yeux. Le sentiment de l'infini remplit ces fresques." Oev. Com. de A. F. Ozanam, tom. i. 34.

active in interfusing that life with the life and light of the eternal Word.

Although, as we have said, there was a necessary hostility upon the part of the Church to the art-world of Greece and Rome, where the religious myth was all-pervading, and art and religion seemed one; and although there was the presence of an ideal, which, reaching beyond what the classic or oriental world could grasp, necessitated a new movement in which Christianity had to stand in a great measure isolated from the art-culture and civilization of the age: yet in this very isolation the new inspiring life of faith was apprehending the phantasy: and just as in retired nooks and by shadowy streams half hidden from the vulgar eye in sheltering moss the coming summer doth smile in rare violets, and fragrant arbutus, and nodding anemones, so the coming fulness of Christian art found a budding utterance in those precious world-hidden blossoms of worship to which we have referred. For the most part refined heathenism, proud in the garish summer of its own glory, had neither disposition nor power to see or to feel this. To the pagan this small unsightly root bore no bright golden flower. The leaf was darkish and had prickles on it. Heedless or with persecuting malice he trod on it daily with his clouted shoon,

> "And yet more med'cinal was it than that moly
> That Hermes once to wise Ulysses gave."

We do not mean that the Church stood in such relation to art as to refuse entirely the art-forms which were at hand in the culture of the Roman Empire. Inadequate as these were, and calculated to fetter the utterance of her own freer spirit, yet the Western Church did, before the overthrow of the Empire, attempt to pour the new wine of her lyric spirit into the old bottles of Latin versification: but those bottles burst. The sculpturesque structure of the classic period gave way, and a new form of Latin poetry gradually developed itself, moving by accents and rhyme more and more varied and rich in harmonic relations as the advance went on. The hymns of the Church, commencing as far back even as St. Hilary and St. Ambrose,

were as different almost in form from the lyrics of Horace as they were in content.* Many may seek to account for this by saying that it was the result of a prevailing ignorance of the principles of classic versification,—a boorishness of latinity. Even grant it: yet the form is there universally, and with such plastic power as to enter into the whole sphere of poetry in all the modern languages of Western Europe, conquering not only the classical metrical system, but the alliterative method of the whole Teutonic race.† The form is there, woven by the phantasy with an unmistakable significance of pattern only the more impressive if the warp and woof were worked in without a knowledge of Latin prosody. Yet it were strange indeed if the Roman governor Ambrose, on whose infant lips the bees left honey, and the thoroughly trained Augustine, who in his youth excelled all in the rhetoric school of Carthage, and subsequently was professor in Rome,—it were strange indeed if such men should ignorantly and blunderingly mutilate the old versification. No! On the contrary already the faith-inspired phantasy, as by a kind of proleptic vision, was shaping more adequate forms for that new world which was fast approaching, when the imperial diadem should be dismissed to the East, and barbaric chieftains should occupy the throne of the Cæsars, and a new civilization and culture fill the untamed forests of northern and western Europe.

A new problem confronted the Church when the barbaric invasion swept over the Roman Empire. Christianity in its first contact with the Roman world met a civilization and culture fully developed, and already past its zenith. This whole culture also arrayed itself in deadly hostility against the mission of the Church. The police, literature, and religion of the State persecuted, ridiculed and blasphemed. And at last when Christianity had conquered all opposition and was reorganizing

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* See hymn of St. Hilary sent to his daughter. St. Hilarii Opera, Tom. II. 552. Migne Edition.

† See the valuable essay on the origin of rhymes in Mediæval poetry, by Thomas Wright. Essays on Archæology, Vol. 2, p. 151.

the forces of the old civilization, her work was cut short in this direction by the "waves of population which chased each other with tempestuous fury, and broke maddening over the feeble barriers of the Empire." To meet this angry storm, the secular resources of the State were in vain. The Master must be awakened and rebuke the winds and the sea. A new and different mission thus challenged Christianity, and the new era of Mediæval history began.

The three great factoral forces entering into it were, 1. The old Roman civilization, overthrown in its political form, but still a living and leavening power; 2. The new genius of the barbaric world yet undeveloped, but with possibilities that seem to be boundless; and 3. The Christian Church now well organized and prepared for her work. The reconciliation and organic settlement of these three forces now brought together with no great external hostility, but first *massed* together as it were, required ages. Christianity found itself now not in the relation of a persecuted and proscribed sect; but through the rapid conversion of the barbaric tribes, it entered into the whole process of development through which the Teutonic life was to reach modern civilization and culture. The art forms, therefore, which the Teutonic genius was to assume were to a great extent brought under the moulding power of Christianity from the beginning. In other words Mediæval art must show itself as the product of a phantasy in which the inspiring presence of the Christian ideal will assert its power, not, however, in its proper fulness, for the Mediæval world is after all only a struggle toward reconciliation,—a sort of necessary antithesis of the factors of freedom,—a rupture and disjunction to open the way for a real, internal union, and not one of mere mass, or at most only external.

The art of the Middle Ages, therefore, while it may be called Christian art, yet partakes of the peculiar characteristics which belong to the life of that period. The phantasy gives utterance to the inner spirit of the age, builds a body for it, throws it out into visibleness in the way of art. In this manifestation we see unmistakably, it is true, the presence of Christianity;

for we recognize through the whole cycle of Mediæval art a restless reaching out into the infinite; a vision of the eternal from within; a soaring of the spirit heavenward, like a cathedral spire which trembles and thrills with a sense of that towards which it reaches: but, at the same time, we see also the presence of an age in which there is as yet no proper inward reconciliation of the forces at work, while the necessity of such reconciliation seems to act as an inward impulse which all the while comes to be more and more deeply felt and acknowledged. The old Teutonic polytheism gave way before the monotheism of Christianity. Neither Woden nor Thor continued to be worshiped. But below these "Dii Majores" of the old faith there was a vast mythological world, not regarded as strictly divine, but as superhuman and yet most intimately interwoven with the whole earthly life, and especially powerful in proportion as the life was further removed from the resources and defences of civilization. This mythical world was a sort of dreamy counterpart (constructed by the phantasy and taking the place) of the reality of ministering spirits and fallen angels, which meets us in the divine revelation. It still continued as a power in the inner spirit of the barbaric life. If the Germans were, as Tacitus says, "securi adversus Deos," and had a very meagre external cultus, yet n the absence of temples and images and costly rites, they clung only the more closely to their consecrated groves, and that inner adoration and reverence which enshrined for them the divine, and they were exceedingly tenacious of that element of religious fable which was domesticated in every family.* Although converted to Christianity and forsaking the deities they had worshiped, yet they still felt the thrill of this old mythology, now transferred by them to the demoniacal world of evil, so as to be retained in their faith. The truth of faith

* "Ceterum, nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare, ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud: quod sola reverentia vident. Auspicia, sortesque, ut maxime, observant." Tac. Op. Tom. vi. page 14. Brotier Edit.

here took into itself a mass of mystic fables to overthrow it in its old form by grafting into it a new meaning. The motive of the effort, we believe, so far as encouraged by the church, was earnest and sincere; but it brought faith into a sort of contradiction with itself, and developed a peculiar religious superstition which it is very difficult to characterize.

The inner conflicts of the soul, the temptations and cross-purposes assaulting the life now turned towards God, the inward struggles towards true spiritual freedom, the deep, secret moral warfare of the spirit, were in a peculiar manner interwoven with the old mythological fables, and turned by a disguised commingling of faith and superstition into an outer phantastic conflict, not with Satan going about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour, but with dragons, and giants and mythic beasts of terror in real flesh and blood and poison. But not only did this more serious aspect of life flow into the old and as yet unsubdued mythic spirit, but the comical also, which in a deep sense aims at reconciling antagonisms, intermingled itself in the same way with the cunning tricks of fairies and elves of the old mythology.*

This inward contradiction between the old myths and the new content given them continued through the progress of the middle ages, and worked upon the phantasy, and through it gained expression in the strange, grotesque legends and romances, with their dragons, and chimeras, and griffins, and Saracenic conflicts, and magic rings and charms, which constituted so largely the poetical material of that period, and the faith of which we see dissolving in the rich allegory of Spenser's Fairy Queen. The miracles take frequently a very fantastic character, and the saints often seem to be rivals, as it were, of the old mythic heroes in strange adventures and deeds which show scarcely any moral purpose.† The heroic Beowulf seems

* See Wright's Essays on the Middle Ages, vol. 1, 261 et passim; and also see his article on "Friar Rush and the frolicsome elves," vol. 2 of the same work.

† This has been so much felt as to render plausible almost the conjecture that the lives of many of the saints were but rhetorical examples of amplification, trial tests of talent in this direction among the students of the monastic colleges. See "Curiosities of Lit.," Disraeli, vol. 1, p. 148.

to have returned again, staying the *nickers* about the bubbling fords, and destroying the *grendels* which infested the court of Hrothgar. The weapons, however, are no longer the war-bill or the twisted war-dress, legacy of Hraedla, but the shield of faith, the breastplate of hope, the helmet of chastity, the bow of penance, and the arrows of psalmody, ("scutum fidei, loricam spei, galeam castitatis, arcum pœnitentiæ, sagittas psalmodiæ").

Even in the Gothic cathedral, where the ideal of Christianity most thoroughly penetrated the Teutonic genius (for here it was the spirit of divine worship which specially controlled the phantasy), while we see the sublime grandeur of the rising spire as though to pierce the heavens—the flight of spirit uplifting the body from earth into the light of the heavenly—the tone of aspiring love whose echoes are losing themselves in the infinite, and not the silent, calm repose of beauty looking earthward as in the Greek temple; yet we see also in the details of the structure, fully subordinated however (for here the inspiration gave strength to do it), grotesque figures looking out upon us here and there, suppressed glances of the old mythic world hiding itself in nooks and corners, pranks of the mediæval phantasy, which the glory of the whole structure alone could and did subdue into harmony in much the same way as the grandeur of a great tragedy of Shakspeare brings into fitting accord the scenes of comic relief which are introduced.

The grotesque, however, shows itself much more the further we remove from the focal inspiration of worship. On the stalls in the old cathedrals strange tales are carved, as though the fantastic must have place to satisfy the demands of the age. The *maiden and the unicorn*, the *preaching fox*, and the *witch with her cats* are only examples out of many others that might be mentioned. (See Wright's Ess. on Archæology, vol. 2, p. 111, et passim.)

Whenever we turn to the sphere in which Christianity concentrated its power and most fully revealed its presence, there

we see at once how art becomes filled with a new inspiration. The cathedral church as a monument of worship we have already mentioned as an example. The same is true of the religious services therein. One element here may be said to be almost the creation of Christianity, viz., *music*. In this the lyric glory enshrined in the cultus of the Church blossomed forth into a marvellous world of art of which in such form the ancients knew but little. The inner life of faith in which the spirit finds its fullest freedom, and recognizes its heavenly destiny,—in which the soul is touched as by a fire from heaven and flames upward towards God, requires the most spiritual medium of expression, and cannot possibly rest satisfied with architecture or sculpture. It impels the phantasy to throw itself into those arts especially where the sensuous form is furthest removed from materialness, and approximates nearest the spiritual. Painting, and especially music, where the form is ever vanishing with the expression and becoming part of the spirit itself, must, therefore, find in Christianity the central source of their highest inspiration. Music indeed in its very nature is most closely allied to religion in which we commune with the infinite, where neither thought nor act, but above all the heart filled with child-like adoration, and thrilling with penitential love and rejoicing hope seeks to unbosom itself in God.

It is impossible perhaps to say definitely when music became a part of Christian worship.* Probably in the East the church immediately took up the old Temple music, so far as this was

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* Eusebius thinks that the Therapeutæ, whom Philo describes as passing their time in meditation, composing songs and hymns in every variety of metre and tune of solemn character, were Christians (lib. II. c. 17). Lucian reproaches the Christians for spending the nights in chanting. Pliny makes mention of the same custom as peculiar to the Christians. Cassianus describes two kinds of psalmody among the oriental monks, one in Egypt and the Thebaid, and another in Palestine and Mesopotamia. Socrates regards antiphonal chanting as originating with Ignatius (Eccl. Hist. Lib. VI. c. 8). Theodoret makes the custom to originate with Flavian and Diodorus (Eccl. Hist. Lib. II. 24). For valuable information see Card. Bona de Divina Psalmodia, c. i. § 3 and § 4, and also J. Mabillon de Lib. Gallicana, p. 382 et passim, where he has appended a brief "Disquisitio de cursu Gallicano."

possible. At the last Supper, the disciples with the Saviour sang the Hallel. We know, however, that St. Ambrose organized this art element as part of the church service at Milan, after the manner of the eastern churches,* and that his practice was rapidly followed by others. St. Augustine's fervid nature was so deeply stirred by it, that he feared his delight was in danger of passing by the content of the hymn and lodging itself in the music only (see Conf. Lib. X. cap. xxxiii.) "O how in Thy hymns and canticles," he exclaims, "did I weep, stirred in the depths of my soul by the voices of Thy sweetly sounding church" (Conf. Lib. IX. cap. vi.) Indeed St. Augustine, as revealed in his Confessions, may be cited as a fitting illustration of that power of Christian inspiration which roused the phantasy and gave to it that peculiar movement which shows itself in *romantic art.* His Confessions are a pathetic cry of pain and joy, a thrilling deep-toned lyric of life whose pathos is unequalled. In what words could we better express the power with which Christianity touched and attuned the phantasy than in those which this saint used when speaking of himself. "Thou didst call and cry aloud and break through my deafness. Thou didst flash and gleam and scatter my blindness. Thou didst breathe fragrance upon me, and I drew in my breath and sighed for Thee. I tasted, and lo I hunger and thirst. Thou didst touch me, and I flamed toward Thy peace."† That sense of the infinite, that depth of spiritual introversion, the soul returning into itself and seeking there some adequate form of utterance, that inward glance which, having caught a vision of the eternal, no outward sensuous form thereafter can satisfy, which characterizes romantic art, how perfectly does St. Augustine define it! "What love I, O

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* "Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium, ne populus mœroris tædio contabesceret, institutum est; et ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis, et per cætera orbis imitantibus." Conf. S. Aug. Lib. IX. cap. vii.

† "Vocasti et clamasti et rupisti surditatem meam. Corruscasti, splenduisti, et fugasti cæcitatem meam. Fragrasti, et duvi spiritum, et anhelo tibi. Gustavi, et esurio, et sitio. Tetigisti me, et exarsi in pacem tuam." (Conf. Lib. X. c. xxvii.)

Lord, when loving Thee? Not the beauty of body, not the ornament of rhythm, not the splendor of light, not the sweet melodies of ever varying songs, not the fragrance of flowers and perfumes and spices, not manna and honey, not the delights of flesh. Not these do I love, my God, when loving Thee. And yet I love a certain light and voice and odor and food and delight deep within the soul, where shines before my spirit what defies all place, where sounds within my ears what no time can measure, and where breathes a fragrance which no breeze can scatter" (Conf. Lib. X. cap. vi.) It seems as though J. P. Richter might have had this passage in his mind when he wrote that charming definition, so often praised: "Romantic art is the beautiful without limitation, or the beautiful infinite. It is the pulsing murmur of a chord or bell, whose waves of tone float into distance further and further, and at last lose themselves in us, outwardly hushed indeed, but sounding still within."

It is not strange that St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, secluded by the new inner world, revealed to them by faith more and more from the culture of heathenism, that old civilization which they could not save, but which they aided and "whose funeral they honored,"—it is not strange, we repeat, that they should feel an impulse to give utterance to the glowing inward vision and thrill of their spirit; and here it is that the Ambrosian hymns and music find their inspiration. They are the reddening dawn of that lyric glory of the Christian Church which has astonished and delighted the world,—a gush of Spring, telling of a coming summer, just before the wintry blasts from the stormy North swept over Italy and blighted Africa with untimely destruction.

The Ambrosian music of course was crude and simple in its structure, but so livingly rooted in the Christian life as to be capable of an almost infinite growth and expansion. If its modes were borrowed from the old Greek music, yet the new lyric content must have conditioned at the very start the whole form, and made necessary that new movement which at last broke through all restraints, but which required the advance of

centuries to reveal the vast resources of inspiration to which it began.*

To the Ambrosian keys others were added two centuries later by Gregory of Rome; and the Gregorian chant became an important element of Christian instruction. Karl, the Great, following the example of his father, Pepin,† was anxious to extend its correct use throughout the Frankish kingdom, and to introduce its study into his schools. To this end he established two central schools of music, one at Metz, and another at Soissons, in which he introduced the Roman Gregorian chant over against the Gallican corruption of the same. These schools were what may be called normal schools to prepare the choir-masters for their work, and to help on the more general movement in the ordinary schools. The king went so far even as to require the rustics when driving their cattle to and from pasture to sing the canticles of the church on their way.

No one perhaps can fully measure the educational power which the Gregorian chant, thus widely cultivated, had upon the Mediæval world. It is one of the special prerogatives of such music to break the license of passion and calm down its violence, to free the soul for the time being from its carnal bondage, and lift it into a more serene and purer atmosphere of sentiment and sympathy. Even now whenever in our modern church music the tones of these old melodies so solemn and so tender are allowed to reach us, though but rarely, they touch the spirit like echoes from heaven.‡

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* There is no evidence, however, that the so-called *Cantus Ambrosianus* borrowed anything from the Greek beyond the mere technical nomenclature. The four Ambrosian keys came to be distinguished by the titles, Doric, Phrygic, Lydic, and Myxolydic, but not in the sense that they were so many attempts to reproduce the Greek forms. See article in Journal of Spec. Phil. vol. 1, p. 225. Pub. at St. Louis, Mo.

† "Monachi ut cantum Romanum pleniter et ordinabiliter per nocturnale vel gradale officium peragant, secundum quod beatæ memoriæ genitor noster Pippinus rex decertavit ut fieret." Migne, Tom. xcvii. p. 518.

‡ Efforts have been made to revive the use of this Gregorian music in the services of the English church. In this interest quite a valuable work has been published by Rev. Thomas Helmore, Precentor of St. Mark's Coll., in which the *canto fermo* is given with accompanying harmonies, and with a translation of the Latin Hymns.

The inspiring breath of Christian worship did not cease with these simple beginnings of religious music. Assuming at once what was at hand, and striving to animate it with its own content, or rather seeking through it to gain expression for itself, the new spirit of Christianity found here again that the old forms were inadequate. They could not answer for the deeper mystery of the Christian ideal in the sphere of sensibility. The sense of reconciliation between God and man, the presence of redeeming grace, the ever-widening hope full of life and immortality, reaching beyond the finite and grasping the infinite, the ever-deepening consciousness of the full glorification of our life in Christ, moving through struggle and suffering to victory and exaltation, the penitential sadness of Lent, the Easter glow of choral triumph, and the heavenward breathing sigh of the Ascension,—all this, stirring the deeps of the soul as never before, and entering through the services of the church into the ever-recurring cycle of the year, developed a new world of sensibilities,* and the phantasy now required something more than the sculptured singleness of the old forms to satisfy its needs. The plain chant without being lost must be led beyond itself into the deeper spiritual form-world of melody and harmony combined; and here a process meets us resembling the kindred one to which we have referred where the lyric poetry of the church moves from the classic prosody onward into that rich blending of accentuation and rhyme which characterizes the modern form. From Ambrose and Gregory we must follow the movement through the Middle ages to Palestrina, and onward still to Bach and Handel, if we would properly measure the power which Christianity exercised upon the development of art in this sphere.

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* The genial Ozanam has eloquently written: "Ses rites réunissaient dans leur ensemble toutes les traditions bibliques, la poesie des psaumes et des prophéties, les récits du Noveau Testament, les actes des martyrs, l'éloquence des Pères, les travaux liturgiques de Saint Ambroise et de saint Grégoire, avec l'essor que la musique donne au sentiment, avec le soutien que la peinture prête à la pensée, avec tout le pouvoir de l'architecture religieuse, pour retenir dans ses murailles l'âme enchantée, lui faire oublier le monde, et l'élever à Dieu." Oeuvres Comp. chap. vii. 319, Tom. iv.

But vocal music is not all that meets us here. In addition to the song and voice, instrumental music is taken up. The instrument becomes an organ through which the phantasy reveals its ideal; and hence for the fulness of Christian inspiration, the lyre of Mercury, the pipes of Pan, and Minerva's flute were inadequate. So also were the psaltery and harp and trumpet of the Jew. Teutonic Christian phantasy necessitated the construction of an *organon pneumaticon* (rightly so called), which could give fuller utterance to its spiritual inspiration with its multiplied registers and sounding pipes; and the new movement went on in this sphere until we reach the wonderful symphonies of Beethoven, the Shakspeare of music, whose sweep of genius gathers for its use all instruments, and then reaches beyond the inadequate means of utterance thus afforded and falls back to hear within the soul only that ideal music, which neither voice nor instruments can utter, which points to heaven and will not pass away.

As we have found Christianity to be the central source of music as this has been developed in the modern world, and for this reason, because through the spiritual impulse of faith the whole emotional nature of the soul was aroused from its innermost depths, and the spirit in its enkindled ardor flamed heavenward toward the peace and rest of the infinite, so also in an equally profound sense is Christianity related to the whole development of modern painting. These two forms of art were less cultivated or at least less developed than any others in antiquity, and yet they are the very forms of expression which most especially characterized the opening activity of the phantasy of the modern period. This is by no means accidental. The full revelation of the divine involves of necessity the highest inspiration of the human. The revelation to be such and not a mere outward theophany required that the human spirit should be emancipated from its earthly bondage, and brought into communion with God,—that it should come to see by a true inward illumination the surrounding spiritual world, and be filled with a sense of its own original relation to that life in the eternal Word which is the light of men. Faith,

which reaches beyond the evidencing of flesh and blood and in which alone the revelation can become real, thus serves to bring the human spirit to a proper sense of itself, to a consciousness, ever growing clearer, of its own infinite worth and eternal destiny. When, therefore, under the impulse of faith the spirit seeks expression for itself through the phantasy, the medium of expression must be as far as possible the product of the spirit itself. The life of Christ within us, the hope of glory, in the end, as we have said, constructs for itself a spiritual body. Faith involves this. Its vision is not after the flesh but after the spirit. The visible here, therefore must be spiritualized. By faith the whole realm of phenomenal nature is at once referred to its invisible spiritual substratum in the Word, and is made to look forward to a glorification corresponding to what is involved in the mystery of spiritual body. The Christian ideal, therefore, whenever seeking to embody itself, must give a powerful stimulus to just that range of art where nature spiritualized enters most prominently into the mode of expression.

It is true that in music, where the form of expression is of itself almost immaterialized, where it enters into and becomes part of the spirit itself, we have an art with which the spirit of Christianity perhaps more readily affiliated itself; yet in light and color so full of vanishing changes, and yet so deeply entering into the spiritual, so dynamically active in contrasts and harmonies as to be almost what might be termed visible sounds, and yet in the appearance so much the creation of the spirit itself which speaks and glances through and in them,—so full of soul as to be the symbol of spiritual life, and the very language of the otherwise mute earth on which we tread and the heavens into which we gaze, for the earth and heavens speak through the green grass and the varying sunlight in the plighted clouds, as much as the empty air through the voiceful winds; yet, we repeat, in light and color interfused with spiritual content and made to be instinct with spiritual activity, and thus a living mirror of the inner soul, we have a medium of representation which the phantasy conditioned by Christianity

can most naturally and readily assume as specially fitted for the utterance of its ideal. Painting, as one of the romantic arts, is indebted to Christianity for the initial impulse and the sustaining inspiration which have given to it in the modern world a development so vastly beyond what it reached in the old world of classic art.

As already remarked, the persecuted Christians of the earliest period, of whom the world was not worthy, seeking refuge in the dark windings of the Catacombs whither they carried the charred relics of their martyred brethren, could not fail, as they placed them in their last resting-place, either to leave some token of the triumph of *their* birthday into glory or to surround themselves with some visible pledges of their own unvanquished faith, and hence by the lantern's flickering light they represented along the walls Christ, the Virgin, the Apostles and Christians at prayer, with rude execution and faulty proportions it is true, but with the light of heaven in their eyes and a sense of the infinite animating their face.* Here we have the first incipient manifestation of that powerful impulse which after subsequent ages gave such inspiration to the art of painting as almost to bind it to Christianity as to its fostering nurse. It is just this victory over suffering *in* suffering, this pathos of hope and love rising infinitely above a merely passive acquiescence in fate or a stoic autarchy, in which the supposed escape from suffering is but a frigid repression of the emotional life of the soul itself,—it is just this triumph of martyrdom where death is swallowed up in life, and where in the very burden of suffering is revealed a "far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory," and where the fellowship of the one opens the way for the participation of the other,—it is just this infinite peace breathed from the hallowed cross upon a dying world that out of shame it may rise to honor and exaltation and rest in God,—it is just this, the precious birthright of the Christian soul, which constitutes the new ideal which penetrated the whole development of modern painting and gave to it that

* See former quotation from Ozanam.

depth of content, that elevation and vigor and spirituality of expression which made it so far superior to all that preceded it in the ancient world.

The phantasy may be said to reach its highest activity in poetry. Here its creative power has the broadest sweep, and can give expression to the ideal in its fullest and most universal characteristics; for the form now is as it were unconfined by material, being wrought out from spiritual images within the mind itself. Dramatic, and epic, and lyric poetry, both in the material and in the inspiration under which the phantasy acts in its constructive work, cannot but be most fundamentally conditioned by the new creation of Christianity, and the far-reaching vision of faith. We have already referred to the lyric poetry of the church as assuming new form under the moulding power of the new spirit interfusing it. Poetry of this kind, however, in a far wider sense than meets us in the hymn which is confined to the service of the church, has felt the power of the new inspiration of Christian faith. The sufferings of life as well as its joys, indeed the whole inner world of soul-sensibility has gained a new significance through the revelation of Christ. The very deepest agitations of grief and pain, which seem to oppose the idea of beauty, are so made to reach into peace and triumph through Christian hope as to make the elegiac lyric beautiful, because fate is not victorious, but the soul; for from the profoundest depths of sorrow, from the saddest minor strains of grief, there rises up from within a major chord which at last overwhelms all pain, breaks through all despondency, and sounds forth in triumph, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us."

No true lyric poem, while giving utterance to the emotional soul, can be said to reach its end without bringing into view the deepest pathos of which the soul is capable; and this is only possible as the poet seizes upon the most profound and

most universal impulses which enter into the religious belief and hope and imagination of a people. These impulses come from Christianity. Its faith, and hope and charity constitute the very essence of the ideal here, and without this the agitated soul can find no point of repose, can reach no harmony out of dissonance, which lyric art for its proper completion demands. Whether consciously or unconsciously, so far as the poet's mind is concerned, the spirit of Christianity underlies and penetrates the pathos of the world. "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now * * * waiting for the adoption, to wit the redemption of our body." Even in heathenism, there must be a dim foreshadowing of this to harmonize and reconcile the otherwise discordant awfulness of suffering and death. Sophocles felt this, and Antigone, whose pathetic cries are heard in the close of his great tragedy, cannot go down to the tomb, her bridal chamber, without cherishing firm hope of meeting her father, and mother, and brother. (Antigone, 891-900.) In Christianity, however, life and immortality are brought to light, and faith in the resurrection forms the deepest, the mightiest, and the most exalting impulse that can enter and touch the sensibilities of the human soul. No lyric composition, we repeat, which would disclose the fulness of soul-experience in way of art, can, without this, reach its blossoming perfection or gain any ultimate principle of unity and hence any proper interrelation of parts.

The Lycidas of Milton forms a most fitting illustration of our meaning here. This lyric mourns the loss of a dear friend drowned in the Irish seas. From verse to verse it sinks deeper and deeper into the profound darkness of grief. The sense of loss keeps enlarging itself by clinging in vain to the associations and reminiscences of an intercourse now forever broken. Sorrow keeps recoiling back upon itself as image after image passes before the phantasy in the vain effort for relief. At last the final struggle to reach comfort by dallying with false surmise, and bidding the valleys low to throw hither all their quaint enamell'd eyes, and strow with every flower that sad embroidery wears the laureate herse where Lycid lies, only makes

the gloom more appalling as it recalls the terrible reality that his bones are washed away by sounding seas and hurled beyond the stormy Hebrides; yet here in the very depths of agony comes the conquering transition, weep no more, for Lycidas your sorrow is not dead. Sunk though he be beneath the watery floor, yet has he mounted high through the dear might of Him that walked the waves

> "And hears the unexpresssive nuptial song,
> In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love."

Such is the lyric blossoming of sorrow when the Christian ideal has possession of the phantasy, and thus the poet, under the inspiration of faith, touches

> " * * the tender stops of various quills
> With eager thought warbling his Doric lay."

Time does not allow us to continue our remarks in this direction any further. We cannot conclude thus abruptly, however, without venturing a brief statement in regard to the ultimate office of the phantasy as a legitimate and indestructible activity of the human spirit. The completion of our human life in the resurrection and exaltation into heaven is certainly not the annihilation of it as developed and active here. No doubt it is difficult to form any adequate conception of what is involved in the second advent of Christ, and the close of the present æon of history: and the same difficulty surrounds every effort to grasp the form in which the activities of our rational being will then be exercised. This much however may be safely said, we think, viz., that the relation of the second advent of Christ to the first must be most intimate and organic, or, in other words, that the second advent, which is clothed with such mysterious symbols when referred to in the Scriptures, cannot be an abrupt revelation disconnected from the one under which the church has moved onward in history. It must mark in some form the full apprehension upon the part of the Church of the mystery of Christ already apprehending it through the Spirit. It is the marriage of bride and bridegroom, and the wife hath

made herself ready. It is the blossom in one sense of an antecedent revelation of grace without which it would fail to have any moral significance for man. St. Paul says, "Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." The advent of Christ in glory must be something more than a mere theophany or outward sign-revelation coming in as a last resort to convince the world by a new style of evidence from beyond that of the Spirit. The Spirit shall glorify Me: for He shall receive of Mine, and shall show it unto you. The original revelation of Christ was not reached through flesh and blood. The apostolic vision which grasped the mystery was not carnal. So here Christ's coming in glory, His last and full epiphany, must be in its deepest essence an inner glorification of Christ in the apprehension of His saints, the fulness of spiritual intuition "When He shall come to be glorified in His saints, and to be admired in all them that believe." Such apprehension involves of course the glorification of His saints at the same time. They will then know as they are known.

Now this glorification will be not only in the grasp or apprehension of thought and in the activities of the will, but in *embodiment* also. In this embodiment, this outerness of inward spiritual glory, this spiritual body, this resurrection in which the full revelation of judgment will show itself as unto life eternal on the one hand, and unto condemnation on the other, we have what may be denominated the realm of perfected and glorified phantasy. Toward this the whole process here has looked and directed itself. Of the three forms through which, in the moral constitution of our life, the idea is brought to pass, by understanding and will and phantasy, neither one nor another will preponderate. They will not be mutually exclusive, but melt and flow together into a spiritual beatific vision, in which being and knowing and æsthetic seeing will be conjoined, mutually commensurate and one; and that which is in part shall be done away.

ART. II.—THE BASIS OF UNION.

BY AN ANGLICAN CATHOLIC.*

IN an Article by the Rev. Dr. Nevin, reviewing Bishop Coxe's "Apollos," exception was taken to the views expressed in a newspaper notice of the same book. A good deal of space was devoted to this notice. It was in fact quoted almost entire, and was as elaborately reviewed as its merits demanded. It was pronounced to be a "characteristically Episcopalian passage," "full of intolerant bitterness and bad humor," pervaded by an "air of lordliness," &c., &c. Concerning which the author of the newspaper notice in question desires to say, that he does not look upon criticisms of this nature as arguments, and trusts that in making no reply to them, he will not be understood either as acknowledging the justice of them, or as treating Dr. Nevin with disrespect.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the single topic of Christian Union, was the one all-absorbing theme, of the Bishop's book, of Dr. Nevin's Review, and of the humbler newspaper Article. That men should differ on this subject, is to be expected. That all parties should at the last, come to mutual concession, is doubtless the fervent desire of good men; that the subject may be discussed without stirring up and embittering feeling, is perhaps possible. Certainly if this cannot be done, no greater proof could be given that we all need to remember from whence we are fallen, and to repent and do our first works. At any rate it is important that we should understand each other. And to this end it must be acknowledged that an interchange of views is necessary.

When we consider how greatly theological terms change their

* It may be proper to state that the writer is an Episcopal clergyman.—*Ed. Rev.*

meaning in the minds of all those who adopt some new system, we can readily understand how misconceptions arise, and how men of pure motives, and with ability, and even learning, come to look upon one another as holding monstrous opinions. The change that has passed upon the meaning of but two words, has been the cause of more misunderstanding and recrimination, than it is possible to estimate. These words are the terms "*Regeneration*" and "*Catholic.*" In the first ages of Christianity, *Regeneration* was used as the synonym of *Baptism;* the word "*Catholic*" was invariably used as a title of distinction, to designate the Church in opposition to other denominations, which at that time were called by the hard name of *heretics. Now*, it has come to pass that *regeneration* is used to describe what must in the case of infants, take place after Baptism, and in the case of adults, before Baptism. Whilst the term *Catholic* is used not to distinguish the Church from other denominations, but as a non-distinguishing term to embrace all. The result of this is, that a Churchman, who still adheres to the old and historic meaning of the words, understands them, of course, in the historic sense, while people of other denominations using them with the new meaning, totally misapprehend what the Churchman would be at, and attribute to him views that he does not entertain, and can with difficulty even understand.

The term "*Christian Union*" has had a fate similar to that of the words above mentioned. The Churchman understands by it, what St. Cyprian expressed by the phrase "unity of the Church." Knowing full well what the bond of this unity was, and how in all ages of the Church, it has been looked upon, the Churchman without more ado, attributes the same meaning, only to find that with other people, "Christian Union" does not mean "Unity of the Church;" that the bond of Christian union is not the Episcopate as in St. Cyprian's time; but that Christian union means the Evangelical Alliance, and the bond of Union means certain dogmas formulated in Freemasons' Hall, London, in the year of our Lord 1846.

Here is a difficulty at the outset; it is almost impossible to

come at a mutual understanding. Words are used which in the mouth of the speaker mean one thing, and in the mind of the hearer mean another thing. Surely this ought not to be so. Christianity has been in the world 1800 years. It has a history. Its terms have historic meanings. They have come down to us as heir-looms of the past. We ought not to be guilty of a hide and seek game in the use of words. We have no right to change that which we have received from the past, and hold in trust for the future. Let us say what we mean. And let us not mean something different from what we say. If we desire to express what is novel, let us not hesitate to assume all the responsibility, and manfully and boldly say so. But let us not take old and time-honored terms, that have come down to us from antiquity, freighted with one meaning and use them in some new and strange sense, thus rendering unavoidable much misunderstanding, alienation and distrust.

As a fair illustration of the new ideas, on the subject of Christian Union, the doings of the late Evangelical Alliance may be cited. Organized, as the Rev. James Davis, British secretary of the Alliance says: "to consolidate and complete efforts which had been made in previous years, to associate Christians of all countries, in a *cordial, visible and effective union*," it ended by declaring that organic union is not possible nor desirable, and that the present condition of having different denominations, characterized by mutual respect and good-will, was in fact a condition of union, and all the union that could be hoped for. The Rev. Dr. Hodge, professor of Theology at Princeton, N. J., made an address that was frequently applauded in the course of its delivery, in which he said: "But on account of the imperfection of our knowledge, and such diversity of opinion between believers, *it is impossible* that all Christians should be united in the same organization. *It is better therefore*, that they should separate and constitute different denominational churches, than that there should be one heaving conflicting mass of men, and not a church." Further on in his address Dr. Hodge says: "I know that there is a theory of the Church very different from this. It makes the

form everything; but if nothing external be essential for a man to be a Christian, then nothing external is essential to the being of a Church." Other speakers uttered like sentiments. No action of the Alliance however was taken formally, adopting any such utterance. But the expressions were so decided, and the speakers so many and eminent, and the applause so frequent and hearty, as to show that the prevailing opinion was as we have described it. Other speakers, on the day devoted to Christian Union, expressed themselves as pointedly as the Rev. Dr. Hodge. But we have quoted from his speech for the reason, that we suppose, no man belonging to any of the denominations represented in the Alliance, will call in question his pre-eminent fitness as a representative speaker.

The Rev. Dr. Nevin has taken us to task, for saying that "the prevailing opinion in the Alliance was, that corporate union was neither possible nor desirable, but that a union in spirit and in aim, was all that in any case ought to be attempted, and that this already existed to a satisfactory degree." He says the Alliance met "*not* to discuss a plan of union, *and still less, to stultify themselves by declaring no farther union necessary or desirable.*" The Rev. James Davis, British secretary, says, that its object was to "associate Christians of all countries in a *cordial, visible and effective union.*" Whilst the Rev. Dr. Hodge says, that "*it is impossible that all Christians should be united in the same organization.*" It would seem to be a much easier task to reconcile these statements with what we have said above, than to reconcile them with what the Rev. Dr. Nevin says. We have however no doubt, whatever, that Dr. Nevin has a theory in his own mind, by which his views of the Evangelical Alliance find their justification. But we trust that he will be able to see, that to an outsider, our view of it would seem to be unavoidable. And the whole thing serves to illustrate what we said before, that men associated in the acceptance of peculiar religious views, do come to use language in a sense different from the rest of the world. That they are almost certain to be misunderstood by others, and are themselves also incapable of understanding others.

We have studied with care, the speeches and addresses made in the Evangelical Alliance on the day devoted to Christian Union, and we find it impossible to extract any other meaning from them than what we expressed before, that "the *prevailing opinion* was that corporate union, was neither possible nor desirable, but that a union in spirit, and in aim was all that in any case ought to be attempted, and that this already existed to a satisfactory degree." Now it gives us no satisfaction to form this opinion, but rather pain. We had hoped that an association of good men, from the leading Protestant denominations brought together, according to the statement of one of their own officers, "to consolidate and complete efforts—to associate Christians of all countries in a *cordial, visible and effective union,*" would not have declared to the world that "*it is impossible that all Christians should be united in the same organization.*" If they had said, that it is impossible now, and had bewailed the fact instead of glorying in it, and declaring that it was just what ought to be, and nothing else was to be desired, then we would have entertained hope, that the great day of the marriage supper of the Lamb was about to burst upon the world. That there were men in the Evangelical Alliance who did not share in the prevailing opinion, nor join in the applause called out by Dr. Hodge's address, we can well believe; that there was *one* such we are convinced. That one was the Rev. Dr. Nevin. *He* says: that they met "to confess before the world, and to one another the sad wrong of their divisions, and to do what in them might lie, through such testimony and confession, and mutual brotherly provocation in love, to stir up in themselves and in others, the full measure of zeal that is required to do away with the sectarian evil, through earnest consultation and study of the things that make for unity and peace." To this statement, regarded as an abstract opinion, there is no objection to be urged. But in the face of the testimony before adduced, we cannot believe that it was the prevailing sentiment in the Evangelical Alliance. The Rev. Dr. Nevin who was there, we acknowledge, ought to know better than we who were not there. But then there is the

language of the speakers, which we do not see how to interpret in a sense which the words do not legitimately bear. But as we said before, it is always possible to be mistaken. New Theology puts new meaning upon old terms, and we know what the result is when new wine is put into old bottles.

But there is one thing upon which we suppose all will agree, and that is, that whatever the ideas of Christian Union in the Evangelical Alliance were or were not, there is one thing that they *certainly* were not. And that is the old idea, that the Episcopate is the bond of union appointed by the Lord, and transmitted by succession from the Apostles. It would seem that the best way of arriving at true views of unity, would be to go back to that period of the Church's history, when she was united, and to ascertain if possible, what was at that time looked upon as the bond of union. To what did the primitive Church owe its unity? Or to what did it suppose that it owed it? The answer to this question is plain. It is not probable that Dr. Nevin will deny that this bond of union, was thought by the primitive Christians to be the Episcopate. That by this the Church in all the world was held together, not only the different parts to each other, *but the entire Church to the past.*

It is forgotten in these times, that mere existence in any one age of the world without divisions, is not Christian Union in the historic sense. That is, it does not constitute the "Unity of the Church." Any *Christian Union* that comes short of "*Unity of the Church,*" is not union at all, but schism. It is possible to be united *in* schism. It would by no means follow, that if all the Protestant denominations in the world, were united under one form of Church government, there would be Church unity. It might be a worse schism than ever, and infinitely more dangerous, because of the very consolidation. Christian unity implies not organic union alone, but *such* an organic union as shall make the Church one with the Church of the past. No matter how closely welded or how great the peace and harmony, the union which shall not make the Church one with the past, identical with the body which the Apostles planted in all the world, will be no union at all, but a

deplorable schism. This is all important, because it is not understood. The meaning of the very term unity itself, has been changed. Eminent doctors of Divinity, who can by no possibility be ignorant of the historic meaning of the term, continually use it in the new sense, without ever giving to their co-religionists an intimation of the true meaning, and keeping them in ignorance of what was held in the entire Christian world for fifteen hundred years, and is by three-fourths of it to-day held to be the true and only meaning of the term unity. The amount of testimony to the fact, that the Primitive Church held that the Episcopate was the bond of unity, that tied them to one another and to the Apostles, is so overwhelming, that in the vain attempt to elude it, modern teachers are compelled to accuse the Church of Christ, of having borne false witness in her very infancy, upon a matter of such vital importance, that the peace of Christendom and the conversion of the world to-day depend upon it.

Inasmuch as St. Cyprian has been quoted by the Rev. Dr. Nevin, in his review of "Apollos: or the Way of God," we take it for granted, that he is a witness whose testimony the doctor looks upon as reliable. In this we perfectly agree with him. For the Age of St. Cyprian, as Archbishop Sage in his work on the "Cyprianic Age" shows, was most favorably circumstanced for exhibiting to us in its primitive perfection, the order of the Church. He says: "It was an age in which secular governments had not yet shown any tokens of favor, any expressions of kindness, to those who professed the Christian principles; much less had they imparted anything of temporal greatness, or given any secular encouragements to the governors of Christian Churches. It was an age which, as much as any before it, had all the humiliation, and all the purification, all the admonition, and all the correction, and all the sharp discipline, and all the solid refinement, which persecutions, both violent and frequent, could give it—an age very far from being apt to cherish ambition, or the affectation of any undue or unwarrantable heights in professors of Christianity—an age in which the being an eminent governor of the Church was the

exposing of the person, whoever he was, to the first brunt of the fiery trial—an age, indeed, liable to none of the popular objections commonly mustered up against some following ages —an age on which it could not be charged, that either the favor of princes, or the abundance of riches, or the pomps of the world, or the privileges and immunities of ecclesiastics, or anything of that nature hath corrupted it." Bishop Sage goes on to show "that it was an age of much ecclesiastical business; none after the Apostles had more." "That it was an age of great men." "It was an age that was in a manner singular for this advantage, that it had transmitted to posterity many excellent records, many synodical epistles and forms, and constitutions." "That the extraordinary manifestations and communications of the Divine Spirit had not then ceased, but continued in very great plenty." And last of all he says "that those of the Cyprianic Age, were not so far removed from the times of the Apostles, but they might have been very well acquainted with the state of Government, in which the apostles left the Churches, before they left the world."

It is pleasing to observe that the Rev. Dr. Nevin yields the point that St. Cyprian *was* a Bishop, and not simply the moderator of a Presbytery, as the Presbyterians of Bishop Sage's time claimed. Two hundred years have wrought this change. Perhaps in less than two hundred years more, the Presbyterians may be willing to acknowledge not only that St. Cyprian was a Bishop, but that he was such by Divine right.

The schisms and controversies of St. Cyprian's time, were such as to bring out into full view, and strongly emphasize all the features of the Church's Polity and Order; especially were they such as to place in the clearest light, what the church at that time held on the subject of Christian Union, or Unity of the Church. In his fifty-fifth Epistle, St. Cyprian writing to Antonianus says: "As regards the character of Novatian, dearest brother, of whom you have desired word should be written you, what heresy he had introduced; you should know in the first place, that we ought not even to be curious as to what he teaches, since he teaches without the Church. Who-

soever he be, and whatsoever he be, he is not a Christian, who is not in the Church of Christ. Although he may boast himself, and in lofty words proclaim his own philosophy or eloquence, he who has retained neither brotherly love nor ecclesiastical unity, has lost even what he had before. Unless he seem to you to be a Bishop, who when a Bishop has been made in the Church by sixteen fellow-Bishops, endeavors by intrigue to be by deserters made an adulterous and strange Bishop: and whereas, *there is one Church from Christ throughout the whole world*, divided into many members, and *one Episcopate diffused throughout an harmonious multitude of many Bishops*, he notwithstanding the tradition of God, notwithstanding the unity of the Catholic Church, everywhere compacted and joined together, *attempts to make a human Church*, and sends his apostles through very many cities, that he may establish certain recent foundations of his own institution." Further on, in the same section he says: "But he could not hold the Episcopate, even had he been made Bishop first, since he has fallen away from the body of his fellow-Bishops, *and from the unity of the Church.*"

We gather from this, what was Cyprian's teaching on the subject of the unity of the Church. In fact his famous solidarity of the Episcopate, is nothing more nor less than a declaration of the true basis of Church union. In his thirty-third Epistle he says: "Our Lord, whose precepts and warnings we ought to observe, determining the honor of a Bishop and the ordering of His own Church, speaks in the Gospel and says to Peter, *I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, &c.* Thence the ordination of Bishops, and the ordering of the Church, *was down along the course of time, and line of succession, so that the Church is settled upon her Bishops;* and every act of the Church is regulated by these same Prelates." Here we learn that the Unity of the Church covers time as well as space. That unless it be united by the succession to the Apostles there is no Unity, and that the bond of this union both in time and space, is the Episcopate. In his forty-fifth Epistle, the same idea is again expressed. Addressing Cornelius he says: "For

this, brother, very especially we both do and ought to labor; that we strive to hold fast, as much as we can, *the unity appointed by the Lord, and through the Apostles delivered to us* their successors, and, as much as in us lies, that we gather unto the Church the straying and wandering sheep, which the froward faction of some, and the temptation of heresy, separate from their mother; leaving those only to remain without, who persist in their obstinacy or madness, and will not return to us; who will hereafter have to give account to the Lord, of the division and separation they have caused, and of their abandonment of the Church." In his sixty-ninth Epistle addressed to Magnus, he says: "This the Apostle Paul explains, teaching and charging that a heretic should be avoided, as perverse, and a sinner and condemned of himself. For he will be guilty of his own destruction, who not being cast out by the Bishop, is of his own accord a renegade from the Church, through heretical presumption condemned of himself. And therefore the Lord, intimating to us that *unity cometh of Divine authority*, declareth and saith, I and my Father are one. To which unity bringing His Church, He further saith, There shall be one fold and one shepherd. But if there is one flock, how can he be numbered as of the flock, who is not in the number of the flock? Or how be accounted a shepherd, who, the true shepherd remaining and by successive ordination presiding in the Church of God, himself, succeeding to no one, and beginning from himself, becomes an alien and profane, an enemy to the Lord's peace and to the Divine Unity?"

This conception of unity was not the private speculation of St. Cyprian; it was the accepted view of the entire Church, both of that and the preceding ages; as any one may see, who chooses to read Tertullian's "*De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, St. Irenæus' "*Contra Hæreses*," the genuine Epistles of St. Ignatius, and in fact any author of the Primitive Church, for when the idea is not expressly set forth, it is impliedly contained. Even the famous passage in St. Jerome, of which the opponents of Episcopacy have attempted to make so much, does, when properly understood in the light of the events then exciting interest, but make against them.

The Cyprianic expression "solidarity of the Episcopate," has been interpreted in a new sense by Dr. Nevin. But there is one principle of interpretation that he sets at defiance. And that is this: of two or more possible interpretations of a passage, or of a doctrine, we should choose that one, which prevailed at or nearest the time when the passage was penned, or the doctrine was enunciated. If we apply this principle to Dr. Nevin's interpretation of the Catholic doctrine of the solidarity, it disposes of it at once. If we understand him, the validity of Episcopal acts depends upon the preservation of intercommunion. Because the Anglican Church, since the Reformation has been out of communion with the Latin Church, therefore the succession of her Bishops is destroyed, and their acts invalid. But that this was not the meaning of St. Cyprian and the primitive Church, is shown by the fact that the Bishops of the African Church, including Cyprian himself, continued to discharge their Episcopal functions during the time that communion was broken off between that Church, and the Church of Rome. Where was the solidarity of the Episcopate at that time, if Dr. Nevin's view be correct? It is clear that if St. Cyprian had held the view which Dr. Nevin attributes to him, he would not have dared to perform Episcopal acts during the time that the African Church thus stood alone. But St. Cyprian did not hold this view; and it is equally certain, that St. Augustine did not; for during the time of the difficulty, that the African Church had with Zozimus, Bishop of Rome, in the Pelagian controversy Augustine and the other African Bishops, did not behave as if they thought they would be in the slightest degree, endangered by a separation from the European Church.

It has never been held in the Church, that a cessation of intercommunion can invalidate orders. There are but two ways of losing the grace of orders. One is to voluntarily abandon the Church; and the other is to be canonically deposed. The Church of England so far from voluntarily abandoning the Catholic Church, based her right to reform herself upon the very fact, that she *was the Catholic Church* of that country;

and rejected the supremacy of the Pope, and the corruptions that came in by means of his party, because they were all non-catholic abuses, and schismatical in their nature. Communion was broken off in the year 1569, the eleventh of Elizabeth, by the act of Pope Pius V, who presumed to excommunicate Queen Elizabeth and her adherents. This excommunication was invalid for two reasons. First: it was done without trial and for an alleged political offense. Second: Pope Pius V. who fulminated it, had no jurisdiction in the case. It is therefore clear that if any persons were cut off from the Catholic Church by this operation, it was not the Church of England, but the Pope and his party. For he who illegally excommunicates another, doth but himself be guilty of a schismatical act. The standing of the other party is in no wise affected.

There is however a Catholic Truth, contained in this objection of the Rev. Dr. Nevin, if it be only rightly understood and applied. *It is true, that in an adjudicated case, by a competent tribunal*, any national Church being separated from the communion of the remainder of the Church in the world, would be outside of the Catholic Church, and would lose the grace of orders. That is, according to Dr. Nevin's idea, they would no longer be partakers of the solidarity of the Episcopate. The succession would be imperilled, and could not, to put it on the lowest ground, transmit *mission*, that is, authority to exercise the duties of the ministry. The only tribunal competent to excommunicate a National Church, is a General Council, that is a representation of all the National Churches in the world, whose decrees shall subsequently be ratified by all the churches in the world, except the one whose case was tried. But there has not been a General Council of the Church, since the third of Constantinople, or the sixth Œcumenical, assembled by the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, A. D. 680. The subsequent so-called General Councils, were not such, not possessing even one characteristic entitling them to the name.

The Reformers of the sixteenth century both in Great Britain and on the Continent appealed to a General Council. All their work was provisional, and is such to this day. If the

Council of Trent had been in reality what it claimed to be, that is, if it had contained free representatives of all the national churches in the world, who can doubt, that instead of the Decrees and Canons that were passed, the Papacy itself would have been arraigned and stripped of all its pretensions? The work of reform would have been general throughout the whole world, and would have been carried on in the bosom of the Church. The melancholy results that followed would not have followed. The Elective Affinity organizations, Lutheran, Reformed, and Calvinistic, would not have perpetuated their existence; and above all, the Roman Catholic Church, which was brought into being at that Council, would have not been able to come to the birth.

It was only because of the impossibility of such a Council that the Reformers felt justified in going on with their work, in the imperfect manner in which it was accomplished, making provisional arrangements, which might continue until such time as a General Council might be assembled. The whole case is therefore now *sub judice;* the appeal has been taken; matters must therefore stand *in statu quo.* Whatever authority the Church of England had before the Reformation, it will continue to have until the point is decided between the litigants. Which decision can only be by a General Council.

Some curious results follow from this view of the case. All Protestant Christendom stands pledged to maintain the work as the Reformers left it, until the next General Council shall assemble. The various Church organizations which they made, *were not meant to be permanent.* They were designed merely as provisional regulations. As such they must be maintained. Whoever remains in any of these provisional organizations longer than necessary, or strives to make them permanent, departs from the faith of the Reformers. They were originated in the first place, on the plea of necessity, that is because the Church itself refused to be reformed. But when the Church becomes reformed the necessity ceases. Longer continuance becomes voluntary schism. Now that Reformation has begun in the National Churches of Europe, those who will keep faith

with the Reformers of the sixteenth century, must re-enter the Church. If they do not, they depart from the faith of the Reformation.

In this country we are in an anomalous condition. At the time of the Reformation there was nothing but a heathen population here. This population was not converted to Christianity. It was exterminated. Europeans have settled the Continent. They have brought with them every variety and form of religion, and they have originated some new forms here. The Anglican Communion among others is in the land. It is the only Reformed Branch of the Catholic Church that has any foothold here. It retains the ancient order of the Church, but has many things too distinctively Anglican to render the Church as at present constituted altogether acceptable to the vast and heterogeneous population of this country. The so-called "Episcopal Church" does not hold, that as at present constituted it is the Ark, into which all others as repentant truants must come. What this church holds is: "That she has in trust the Apostolic order of the Ancient Catholic Church, which she holds herself in readiness to impart to the Christians of this land as soon as they show a disposition to abandon the Sectarian and Elective Affinity principle, and are willing to go in with her and constitute a truly national American and Catholic Church, not requiring them to accept anything in her that is distinctively and purely Anglican, but only such things as are Catholic." To this end she is willing to concede fully as much as she asks them to concede, which is everything that is not Catholic. She does not desire to have imposed upon her the national features of other countries, neither does she desire to impose hers upon others. But, in the meantime, as long as the objection which others make against her, is not against the things that are Anglican, but against the things that are Catholic, that is her Ancient and Apostolic Order, she does not feel called upon to make the changes and concessions which otherwise she would be willing to make, for the purpose of winning those who refuse upon any terms to be won.

Changes, which can be wisely made only when the exigency comes about that shall render them necessary. If now, in order to please, we were to renounce what we hold to be catholic and vital principles, what would they or we gain? The ministers of other denominations would gain the right of officiating in our churches, in the celebration of a service that would embarrass them at every step, and which they could not render devotionally without greater familiarity than can be had in any way, except by constant use. And we would gain the privilege of officiating in their churches in a service, which can never be anything but distasteful to the great majority of those who are accustomed to our service. Such a concession would not heal any existing schism, would accomplish no end, and serve no purpose; whilst we would have forfeited the only reason that we can give to God or man for our existence as a separate religious organization. If there were the least disposition shown to unite all existing religious organizations into one, the case would be vastly different. Then we would ourselves, either gladly make, or joyfully entertain overtures looking to the establishment of one great National and Catholic Church in America, and would consider ourselves highly privileged before God and the world, to cast aside everything of a non-catholic nature that could stand in the way of people really desirous of bringing about so desirable a consummation.

If it be possible to utter a disagreeable truth without giving offence, we desire to do so now. In what we are about to say, we tread on tender ground. But if ever Christians are to understand one another and bring about the unification of Christendom, these unwelcome words must be spoken. And we by way of showing that we mean to deal fairly, promise that we shall not shrink from having the like words spoken to us, and if spoken in love, to give them affectionate and candid consideration.

However, in introducing the subject, we feel that we are not taking the initiative. Nor would we feel warranted in referring to it at all, if the Rev. Dr. Nevin had not already brought it forward. The subject to which we refer is the very disagreeable charge so frequently made against the Anglican Com-

munion, of Romanizing tendencies. These charges have been prominently urged for three hundred years. And we are perhaps not far out of the way when we say, that the nine-tenths of Protestants outside of the Anglican Communion seriously believe them to be true. As calm and dispassionate a statement of it as we have ever seen is contained in the Rev. Dr. Nevin's review of "Apollos." He says: "The mechanism of the Papacy in such view is not what the sick world needs to make it well; but neither is it any more than this, the high-church mechanism of Episcopacy by divine right—*a mechanism, which can come to its full sense and right end at last, unquestionably, only in the Roman idea of a* JURE DIVINO *infallible centre.*" This passage might be placed in contrast with another on page 15, Jan. Num. of this Review, wherein speaking of this same system it is said that many "outside of the Episcopal Communion," "who see and deplore the present evil condition of things," "*would be glad to take refuge in it, if it could show itself truly equal to the task of the times.*" The inconsistency of these two statements is, of course, apparent; and we refer to it not in any way of supposed triumph at having detected the author of them in an inconsistency, for the inconsistency is one not at all uncommon in writers of the very first ability and of unimpeached integrity, but is of such a nature as proves that a man's generous impulses are frequently found at war with the exigencies of his own logic. We are glad therefore to repeat that it gives us pleasure to find this old objection stated without an undue measure of the *odium theologicum.* And we take this opportunity of saying, what may be a surprise to some, that the ablest theologians of the Anglican Communion entertain the settled conviction, not only, that in making this charge, men of other denominations mistake what is Catholic for what is Papal, but also *are themselves in the very error which they endeavor to fix upon us.* That is, that the principle upon which all the Denominations are based, is the very theory of the Papacy itself; one which it first taught the world; and which was invented for the express purpose of strengthening the Papal dogma of the Supremacy of the Pope.

Before the Reformation, the school-men, by way of establishing the dogma of the Papal supremacy on a theological basis, taught that the Episcopate was not a separate and distinct order of the ministry, but was in fact only a grade of the priesthood; and that the Pope, who was the Bishop over the whole Church, or universal Bishop, delegated to this order of the priesthood certain Episcopal functions, because of the physical impossibility of his being everywhere present to perform those functions himself. The ordinal, however, was not changed so as to conform with this view; but the view itself was dogmatically taught. The discussions in the Council of Trent upon this point were long and bitter. As every one knows, the history of that Council is nothing else but the record of the intrigues of the Jesuits, and the Papal party, in order, one way and another, to circumvent and overthrow the will of the assembled Bishops; and in every case when a vote was not actually reached, the Jesuits have since assumed their meaning to be the will of the Council. In the discussion of the Papal supremacy the majority of the Bishops maintained that the Episcopate was a divine order, in which every Bishop received his authority directly from God. The Romans and Spaniards in the Council opposed this view, and as a forlorn hope, Lainez,* the General of the Order of the Jesuits, made a speech, in which he maintained a modified form of the doctrine that the Episcopacy was not a separate order of Divine right, but was only a degree of the priesthood, and that the Episcopal authority was only ecclesiastical, and derived from the Pope. The Council never came to a vote on the question; but every one acquainted with the subject knows that ever since the

* Lainez did not in his speech take the full ground afterward maintained by the Jesuits, for the Council would not bear it. What he did say was, that whilst the Episcopate itself was divinely established in subordination to the Pope, individual Bishops were completely at his mercy. For this reason we have said that he set forth the doctrine in a modified form. But afterward when the Jesuits got control of the Roman Church they taught their doctrine in full, as it had been maintained by Durandus, that "all Bishops are derived from the Pope, as members from the head, and all they receive of his fulness." See Bishop Jewell's "Defence of the Apology of the Church of England," vol. iv. page 829, Edition of the Parker Society.

Council of Trent the influence of the Roman party has been predominant. That at length the Jesuits have got the control of the Church into their hands, and all that they desired to accomplish by means of the Council of Trent, has at length been brought about through their ascendency. As proof of this, the Catechism of the Council of Trent nominally compiled from the decrees of the Council, teaches on the subject of the Episcopate, not the belief of the majority of the Bishops that composed that Council, but inculcates, in a debased form, the teaching of Lainez, the General of the Order of the Jesuits. In part II. chap. vii., question xxv., it dogmatizes as follows: "Although there is but one order of the priesthood, it must not be inferred for this reason that there is but one grade of priests. For this order although it be but single, has nevertheless various grades of dignity and power. The first of these grades is of those who are called simply priests, whose functions have heretofore been declared. The second of these grades is that of Bishops, who are established in their several jurisdictions, that they may rule not only the other ministers of the Church, but also the believing multitude, and look after their salvation with the highest watchfulness and care."

Opposed to this stands the doctrine of the Anglican Communion that there are not three grades, but *three orders* of the Holy ministry. In the preface to the ordinal it is stated as follows: "It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been *these three Orders* of Ministers in Christ's Church,—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." The very point of dispute between the Anglican Communion and the Church of the Vatican is whether or not the Episcopate is a separate order existing by divine right, or is nothing but an ecclesiastical grade of the presbyterate? This question, as we have seen, was sharply discussed in the Council of Trent, and we are indebted to that mighty champion of parity, Lainez, the General-in-Chief of the Order of Jesuits, for the fact that the Church of the Vatican stands committed to-day to the same views of the Episcopate that prevail among all Non-catholic and Protestant denominations.

So far therefore from the Anglican doctrine of "Episcopacy by Divine right finding its full sense and right end at last in the Roman idea of a *jure divino* infallible centre;" it is the only idea that can make headway against the dogma of papal supremacy. In the Council of Trent those who opposed the *jure divino* theory of the Papacy, maintained the *jure divino* theory of Episcopacy. Whilst those who held to the *jure divino* papacy opposed the *jure divino* Episcopacy. It is instructive to observe also, that the believers in Episcopacy as of Divine right, were also champions of the ancient Catholic idea of the independence of National Churches. Whilst the Roman and Spanish parties under the lead of the Jesuits, maintained the modern idea of a *Roman* Catholic Church, swallowing up all National Churches, and closely organized throughout the whole world, under the supreme control of the Roman Curia.

It is a noted fact also that the Romish Church to-day fears the Church of England as its worse enemy. Every means fair and foul have been resorted to, to bring her into disrepute. Their favorite device, in order to secure the hearty co-operation of dissenters, is to claim that she is like Rome; and in the face of history, to assert that the doctrine of Episcopacy as of Divine right, is a Romanizing tenet. They do this because they hate the doctrine, and desire to have it hated of all men—knowing well that dissenters always hate a thing if it only can have the name of Roman fixed upon it.

In view of these historic facts, I ask the question, what system favors Romanism? And what system opposes it? Let any one read the history of the Council of Trent and answer. Could any denomination ever have come into existence except upon the basis of this dogma of the Jesuits, that Episcopacy does not exist by Divine right? If this doctrine were rejected to-day would not all the Christians in the world immediately be brought into subjection to the Episcopate? Certainly they would. This dogma is the one cause of Christian division in Western Christendom. And its collateral the doctrine of the papal supremacy is all that maintains the schism of east and west or of Greek and Latin. The papacy is therefore the one

cause of the present divided state of Christendom. And all who are in schism, are where they are only by virtue of having adopted this papal dogma.

It is not on this question of Church order alone that sectarian Protestantism agrees with the papacy. Something might be said about the attempts made by both of them to explain the mystery of the Holy Eucharist. The one giving a material explanation and the other explaining it by denying all mystery, and all grace. Something might also be said under the head of public worship, wherein both these parties agree, although for different purposes, to take from the people the ancient responsive service which, in the Holy Communion at least, has come down from the very first ages of Christianity, but we forbear.

A very marked instance of fundamental agreement with Rome by one who differs from her widely is contained in Dr. Nevin's view of "*Apollos: or the Way of God.*" We quote the following passage: "What we mean is, that if either popery or episcopacy be essential to the being of the Christian Church, it must be under the view of their being in some way, along with their outward ordination, *a true concretion or outbirth from the inward life of the Church.* Any other view is becoming more intolerable for the self-consciousness of the age in which we live. The world has got beyond that notion of the obedience of faith, and can never more get back to it in its historical life, whether in Vatican or Laudean form." Here we have the Romish doctrine of development differently applied. Once grant the principle that anything affecting the Church's order so as to change it, may spring from the inward life of the Church, and what may not the apparent necessities of the times bring in? If outward ordination by the Apostles is insufficient, how much does it fall short of sufficiency? Is it necessary at all? The inward life of the Church may develop a cultus of the Virgin. Or it may develop the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, or of the Infallibility of the Pope. Who can gainsay it? These Papal corruptions have been the growth of centuries. They were the natural outgrowth of that system in

the circumstances in which it was placed, and under like conditions would occur again. It is vain to attempt to distinguish between the inner and the outer life. They are both one. *God always lodges life in an organism*, or rather the life is not a separate unity, but it is the organism that lives. The latest researches in Biology show this. And the works and ways of God are uniform. It is just here that the danger lies. Let there be something wrong in the organism, and in the end it will produce evils which no power of imagination can forecast. The life does not produce the organism. It is the organism that lives. Life always manifests itself through organism; when the organism is seriously impaired or changed, life departs, or the organism no longer lives. Man is a compound being made up of soul, body, and spirit; when these are combined, man is organized and lives; when they are separated he is disorganized and dies. His organism is then taken apart. Some of the component parts of this organism may live. The Scripture teaches us that some of them do live, but the *man* is dead. The *spirits* of the just are made perfect, but the just themselves, do not live again until the Resurrection of the dead.

Dr. Nevin's argument is the very one that Rome uses to justify all her assumptions. When we show that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was not held in the first ages, she replies, that it was held in *posse* but not in *esse*. That it was virtually held, but that the onward life of the Church developed it into consciousness. Dr. Nevin's theory is Rome's theory, and it is necessarily the common property of them both. It is not possible to give a logical account of modern sectarianism on any other theory than this; and it is just as impossible to account for the accretions of Roman dogmas without it.

This development theory is even more clearly announced by Dr. Nevin in another place. He says:

"It is a delusive vision—this dream of bringing all things right by an unhistorical pilgrimage of our whole modern Christendom to the tombs of the fathers, martyrs and confessors, who fell asleep in the Lord fifteen hundred years ago; this fond conceit of putting an end to all heresy and schism by setting

ourselves as Dr. Coxe phrases it 'to work back to the precise position in which the Churches would have continued, had the Papacy never disturbed the primitive constitutions.' God be praised, that the early Christian world was doomed to no such stagnation as that! And God forbid, that the Christian world now should try to work itself back to it by any such crab-like process."

Never before have we seen in any place by any Evangelical Christian so complete an acknowledgment that history and antiquity are both against the modern sectarian idea. No where have we seen so complete an abandonment of the Catholic idea of Christian union which binds us to the past as well as to one another. The appeal to history is a test which neither Rome nor Geneva can abide. But it is not common to see the whole case given up in this fashion, and everything rested upon development.

Christianity is either a Revelation or it is not. If it is a Revelation it was all revealed in the beginning. If it is not a Revelation, it is what man chooses to make it. If it is a Revelation and was revealed in the beginning, how shall we correct our mistakes, and reform abuses except by repenting and *doing our first works?* Formerly the plea of every religious denomination was that antiquity spoke its voice. The Baptists made antiquity Baptist. The Presbyterians made it Presbyterian. But now it seems that this plea is given up, and that they are to cut loose without rudder or chart, to be borne whither they know not, and to be engulfed in what strange seas they know not.

It seems to us that Dr. Nevin somewhat misunderstands the Bishop. He does not say that we are to work our way back to antiquity as it then was, but as it "*would have continued*" if the papacy had not arisen. The meaning of which is plain enough. Conditions change. The Church's Apostolic order was not meant for antiquity only, but for all time. Under varying conditions, its operations would vary. Just as it is with the human frame. Under the burning sun of Africa the skin blackens, the hair turns crisp, and the features and form

are moulded. Among the fair Scandinavians of the north, how different the modifications. But the organism is the same. The functions of all the organs are precisely the same, they all work in the same way. Yet how different the result. The human system has an endless power of adaptation without being itself structurally changed.

So is it with the Church; she has her three-fold ministry, her sacraments, and sacramental ordinances; the sacred Scriptures, her worship, and the grace of Christ ministered continually to her members. These are the component parts of her structure, and in these she lives; separate them and she dies. The organism lives while it is organized, when it becomes disorganized it dies. But under different conditions. In different countries and different climes, the color and hue of the godliness produced varies. The enterprises undertaken for the benefit of man and of the world vary. As circumstances call for it, she develops learning and culture, to combat polished error, or in times of pestilence and famine all her energies are swallowed up in ministering to the suffering. This brings into exercise and pushes out into relief different parts of her structure, making the outward appearance, as well as the inner feelings and emotions, and the scope and range of her activities to vary, but the organism is the same all the time, and the life is the same.

But let us return once more to the one great cause of all this schism for which mankind is seeking a cure. That is the papacy. If we read the prophecies aright this depressed state of the Church, this prophesying in sackcloth must continue, until the papacy be destroyed. Schism cannot cease while the cause remains. But when the cause shall be removed the results also will pass away. All that we can do now is to seek to understand our times, to prepare the way for better things, so that when that which letteth is taken out of the way—the grand work of unification may proceed.

To this end, we have endeavored to speak plainly, and in love to utter truths, which we know must excite either pain or derision or both, but which if pondered in the spirit in which they were spoken, we are persuaded will contribute somewhat to-

ward enabling the watchmen to see eye to eye, and through the lifting gloom to telegraph signals to each other concerning the attitude and welfare and onward movements of that great host, the Army of the Lord.

Art. III.—REPLY TO "AN ANGLICAN CATHOLIC."

BY PRESIDENT J. W. NEVIN.

The respected writer of the immediately preceding paper, on the *Basis of Union*, will not take it amiss, I am sure, that I should use the article here as an occasion for what may be considered a very general, and more or less desultory, rejoinder to certain parts of its argument. The appearance of the article indeed in the Mercersburg Review, I take to be in itself a sort of friendly apologetic challenge to some such responsive attention. It courts discussion, and has for its object "an interchange of views." Courtesy itself requires, therefore, that it should not go without notice.

I am pleased at the same time, that the article has been allowed to appear in the Mercersburg Review. Some, I know, have found fault, because a *Lutheran* argument against Dr. Hodge, was admitted into the Review a short time since;* en-

* The Rev. Dr. Krauth's masterly article on "Infant Salvation in the Calvinistic System;" which has since been republished, in fuller form, as a neat volume of eighty pages, by the Lutheran Book-store, 117 N. Sixth St., Philadelphia. It would be hard to find within the same compass a more demolishing historical argument for its own object. It fastens on the Calvinistic system as taught by the Synod of Dort and the Westminster Assembly, beyond all question, the horrible doctrine that many infants dying in infancy, are damned eternally for Adam's sin. No Presbyterian now, of course, would dare to preach this, although it flows necessarily from the old Calvinistic doctrine of election. Yet Princeton affects to be true as ever to that metaphysical principle of salvation; and only the other day in the Repertory, took occasion to endorse Dr. Schneck's miserable travesty of "Mercersburg Theology"—garbled quotations and all—in the way of cautionary monition to our German Church of the Heidelberg Catechism. Why was no notice taken at the same time of the truly scientific, and absolutely crushing publication of the Rev. Dr. Krauth? Why is it allowed, indeed, to go without notice, anywhere, from either Presbyterian or Low Dutch brethren, who have before this always resented the reproach of "infant damnation" as a slander? The point is not a small one. It

tertaining the opinion, it would seem that it betokened, somehow, a want of proper zeal for the confessional honor of the general Reformed Church. But no such prejudice can deserve respect. It is foreign, especially, from the professed character and reigning spirit of the Mercersburg Review; which claims the distinction of being "an organ for Christological, Historical and Positive Theology," representing it is true a particular branch of the Reformed Church, but this at the same time in the broadest and most catholic view. No denominationalism, ecclesiastical or theological, that holds itself exclusively to its own separate limits, shunning communication with all Christian life beyond itself, can be otherwise than narrow-minded, unfree, and sectarian in the worst sense of the term. In this time especially, when by a sort of common consent, there is so much professed lamentation over the divisions of the Church, and so general a cry for union, what must be thought of any theology or church life that can join in with the cry, and yet stubbornly close itself against even the most remote advance toward the realization of such union? It is not enough here, that religious bodies hold with one another the fellowship of mere external forbearance and respect. The idea of union, even in the ethical order, and still more in the sphere of religion, calls for reciprocal inward communication of life with life in some way, and cannot be satisfied without it. Hence the need of free amicable inter-denominational conference and discourse on the subject, far beyond all that has yet been reached or attempted in any quarter. I agree with my "Anglican Catholic" critic in full, therefore, when he says, that the question of Christian Union demands a frank comparison of differing

strikes deep and reaches far. Neither the Presbyterian Church nor the Low Dutch Church now, we know very well, hold any such abominable doctrine. Why not then say so openly, and as openly confess a real falling away to this extent at least (and this involves a great deal more) from the Decrees of Dort, and the Westminster Confession? There is no shame in such rupture with dead confessional traditions. It is coming, and must come more and more, by historical necessity, on all sides, opening the way toward a better and more glorious future. Neither is the movement confined by any means to the Churches of the Reformed Confession. Lutheranism is not dead; and therefore Lutheranism also moves. It can never be again, and never ought to be again, just what it was in the sixteenth century.

views in regard to it, and a spirit of mutual concession on all sides; when he says, that it should be possible to discuss it without stirring up bad feeling; and also when he adds, that "certainly, if this cannot be done, no greater proof could be given, that we all need to remember from whence we are fallen, and to repent and do our first works."

I. *The Evangelical Alliance.*

My critic, styling himself "an Anglican Catholic," has a good deal to say in regard to the Evangelical Alliance, for the purpose of justifying the attitude of the "Churchman" in regard to it, as noticed in the introductory portion of my review of Bishop Coxe's book "Apollos." Without any controversial discussion of the particular merits or demerits of that body, I may be allowed to state, in a brief general way, my own estimate of its significance in relation to the cause of Christian union.

The Alliance, in its very nature, is no permanent organization. It is a purely voluntary association of representatives from different portions of the Christian world, for the purpose of promoting common understanding, and common right disposition, with regard to the acknowledged obligation of all Christians, to be one in the Lord. The successive general conventions of the body, as it is called in this very loose sense, hold no inward necessary connection with one another. They are not joined together by any law of corporate, historical continuity. The late Conference in New York, was not bound in any way by the action of previous Conferences in the old world; and it had no power to bind in any way the action of any Conference that may be called anywhere hereafter. With progressive change in the life and spirit of the Christian world, (for which room is made more and more, continually, in the course of things throughout the world at this time), progressive change may be looked for, also in the character of this representative body. It must always reflect the reigning sense of the period, in which it is brought together, and in doing so may help that sense onward at the same time, toward something

still better than itself. The main worth of the institution perhaps, is just its power to gather in this way into some common consciousness and common utterance (however obscure), the mind of the Christian world at a given time, in regard to the great general interest to which it owes its birth. In this view alone, if in no other, it is a grand imposing phenomenon in the history of modern Protestantism, which all who love the peace and unity of the Church should regard with respect.

To say then, that with the Evangelical Alliance "the bond of union" means certain dogmas formulated in Freemasons' Hall, London, in the year of our Lord 1846, is not just correct. That scheme of supposed necessary truths was indeed formulated for the Alliance which then, for the first time, came together; and no doubt it was imagined by many, that it was to be a sort of fixed platform or confession of faith, on which the body should continue to stand in all subsequent meetings. In such view, it is easy to see, it was the poorest sort of crude theological namby-pambyism that could well be imagined. It was at best a lame contrivance, to bar off negatively such elements as were taken to be not fully up to the proper evangelical mark, by the help of a few aphoristic generalities, that had in them very little distinct, positive Christian meaning whatever. But the scheme belonged in fact only to the beginning of the Alliance movement, and cannot be considered the bond in any proper sense by which it has been held together since. Each new Convention has been its own bond for the time; and so the Convention last year in New York, was a new coming together simply of the Protestant Christian world represented by it, under circumstances widely different from those of the London meeting in 1846, in no way bound by that, and having in itself full freedom to act in the cause of church union, as to itself might seem best in the midst of the conditions of the year 1873. Hence there was no attempt with the body to establish either a doctrinal or ecclesiastical basis of any sort for its fellowship. No such attempt could possibly have resulted otherwise than in general confusion. The body had not met for any purpose of that sort, and wisely kept clear of it in all its transactions.

This may seem like reducing the Alliance meeting to a small matter. Be it so, if we choose to look at it in that light. Still it was all the meeting itself proposed to be; and we have no right to judge it by a different rule; to say, either that it imagined itself to be more than this, or that it ought to have been more than this—an agency, namely, for the direct actualization of organic unity, rather than an agency for the promotion simply of federal union—and then to condemn it for plainly coming short of any such purpose. The meeting was not blind to the difference between these ideas; for it was referred to, over and over again. Let it be judged then by the sense it had of its own constitution and mission. Thus only can we deal justly with the question of its merits.

That question becomes then two-fold; first, whether union without formal unity is worth anything for the true oneness of the Church; secondly, whether the Alliance can be regarded as being in fact a successful agency at all for its own purpose, namely, the promotion of Christian union.

II. Unity and Union.

As to the second of the two points just stated, there would seem to be no room for honest doubt. The Alliance has done much already, and may be expected to do still more in time to come, for the cause of Christian union. It originated in the feeling, that the divisions of Christendom are a deplorable evil, and that they should be brought to an end; and its agency, from the beginning, has served thus far very effectually to extend and deepen this feeling. Without breaking up denominational distinctions in any way, it has worked as a silent force far and wide to undermine and weaken the hard exclusiveness of these distinctions. Other manifold influences belonging to the age, have been working providentially in the same direction; influences, negative partly (in the giving way and breaking up of old things), and partly positive (in the coming in of new things); and the Alliance has formed a sort of focus for all, without knowing it, bringing all to grand central expression, and clothing it with a voice of power for the awakened

conscience of the Christian world. This falls vastly short still, it is true, of what the full problem of Christian union requires. But let us not despise the day of small things. As far as it goes, it is in itself, nevertheless, a very great thing, worthy of being hailed by all in St. Paul's language: "What then? Notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached"—the oneness of Christ's torn body, the Church, is preached—"and I therein do rejoice, yea, and *will* rejoice."

It will not do to say that the Convention of last October, in New York, came and went without any sort of help toward the bringing in of that better day of the Church, toward which the signs of the age are pointing, and for which the heart of the world is longing more and more with earnest expectation. It was in this respect much more than any preceding Convention, in London, Paris, Berlin, Geneva, or Amsterdam. It moved the Christian world more in its inauguration; it was more of a power during its sessions; it continues to be of more historical significance since. I mean by this, no undue glorification. The Convention had its imperfections, sufficiently palpable and gross. It was in no sense properly ecumenical and catholic. The good and the solid that was in it, as a matter of course, was joined with a large mixture of what was not good, and not solid by any means. It was for the most part, with all its acknowledged wealth of learning and mind and heart, but a poor, ephemeral and superficial expression of the glorious idea of "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," which it had come together from the ends of the earth to proclaim. Even the Apostolic Creed, which we all joined in reciting on the first day, with a sort of resolute will and firm voice, led by the Very Reverend Dean of Canterbury, was not for this occasion, as one could hardly help feeling, a trumpet of *altogether* sure and certain sound.* In spite of all this,

* The Rev. Dr. S. I. Prime, one of the chief managers of the meeting, has since told us in the *N. Y. Observer*, that *he* at least, does not believe that Christ "descended into hell or hades," in any sense which denies that He "went directly into Paradise—heaven—the third heaven," and that therefore he never repeats that clause of the Creed. A fair example, no doubt, of what was in the mind of others also on this occasion; who had no power to see, that a *subaudition* of such sort at this point must affect necessarily the right Christological sense of the entire symbol.

however, the meeting was a religious power of the highest order, and making all due allowance for the infectious enthusiasm of the hour, we may apply to it still, without much extravagance, the following tribute of praise rendered to it at the time by the *New York Tribune:*

"This meeting together—Alliance, as it is properly called—of the representatives of so many differing sects and denominations of Christianity—representatives as well of the culture and scholarship, of the best thought, the noblest endeavor, and the purest living of the universal Christian Church—has of itself set on foot inquiry and provoked thought. Even the men with muck-rakes, whose whole life is in the market they buy and sell in—an intense devotion of a pittance of time to getting a pittance of money—have lifted up their faces wonderingly, and in a dull way asked its meaning; while the brainless crowd who grovel in sense and live in vacuity, have almost risen to a comprehension of the fact of a higher life than vegetation, and some purpose in it nobler and more exalted than the eye of sense reveals. Taken out of the realm of the spiritual and moral, and viewed simply as an incitement to intellectual processes, a spur to thought, this conference has been the most important ever held upon the Continent. The subjects it aspired to treat are of infinite moment and universal application, and to their consideration the ripest scholarship and profoundest learning have been brought. It would be strange—a phenomenon indeed—if in the large debate of these ten days covering, as it has, all the greatest problems at which mankind has wrestled and tugged always since the fall, there had not been imperfection, shallowness of reasoning, unsound logic, impatience of opposition, uncharitableness, weariness, and vanity. These things, whatever the occasion, we may expect always. But there have been, on the other hand, large contributions to the sum of human knowledge and the results of human thought; and what is more and better, a large advance in tolerance, catholicity, charity. The Christian world draws close together. Differences in uniform and armor, in watchwords and countersigns, are growing smaller and counting

for less. The larger interpretation of the need of 'eternal vigilance' dawns. It is the price not of liberty alone, but of everything. Christianity, that for nearly nineteen centuries has canopied itself in the security of a date line that recognizes 'Our Lord' in reckoning from His birth, finds the need of it, and the Christian world awakes to a sense of its besetments."

Say even that the service of the Alliance to the cause of Christian union has been mainly negative only; a protest simply against things as they are; a cry of, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord;" an attempt, however fruitless, to clear the way for His coming, to break down mountains and fill up vallies, to make crooked things straight and rough places plain, and thus to open up through the desert of a divided and scattered Christendom "a highway for our God." Who will call in question still the vast significance of its power, even in this view? The world at large has felt the challenge. It has gone home more or less to the conscience of all our Protestant Churches. It has caused "great searchings of heart for the divisions of Reuben," even among those who have not been able to show toward it any open sympathy or favor. Bishop Horatio Potter, of New York, might be impassive to the great movement. But not so all bishops. Episcopalianism in general felt it. It was felt by the "Churchman."

So much as to the worth of the Alliance for the cause of simple union. But then comes the other question; namely, the worth of all this for the cause of true church unity.

The Alliance meeting it is charged, in the first place, did not look at all to such unity; it was not the object of its coming together. Granted. Its object was professedly and openly, to promote the "association of Christians of all countries, in a cordial, visible and effective union;" nothing more. To have attempted more would have been madness. This of itself, however, was not an ignoring or rejection of the idea of organic unity. Some no doubt took it in that way. But even the language of Dr. Hodge—which displeased many—does not absolutely shut out the hope of such unity in time to come; and still less can the addresses of Bishop Bedell, the Dean of Can-

terbury and others, though seeming to look the same way, be fairly taken in any such extreme sense. The existing state of the Church—not any future state—was what these declarations looked to; and in reference to this, it was in fact as clear as day, that there was no room to talk or think of coming at once to anything like organized unity. The problem of the hour, the only problem which brought the Alliance together, was not any such unity (absolutely impracticable in the circumstances), but the bringing to pass of present practicable conjunction and co-operation among the different divisions of the Protestant Christian world, in the service of the common ends of Christianity; without waiting for farther unity; leaving the whole question of such farther unity open for future consideration and action, as the progress of the union movement itself, under the guidance of God's Spirit, might be found hereafter to necessitate and require. That was, and still is, the only acknowledged *theory* of the Alliance; and no one has a right to burden it with any other theory. If Dr. Hodge, and some others, have really looked upon a mere confederation of existing religious denominations and sects as being *all* that is needed for the actualization of full Christian unity, and have pleased themselves with the dream, that this all was in fact already reached, for the vision of angels, in the New York Conference, (which is hardly credible), I can only say that the great body of that Conference certainly entertained no such dream. The union then and there was taken to be a demonstration of substantive oneness, belonging to the diversity of confessions represented in it, and in this view a great matter for the time; but it was not viewed by any means as a finality. It was only the auspicious inception and prognostication of better things to come—a rainbow of hope made to span the departing storm-cloud of ecclesiastical jealousy and strife. That was much. But behind it lay the promise of a great deal more.

Just here, however, we reach the full gist of this Episcopalian controversy with Christian union, as not being in and of itself at once Christian unity. Even if the Alliance did not mean in New York, to make their union stand for the true unity of

the Church; did not mean, as the Churchman has charged, "that corporate union was neither possible nor desirable" in the future, "but that union in spirit, and in aim was all that in any case, ought to be attempted, and that this already existed to a satisfactory degree;" still its mere purpose, and attempt to get at union without unity, we are told, must be regarded as coming virtually to the same thing. It is schism, therefore, even in its show of union, because it has failed to go first of all, into the question of church organization, and to settle it in the so-called Anglican Catholic form. The meeting in New York, was in this respect a "mischievous, *deadly* error," and nothing less in truth, than a "woful travesty of Christianity," which has issued judicially only in confusion since, demonstrating the baselessness of this idea of Christian union, and making room thus for the true, better basis offered in the constitution of the Episcopal Church.

"Whatever the ideas of Christian union, in the Evangelical Alliance were, or were not," says my *Anglican Catholic* critic, "there is one thing, that they certainly were not. And that is the old idea, that the Episcopate is the bond of union, appointed by the Lord, and transmitted by succession from the Apostles." But just this, he holds to be the indispensable root of the Church, and of all faith in the Church; so that being at fault here, the Alliance, in his view, stands judged as it were out of its own mouth. For "any *Christian Union*," that comes short of "Unity of the Church"—meaning by this Episcopally organized and accredited unity—"is no union at all, but schism."

III. Episcopacy as a bond of Unity.

I have no mind to plunge at all into the dismal swamp of the controversy about bishops. There has been vast waste of words with it in past time, and no end of blind argument on all sides. "It is pleasing to observe," says my critic, "that the Rev. Dr. Nevin yields the point that St. Cyprian *was* a bishop, and not simply the moderator of a presbytery as the Presbyterians of Bishop Sage's time claimed. Two hundred

years have wrought this change. Perhaps in less than two hundred years more, the Presbyterian may be willing to acknowledge not only that St. Cyprian was a bishop, but that he was such by Divine right." Certainly I should be sorry to be bound slavishly by old confessional issues here or anywhere else. This freedom I owe, however, to German more than to Anglican science. I have no difficulty in owning the presence of the Episcopal system throughout the Church in the second century. The Epistles of Ignatius, take them as we may, prove it. But, as I have said in my "Apollos" article, the system is not in the New Testament, as Episcopalianism is fond still of arguing. It came in only after the destruction of Jerusalem; not without elementary preparation in the time going before; and of course then not without the counsel and sanction also of such apostolical aid as was still at hand at that time in the world. This, with the common need of that critical transition period, is sufficient to account for its general introduction. The whole state of the Church plainly underwent material change during the time in question. Let us trust, that Episcopalian prejudice here will yet at last show itself pliant also, no less than Presbyterian prejudice; and that long before two hundred years shall have rolled around, Christianity will have reached that blessed millennial reintegration, in which there shall be neither Greek nor Jew, neither Episcopalian nor Presbyterian, but Christ shall be literally all and in all.

That the introduction of the Episcopal system had for its object largely the binding together and holding together of the churches, in that ecumenical unity which lay in the conception of Christianity, but for which no settled provision had previously been made, is abundantly clear; as it is clear also, that it was a wise and more or less effectual provision for such purpose. But this falls very far short of the notion, that it was a *jure divino* constitution in the sense of "An Anglican Catholic's" argument, and that it was so joined by the Lord to His Church, by outward ordination, from the beginning, as to be essential to its very being to the end of time.

Such notion turns the "bond of unity" at once into a *prin-*

ciple of unity; and then of course easily leaps to the monstrous conclusion, that the external form in the case goes before the internal life, defining and determining of itself the unity of this life, and making all outside of its measure to be no better than unbelieving schism.

But this is just that mechanical notion of organization, which seems to me to fall short of the true idea of Christian life and Christian unity altogether. To claim for it a divine character does not mend the matter in the least, so far as the question is concerned: May Christianity be viewed rightly as growing forth anywhere principially from mere outward ordination, either human or divine? Every such view shifts the mystery of faith from its true basis, and tends to break up the inward vital order of the Christian Creed.

Take, for example, the perverse stress which the Baptists lay on their notion of Christian Baptism. The signification of the sacrament resolves itself into this, that our Lord has been pleased to ordain it as a first act for us to perform in the way of obedience to His authority. It is in this way a test of our sincerity in coming to Him and looking to Him for salvation. All depends then on our strict conformity to the outward rule itself; hence on our personal consciousness of doing what it requires, which makes the baptism of infants superstitious and profane; and hence also on the form of immersion, because this is taken to be the precise recipe or formula of the original prescription, and to depart from it in the least is necessarily to violate the ordinance as a crucial test of Christian obedience. What can be more mechanical and outward? Yet on this point, as we know, the Baptistic thinking plants itself as a very principle or *principium* of the whole evangelical life, the fountain source of the universal Church; making it in this way nothing less in truth than a *jure divino* "bond of unity" for the Church; a sort of *cordon sanitaire*, beyond and outside of whose magic inclosure lies the territory of schismatical pravity, with which no Baptist Churchman should own any communion whatever.

And all this magnification of the outward form of the sacrament at the fatal expense, at the same time, of its inward es-

sence! The most ghastly killing of the spirit by the letter that can well be conceived! The old Pharisaic legalism over again, tything mint, anise and cummin, and turning the weightier matters of the law—the soul of the sacraments, the life of the Church, the whole supernatural sense of the Creed—into hypocrisy and sham.

Is there not room, I ask, for the *de te fabula narratur* here, in application to that Episcopal theory of Church unity which we are now considering? The theory which sees in the episcopate, as a mere outward ordinance of the Lord, the "bond of unity," in such sense that the organic oneness of the Church is to be regarded as in fact constituted by the bond which is thus supposed to coop it together externally (like the hooping of a cooper's vessel), and to have within itself no other deeper and more inward power of self-production and self-conservation—such as belongs to all other really organic life—coming before this bond, and making room in reality for all its subsequent worth. Organization so-called, which is brought to pass by mere outward regulation, arrangement or ordering of any sort, is not organic union at all in the proper sense of the term. It can never, as such, give us the unity we profess to believe in when we recite the Creed. It can never therefore, of itself and by itself, be that true apostolical unity, which of itself fastens on all beyond itself the condemnation of unbelief or schism.

For if that were so, who may not see that such outward bond of union must be at once the very principle or source of union, and so the very beginning of the Christian life itself; nay the very pillar and ground of the truth (as it is taken to be in the Roman scheme), and in this way the first object of all true Christian faith? For that which makes the Church one must be that which originates the very being of the Church; the unity being inseparable from this; so that the institution of the episcopate rises thus to the dignity of a primary and cardinal point of faith for the universal Christian life. And yet it has no place in any of the first Christian Creeds. More than that; it is to mistake the true nature of Christian faith altogether to suppose that it can terminate, first or last, on this or on any other

merely external ordination, externally taken, as its proper object. Faith, in its Christian view, regards universally not the outward, but the inward—not the natural, but the spiritual and supernatural—not the merely historical in the case even of our Lord Himself, but directly and first of all only the ideal, that is the invisible in the historical, without which this can have no divine meaning whatever. Not to see and own this, is to subvert (whether men mean it or not) the whole conception of faith. What must we think then of the proposition, that to accept the institution of the episcopate, *presumed* to be of outward historical appointment on the part of our Lord or His Apostles, is not only an obligation of faith, but in truth such an obligation as excludes the possibility of any right Christian faith in any other form?

The Roman Catholic scheme of Christianity, as carried out especially in its latest Vatican or Jesuitic form, is at once the most startling exemplification of this externalism—this violent tying of the inward to the outward, the spirit that quickeneth to the letter that killeth—in the broadest and most melancholy view. It ends there in the mechanism of an infallible Pope, the vicegerent of Christ by divine external historical ordination; the only logical issue of which at last is, no direct living communication with the invisible and divine whatever; no faith that reaches home at all to the objective supernatural reality of the Christian salvation behind the veil; but instead of this, blind trust only in the external machinery of a purely external Church, and a wilful perversion of the whole idea of faith into the notion of a stolid unquestioning corpse-like passivity in the hands of the sacerdotal rulers of the Church. Such is the *monstrum horrendum* now held up to the gaze of the civilized world, by the late Vatican Council.

The Episcopalian theory now under consideration, of course, means no such monstrosity as this. But I cannot help feeling that there is a certain degree of the same error at work (as is the case with the Baptistic test of evangelical obedience also), when the episcopate as a mere outward institute, supposed to be of divine right, is put forward as the "bond of Church unity,"

in such sense as to make it the principle of Church unity, and so of Church existence (like the papacy with Roman Catholics), thus placing all Christianity outside of this hierarchical order in the category at once of open and clear schism.

I must go still farther,and repeat again kindly what I have said before; namely, that in my opinion "the high-church mechanism of episcopacy by divine right can come to its full sense and right end at last only in the Roman idea of a *jure divino* infallible centre," such as Rome finds in St. Peter and the apostolical succession of the Roman see. I see no inconsistency myself between this and the other passage in which I am quoted as saying, that "many outside of the Episcopal communion," in view of the present evil condition of things, would be glad to take refuge in it, "if it could show itself truly equal to the task of the times." For there, let me say, is just the sorrowful rub. With all its attractions and merits, the Episcopal communion is *not* showing itself truly equal to the mighty Church problem of the times. To the superficial it may seem to do this; but just because they are superficial, and have not yet reached at all in fact the true depth of the problem, in their own minds. The great difficulty lies precisely here, that the Episcopalian premises, as vaunted by the high-church school, lead over logically to the Roman conclusion, and a thinking man therefore cannot easily look to them as an end of controversy on the question of the Church.

"An Anglican Catholic" repels the imputation of a Romanizing tendency in the Episcopal system (which I have not meant however to be offensive at all), and goes into an argument of some length to show, that "in making this charge men of other denominations not only mistake what is Catholic for what is papal, but also are themselves in the very error which they endeavor to fix upon Episcopalians." I am not concerned at all to disturb the general construction of this argument. There is much in it that deserves serious consideration. Let it stand for what it is worth. I myself have long known and felt, and in one way and another have said also that there are ominous correspondences at different points between the spirit of the papacy and the

spirit of sect or schism; each of the two orders of religion holding like opposition in fact, from apparently opposite sides, to the true idea of the one Holy Catholic Church of the Creed, and doing what in them lies to obscure the apprehension of it for the faith of men. Every one of our sects, just so far as it is possessed by the sect spirit—which is most easy of common identification wherever it reigns—is at least a quiet, if not open assumption of all the high-toned prerogatives of an infallible Church. Each in its way affects to be the sum total of true Christianity, and has in itself constitutionally all the self-will and autocratic temper, all the intolerance and persecuting despotism of popery. That the two systems, therefore, Romanism and Sectarianism, should be found thinking and working together at different points, is only what might be expected, and I have no cause or wish in the world to dispute the fact or to keep it out of sight.

But it seems to me, this is by no means sufficient to establish the reasoning of "An Anglican Catholic," when he argues that the concurrence of Romanists and Non-episcopal Protestants in denying the divine right of Episcopacy, proves that this theory is the only true barrier against the Roman theory, and that all Non-episcopal bodies then, as a matter of course, are to be regarded as practically on the way to Rome. Episcopacy by divine right, he tells us is "the only idea that can make headway against the dogma of papal supremacy." And so he winds up triumphantly: "What system favors Romanism? And what system opposes it? Let any one read the history of the Council of Trent and answer. Could any denomination ever have come into existence, except upon the basis of this dogma of the Jesuits that Episcopacy does not exist by divine right? If this doctrine were rejected to-day, would not all the Christians in the world immediately be brought into subjection by the Episcopate? Certainly they would. This dogma is the one cause of Christian division in Western Christendom. And its collateral, the doctrine of the Papal supremacy, is all that maintains the schism of East and West, or Greek and Latin. The Papacy is therefore the one cause of the present divided

state of Christendom. And all who are in schism are where they are, only by virtue of having adopted this papal dogma."

There is a fallacy in this reasoning not hard to discover. It is as if Old Lutheranism should argue: The Roman doctrine of the real presence in the mass contradicts the Lutheran doctrine of so-called impanation; the Calvinistic or Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper does the same thing; *therefore* Calvinism is at bottom one with Romanism, and the only power that can make headway here against Rome is Lutheranism as embodied in the Form of Concord. Only grant the divine right of the Lutheran dogma, which the Jesuits deny, and who may not see that it must end all controversy also on the opposite Calvinistic side? "Would not all the Christians in the world," in that case, "immediately be brought into subjection" to the Lutheran *jure divino* creed? Certainly they would.

It is unnecessary to say that this could not of itself prove that the Lutheran theory was divine, or that it had not in it after all a constitutional affinity with the Roman theory. And just so, in the case now before us, it does not follow because the general acknowledgment of the divine right of Episcopacy would certainly do away with Non-episcopal Christianity among Protestants, either that Episcopacy is therefore of divine right, or that it may not have in it an inward determination nevertheless toward the central power of the Papacy, as its own proper logical complement and end.

That is all I have meant in saying, that the "high-church mechanism of episcopacy by divine right can come to its full sense and right end at last only in the Roman idea of a *jure divino* infallible centre." The remark regards not the system of episcopacy as such, but that view of it by which it is made to be, by *ab extra* appointment on the part of Christ, the essential bond of unity for the Church in the sense of being at the same time, the very principle of its existence, fixing thus the stigma of schism on all Christian life outside of such mechanism. That theory or scheme, I repeat (not the mind of those who hold the theory necessarily, but the animating soul of the theory itself,) cannot consistently stop short of a like mechanical cen-

tralization at last in some such primacy as that of the see of Rome. Both logic and history, it seems to me, justify this judgment.

Logically; no outward bond of unity can be sufficient for its purpose, that is not itself one. A multitude of bishops can no more bind the Church into one, than a multitude of presbyters. The Episcopal bond of unity must therefore, itself be bound; and that involves somewhere the idea of a central primacy, a chair of St. Peter, a Pope.

Historically; the view which identified the episcopate with the unity of the Church in the beginning, ran in fact from the first toward this idea of a central primacy as its proper goal, and had no power to stay itself in its course till that goal was fairly reached. As I have said before, all ecclesiastical honesty requires us to admit the fact of an early tendency in this way to centralize the unity of the general episcopate itself in the see of Rome. "We feel it in Ignatius; it comes to full blossom in Cyprian; it is Romanism out and out in Augustine." Particular argument on this point here would be tedious; neither do I consider it necessary. As a mere matter of history it appears to me to admit of no doubt.

"An Anglican Catholic" thinks, indeed, that I put a new sense on Cyprian's *Episcopatus unus est cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur;* and finds it not in harmony with certain ecclesiastical facts which he quotes. I was not aware that my interpretation was new; and cannot well see how it is possible to be satisfied with any other construction. There is a clear historical movement in the doctrine of the Church from the beginning; both as regards the conception of it, and as regards its empirical constitution; these two sides of the movement conditioning each other in fact throughout, but the first in the nature of the case leading the way for the second. The conception rose out of the idea of Christ and Christianity, as we have it in the article of the Creed—*One Holy Catholic Church.* Along with this went the application of the conception to the actual outward Christian body, in which it was felt that the idea of the Church, with all its essential attributes must inhere. The

congruence between the two was assumed at first without reflection. But it became apparent gradually that the ideal and the actual in the case were not thus strictly congruent in fact; and hence arose what was felt to be the imperative need of harmonizing them, so as to find in the actual empirical Church the elements that lay with *a priori* necessity in the ideal Church. One of these elements was unity. For this satisfactory provision seemed to be found for a time in the episcopate, as it first meets us in Ignatius. It could not be long, however, till it was seen and felt that something more than the episcopal institute, abstractly considered, was required to maintain the outward oneness of the Church; since bishops were capable of forsaking the true fold of Christ no less than others. Here comes in accordingly, the Cyprianic theory, having for its object the determination of a true unity for the episcopate itself, without which it could be of no significance whatever for binding the Church together as one.

This unity, for its purpose, must be not simply ideal, but empirically real, like the required oneness of the Church itself. Hence the thought that underlies the whole tract *De unitate ecclesiæ*, and meets us everywhere in Cyprian, that the true episcopate is an orb meeting together from all sides in a common centre, answerably to the relation of the general apostolate to the person of St. Peter. It is everywhere one office *in solidum*—and outside of such solidarity, of course, not of any actual worth or force whatever as a bond of unity. "Deus unus est," we hear him saying, Ep. 40, "et Christus unus, et una ecclesia, et *una cathedra, super Petrum Domini voce fundata.*" Take this any way we please, as respecting either idea or outward fact, it comes to the same thing for our present purpose. It shows that in the mind of Cyprian the solidarity of the episcopate meant its organization around a common centre, and points unquestionably to the fact that this centre even in his time was supposed to be resident in some way in the Bishop of Rome. History fell in thus with logic. The doctrine which makes the mechanism of the episcopate the absolute principle and norm of Church unity, could not rationally come to any other conclusion.

If there are things in the life and conduct of Cyprian, or any other church father, that seem to conflict with Cyprian's theory here, it cannot be helped. I should be sorry to be under the necessity of making Cyprian or any other church father agree with himself either on this or on other points. No one of them was infallible by any means.

And so of course I am not pleading the Cyprianic theory of the Church, by any means, as authority against the modern Anglo-Catholic theory, in any such sense as to imply that the Christianity of the third century, fairly represented by Cyprian, or the Christianity of the Nicene period following it, should be held of binding force for the Christian world now; so that Protestantism, for example, must be charged with error, in proportion exactly as it fails to comport with this primitive standard and rule. That is not the meaning at all of my argument. Modern Anglicanism is not the Church system of the third century or of the Nicene period. "The conditions of modern catholicity," says Bishop Coxe, "do not permit me to speak as I must have done in the days of Cyprian. This is felt so deeply that the tone of a Cyprian in these days, excites disgust. It is illogical and impertinent." The appeal then which "An Anglican Catholic" makes to the age of Cyprian is for the point here in discussion of no account in my eyes, because Anglicanism, in the first place, is not one with the Cyprianic system; and cannot therefore rightly base its theory of an outward bond of unity in a body of bishops without an outward centre, on Cyprian's theory of a solid episcopal corporation held together in some way by a central *cathedra* answering to the apostolical primacy of St. Peter. But even if that were otherwise, the appeal would still have for me no conclusive force; because, with all my acknowledged regard for Cyprian and his age, I can see no reason for making either the man or his age here a standard of absolute Christian truth and right. Christianity as it stood in the age of Cyprian, and as it stood in the Nicene age, can by no means be taken as a safe pattern of what Christianity should be in the present age, or as the true ideal of what the Christian world must reach after to solve in time

to come the problem of Catholic unity. No protest against the ecclesiastical and theological errors of modern Romanism, I am well persuaded, can be valid or truly Protestant, which is not at the same time a protest against the principial working of the same errors in the third and fourth centuries. Cyprianic Christianity is at best embryonic Romanism, as can be easily shown in many things.

IV. Organic and Historical.

"An Anglican Catholic" charges me with not making proper account of the great ideas of organism and history, as they have to do with the true doctrine of the Church. This is a broad subject. All I can say of it here must reduce itself to a few general and loosely connected observations.

My own objection to the Episcopal scheme, as it is put forward in the book "Apollos," has turned just on this point that it has seemed to me not to distinguish rightly between organism and mechanism, making an external episcopate the bond of Church unity in the sense of a principle of such unity, and so in the sense of a very *principium essendi* for the universal life of the Church itself. That is the mistake of Romanism. It makes its hierarchy a divine construction, a mechanical vessel, so to speak, like Noah's ark, to whose bosom then the Christian faith is intrusted, that it may so pass the waves of this troublesome world, and finally come to the land of everlasting life. The mistake abounds also in the Patristic theology. It serves necessarily to invert the true order of the Christian life. It gives us for an organism what is at best the notion only of an external fabrication.

My critic himself shows some right sense of the difference between these conceptions. An organism, he says, lives; life always manifests itself in this way; it is vain to attempt to distinguish between the inner and the outer life; they are both one. And this strangely enough, he applies as holding against my proposition, "that if either popery or episcopacy be essential to the being of the Christian Church, it must be under the view of their being in some way along with their outward ordi-

nation, a true concretion or outbirth from the inward life of the Church." That, he will have it, is "the Romish doctrine of development differently applied," according to which, as he takes it, room is made for any innovation in Church order which the inward life of the Church may wilfully originate. Therefore the absolute need, he argues, of an outward apostolical order to keep the action of this life within its proper bounds.

But here at once the critic betrays his own error. His "inner and outer life," in the case of the Church, if I understand him rightly, are after all a divine composition only, and not a true organism; just as he says of man, that "he is a compound being made up of soul, body and spirit; when these are *combined*, man is organized and lives; when they are *separated*, he is disorganized and dies; his organism is then *taken apart*." Much, one might suppose, like the taking apart of a watch.

In its true conception, an organism (as different from an organization) is not an inward compounded in this way with an outward; but the concrescence of inward and outward together from a single principle, which is then felt through all the parts as the power of one and the same life.

That is what I mean in saying that what is *essential to the being* of the Church must be "a true concretion or outbirth from the inward life of the Church."

Such concretion is anything but what my critic stigmatizes as *accretion*, in trying to make out here a common character between Romanism and Sectarianism. Concretion is the opposite of abstraction. The very difficulty I make with the Roman, Patristic, and high-church Episcopalian theory of church unity, is that it gives us for the purpose an outward appointment abstractly taken (like the Baptist's touchstone of discipleship found in bald obedience to Christ's appointment of the outward ceremony of baptism), instead of a living power growing forth concretely from the one organic spiritual constitution of the Church. The difference between the two conceptions, to my own mind at least, is clear and very material.

I hope I do not wrong the argument of "An Anglican Catholic;" but he really seems to me to confound the idea of

an organism with the mere outward form or system by which life works; as when he seems to say, for example, that the organic nature of man comes to an end with the breaking up of his natural body, and that his spirit afterward cannot be said to live organically at all until it gets its organism again in the resurrection of the last day. That indeed would illustrate happily the notion: no Bishop, no Church; no peripheral hierarchy to begin with, and so then no inner life of the Church to end with; that is, no unity, no catholicity, no holiness, no one attribute of the Church, but at best a certain amount of disembodied Christian spirit only, waiting to be clothed upon with an organization at some future time. But perhaps I have failed to catch here exactly what the writer of the article on the *Basis of Union* really means.

Along with his criticism on my view of concrete organization, as requiring the outward life of the Church to be in some way an outbirth from its inward life, goes his criticism (no less confused and erroneous I must be allowed to say) on my view of historical Christianity; which, in his judgment, is out and out the development theory made use of by the Church of Rome to justify all her assumptions. Quoting what I say, in my review of "Apollos," of the dream of bringing all things right "by an unhistorical pilgrimage of our whole modern Christendom to the tombs of the fathers, martyrs, and confessors, who fell asleep in the Lord fifteen hundred years ago," he breaks forth into the following energetic language:

"Never before have we seen in any place by any evangelical Christian so complete an acknowledgment that history and antiquity are both against the modern sectarian idea. Nowhere have we seen so complete an abandonment of the Catholic idea of Christian union, which binds us to the past as to one another. The appeal to history is a test which neither Rome nor Geneva can abide. But it is not common to see the whole case given up in this fashion, and everything rested upon development. Christianity is either a revelation or it is not. If it is a revelation, it was all revealed in the beginning. If it is not a revelation, it is what man chooses to make it."

This might just as well come from a Romanist (who also in his way fights off the idea of development), as from an Episcopalian or a Presbyterian; and it may well provoke a good-humored smile, to hear an Anglican Churchman pleasing himself with the imagination that *his* system, in distinction from Rome and Geneva, is the "all of revelation that was revealed from the beginning," and that he has it all now as a fixed historical tradition handed down to him without change from the primitive ages.

That is not history; and that is no right view of God's revelation. It is the outward again, as before, made to be more than the inward, the letter and form exalted above essence and spirit; and it ought to be evident to all now, that the time has forever gone by for making any effectual stand in behalf of Christianity against infidelity on any such mechanical basis, whether in Papal, or Presbyterian, or Episcopalian form.

Only think what it means, to say, that revelation was all revealed in the beginning, if that is to signify that the full sense of it was at once disclosed to the Christian world in the apostolic period, or in the age of Cyprian, or in the Nicene period. Why, the Word of God in the Bible is a mighty deep, a vast abyss, a boundless ocean of truth and life, and the Church has been all along only as one gathering a few pebbles or shells on its outmost beach. Talk of the understanding of it having been complete in the first ages, or in any age since! There is a holy derision, as from the eternal world, in the very thought!

And then what shall we say of a supposed exhaustive knowledge in this way of our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, on the part of the Church, from the beginning of the Christian dispensation? It gives one pain even to ask the question. Is He not the fulness of the Godhead bodily? And have the ages to come then nothing to learn from Him, nothing to know of Him, in the way of growing, deepening insight into the meaning of His person and work, far beyond all that has been handed down as an outward depositum, in fixed quantity and quality, from the first ages, or the middle ages, or the ages since the Reformation? The question, put in this way, is surely its own answer.

And now, who may not see, that the idea of such a living inexhaustible fountain of measureless truth and good—in the Bible and in Christ—which is no reservoir of stagnant traditions, doctrinal or ecclesiastical, but a "well of water springing up into everlasting life," the Word of God which is ζῶν καὶ ἐνεργὴς (Heb. iv. 12), and which liveth and abideth for ever; who may not see, I ask, that the source of Christian history, apprehended and thought of in this way, must necessarily impart to the historical stream of Christianity itself, through the ages, a corresponding character of ever flowing and ever changing life?

We need not call this development. For that is a treacherous amphibological term again, like baptismal regeneration or justification by faith, which may be taken in different senses, giving rise to endless contention. Let us call it simply historical movement. That is enough. Historical movement has its own universal character, just as truly as the working of natural law in the world of nature. And it is not a question at all whether the life of man shall be historical—shall be, not stationary, nor a circling recurrence of things simply to their own beginning, as in the world of nature, but an ongoing progress involving the birth of new things continually out of the bosom of old things. This is what history means; nothing less than this; and it belongs to the very idea of humanity, that it should exist in this form; and nothing which is really human can exist in any other form.

Shall we be told then that Christianity, because "if it was a revelation it was all revealed in the beginning," is not subject to this otherwise universal law of historical progress? What is that but to say, that Christianity is not human; that it is a gnostic abstraction, touching men only in an outward manner; that it has not entered as an immanent concrete power into the actual life of humanity in any way?

True Christianity has not been ever, and is not now, any such monstrous or magical unreality. It has been historical, in the full sense of the term, from the beginning. It has been so theologically; there is not a doctrine belonging to it, which

has not had its history, its rise, its movement, its progressive evolution and determination. So with the Christian life and worship. So with all ecclesiastical order. The very theory of the Church, Papal or Cyprianic or Anglo-Catholic, which now affects to exclude the historical element rightly so-called from its constitution, can easily itself be referred to a historical process of its own in the beginning. It came in with gradually unfolding growth; conception and practice working together, to bring it to pass in the fulness of its time; as all may see who have courage to read church history for themselves, instead of taking it cut and dry from ecclesiastical schools or systems.

The historical in this view, then, is *not* a breaking away from the substantive life of the past; but neither is it yet, most assuredly, a monotonous continuation of this life in its past forms; and so also never a taking up of such forms simply, from a past time, in an outwardly slavish way. It holds between these extremes, as an inward union of the new and the old, the flowing and the constant, in the power of one and the same life.

How this may be, it needs of course some effort of thought to see and understand; but I am not called upon here to go any farther into the subject.

V. Theological first, and then ecclesiastical.

In my article on Dr. Coxe's book, I speak of the dream of *The Churchman* in regard to making Episcopacy the beginning and fundament of the whole question of the unification of the Christian world at this time, as being in my opinion visionary; and then add: "The question of church unity, as the world now stands, involves immeasurably *more* than the government of the Church by bishops. It is theological first, and then ecclesiastical; not ecclesiastical first, and then theological."

Noticing the article soon after its appearance, the *Churchman* took issue with this particular position in the following plain terms:

"This, we distinctly challenge. We deny entirely that the theological basis of unity precedes the ecclesiastical. For

what is the theological basis, properly understood, but the Creed, the facts of essential belief? These facts rested in the beginning, not on any inherent probability, but on the witness of those who announced them. The authority of Apostles was the condition precedent to establishment of belief. As it was in the beginning, it is now. There are and can be ever two theories only of the way in which Divine truth comes to man. One is by revelation, the other by discovery. There are and can be but two theories only concerning the Church. One, that it is an institution, the other, that it is an invention. It is, we believe, on the vital difference between these two, which we see and trace through all variations of polity and schemes of belief, that the entire question of unity and of religion, indeed, turns. Dr. Nevin is too thoroughly a scholar to need that we should remind him that the ecclesiastical came before the theological, and that the Apostles, appearing as the ambassadors of Christ, presented to the world their credentials before they opened their mission. With a Congregationalist, who conceives of St. Paul preaching at Corinth precisely as a revivalist getting up an excitement in a Western town, it might be necessary to demonstrate; but Dr. Nevin is too familiar with the true aspect of the past, not to be aware that the early disciples took all their theological acquisitions only by and through the ecclesiastical fellowship, and that unity with the Church was the only possible test by which the correctness of theology was, or could be, tried."

Here we have at once a misapprehension of my meaning in the use of the word theological. It is taken as of one sense with doctrinal or dogmatic in systematic divinity. The latter part of my article shows abundantly, however, that I had no such thought as that in my mind; since I took the ground there that no doctrinal basis, either as at hand already with any of our denominations, or as something to be yet reached by interdenominational negotiation among them all, can ever be sufficient (any more than episcopacy itself) for the reintegration of the dismembered church into anything like true organic unity.

But the quotation is instructive, in the light it serves to

throw upon the *Churchman's* own theory of Christianity and the Church, which is found to be here again just the same scheme of mechanical supernaturalism, which it has been the object throughout of my present review of "An Anglican Catholic" in a friendly way to expose and refute.

The Creed—the living substance of the Creed—is with me indeed what I understand by theological, as different both from ecclesiastical and dogmatic. But I must utterly reject the view here broadly presented, that the Creed owes its authority in such form for faith to the outward testimony of the Church. I say—with all emphasis on the word—for *faith;* not for intelligence or rational trust, but for faith; which in its very nature has to do directly with the spiritual, with the invisible and the eternal, in their own light, and not through the medium merely of any outside foreign light.

We must distinguish between the facts of Christianity historically considered, and the ideal internal sense of these facts, which lies beyond them in the sphere of the supernatural. To see the outward Jesus, when He was on the earth, was not of itself to see the inward Christ; to perceive that great truth (the rock on which the Church is built) was no function of outward empirical knowledge in any way. Flesh and blood could not reveal it, we are told by our Lord Himself, but only the Father which is in Heaven. And just that inward revelation it is still, which alone can make the Christian Creed true for Christian faith. What falls short of that—the testimony of the Church, for example, or even the authority of apostles confirmed by miracles—may be of vast moment as a preliminary to faith; but it cannot be itself the very object of true Christian faith; for it is of itself external fact simply for knowledge and science; whereas faith, as differing from knowledge, has for its object the supernatural only and always.

The error of basing faith in this way on intermediate outward witness or authority lies at the ground of the whole Roman system; where the premise of an infallible, historical, ecclesiastical corporation (authenticated for knowledge by outside natural evidence) is supposed to be the very principle and power

of faith in every higher view. It is possible, however, and only too common in the Protestant world, to put the Bible also in the same wrong relation to faith; as is done universally where it is regarded as an outward text simply (divinely inspired), out of which the common understanding of men may draw the truths of faith for itself in a natural way!

The "Churchman" it seems to me, in the passage just quoted, falls into first this general fallacy in regard to the true nature of faith in its distinction from knowledge. The creed it will have to be simply *the facts of essential belief;* and these facts, it tells us, "rested in the beginning not on any inherent probability, but on the witness of those who announced them;" that is, on outward historical evidence, which in the nature of the case could have no power whatever to attest or verify for faith the actual divine interior life and soul of the facts.

No; the ecclesiastical is not before the theological in that way, either in order of being or in order of time; just as little as the Bible outwardly taken can be said to take precedence, in either view, of the Word of God *in the Bible* which "liveth and abideth forever."

If the opposite order were true, the Christian Creed should run: "I believe in a holy apostolical Church, authenticated to the world by rational credentials from heaven, and therefore, on the testimony of the Church, I believe in God the Father, and in His Son Jesus Christ," and so on to the close. That would be indeed ecclesiastical first, and then theological.

The only true order is the other way, theological first and then ecclesiastical, as the Creed now stands. First is the order of the Christian salvation in its own objective constitution—Christ first, and then the full-orbed world of grace and truth proceeding forth from Christ. And how should there be then possibly any right order other than this for the subjective apprehension of the Christian salvation, any true method of faith other than the method of the Creed, as it now is and has been from the beginning?

The article of the Church itself (with its attributes, one, holy and catholic), never rested for faith, and rests for it not at all

now, on historical credentials or outward empirical fact of any sort; but altogether in the first place on its ideal spiritual and eternal constitution, flowing forth with divine necessity from the life of our blessed Lord Himself, and actualizing itself as it best may, under its adverse conditions in this world, onward to the end of time.

The principle of the Church then, the beginning of its life, the true source and only effectual bond of its unity, sanctity and catholicity, is not any Christian dogma as such, nor yet any Church constitution as such, like the papacy or the episcopate; but only and wholly our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, the Son of the Living God, as He is set forth briefly in St. Peter's confession and proclaimed at large in the Apostles' Creed.

In saying this, I mean no polemical disparagement of episcopacy itself; just as little, as I mean a disparagement of any particular doctrine, or scheme of doctrine, by refusing in the same way to see in it the *fons et origo* of the Christian faith. What place either the doctrinal or the ecclesiastical, under a given view, may be destined to hold hereafter in the full actualization of Church unity, is another question. All I mean is, that neither of these interests, as the Christian world now stands—in a crisis, whether men lay it to heart or not, more profoundly trying than any through which it has ever yet passed—is sufficient to open the way for this unity; and that no handling of either of them for such purpose, therefore, can be considered as of itself adequate in any sense to the severe demands of the problem. Neither the Evangelical Alliance nor Anglo-Catholic Episcopacy has yet touched bottom here. The subject calls for deeper probing and far more fundamental help.

Such help, I am solemnly persuaded, can only come through a deeper entrance than has ever yet been gained by the Church at large into the mystery of what the Bible is (Old Testament and New) as the living Word of the Living God; and this especially through new and profounder entrance into the mystery of the personal Christ, the Lord of life and glory, "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." To say that we know and possess all these treasures already, or to say that it

is enough for us to put ourselves for the purpose under the tuition and instruction of the Church in past ages (say the sixteenth century or the time of the Nicene fathers), is such extravagance, we have already seen, as can hardly be expressed. Yet practically this would seem to be very much the reigning thought of the Christian world at this time! Many indeed, in the Church and outside of the Church, are coming to feel more and more the sphinx-like solemnity of the mighty question, *What think ye of Christ?* But it is for the most part still only in a dim and cloudy way; while but a few here and there (amid the din of surrounding theological and ecclesiastical strife) are brought to see and own in it the germinant power of a coming new spiritual creation.

It were much—O how much!—if only our denominations generally, Episcopalian and Non-Episcopalian together, could be brought to suspect the sufficiency of their several stand-points, as held at present, and to ask themselves seriously whether there might not be after all a better way than any they have yet dreamed of, for the composition of their differences (in doctrine, order, worship and life), to be found in a common acknowledgment of the great Christological truth here affirmed, and along with this then a common endeavor to surrender themselves fully to the power of it through the obedience of faith.

The mere movement of men's minds generally in this way would be such an omen and promise, nay, such a real beginning of unity, as has not yet been offered to our view anywhere in any other form. It would be a giving up of the notion of manufacturing it by any outside purpose or plan of men themselves, doctrinal or ecclesiastical. It would be the flowing of men's minds in common toward a common centre, outside of themselves, and in this way their flowing together at the same time in the felt sense of a common Christian brotherhood.

And who can question the power of this centre to organize into true inward unity and order the elements of Christian life, thus brought into right relation to it from all sides? Where else have we, or can we have, the real principle of all true Christianity, the last and deepest ground of its universal oneness? And

how then may the divisions of Christianity begin even to be harmonized, otherwise than by their being referred practically to that which is infinitely deeper than themselves in this ground, the living power and glory of the Lord? Is it not just in this sense, that He is declared by St. Paul to be our PEACE, making Jew and Gentile one, breaking down the middle wall of partition between them, and so having power to break down also all other divisions by resolving them into the sense of a deeper relationship in God?

Let it not be said, we have what is here meant already; common faith in the same Christ, and a common looking to Him as the centre of the Christian life and the one only principle of Christianity. The imagination is false; plainly and immediately so, because the sundering forces at work among us are stronger on all sides than the common power by which we complacently assume that we are all thus drawn toward the Lord. If Christ—not the notion or doctrine of Christ nor a mere theory of His kingdom in the world, but the living Christ Himself—were indeed all in all for our several evangelical denominations (as they call themselves); were indeed the first object of their common faith, the one glorious Sun of righteousness in their several ecclesiastical heavens; there would be at once a giving way and breaking down of the walls of partition that now rise up between them. The partial and separatistic would of themselves relax their deadly hold on men's souls. Self-thinking, self-willing and self-working, would give place to thinking, willing and working in the Lord. There would be at once the reign of catholicity begun upon the earth. And most certain it is that this grand spiritual *ἀποκατάστασις*, or restitution of all things, can never come in any other way.

Then we would know what faith means in its proper New Testament sense; and how it is that such wonderful power is ascribed to it in the Word. For it would be seen to be nothing less in truth than real conjunction with the life of the Lord Himself. A conception almost lost under the general rubbish of our modern traditions; as is implied indeed in that startling question of the Lord Himself: When the Son of Man cometh,

shall He find faith on the earth? Orthodoxy enough, it may be; ecclesiasticism enough, it may be; religion of mere sentiment and feeling enough, it may be; but faith? faith in Himself as the Son of God, the Lord of heaven and earth, and one with the Father? shall He find *that* on the earth?

But I pursue the subject here no farther. This is what I mean by the "immeasurably more" that underlies the problem of Church unity, than is presented by any question of government or doctrine simply, obtruding itself upon us, in the first place, as a preliminary external condition for all farther inquiry or action. This is what I mean by "theological first, and then ecclesiastical." Not dogma, speculation, or theory first; but the actual substantive mystery itself of Christianity, as we have it in the living Word; as we have it in the Creed; and there not in the Church first by any means, but in Christ Himself, who is the principle of the Creed, the origin and root of universal Christianity (as the beginning also of the whole creation of God), and so the perennial only fountain and source of the Church to the end of time. The theological is for us properly nothing other than this—namely, the Christological, the manifestation of God in His Son Jesus Christ, "in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life."

Sinking our souls deep then into this only principle of unity, this fountain of all charity and faith, let us pray in the language of our Trinity collect: "O God, the Creator and Saviour of the world, who hast made Thyself known in the work of man's redemption as the Mystery of the ever adorable Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, Three in One and One in Three; reveal in us, we beseech Thee, the full power of this faith, into which we have been planted by baptism; that being born of water and of the Spirit, we may by a life of holiness be formed into Thine image here, and rise to Thy blissful presence hereafter; there to join with the song of the seraphim in praising Thee, world without end. *Amen.*"

ART. IV.—PREHISTORIC RACES OF THE UNITED STATES.*

BY REV. J. H. DUBBS, A. M., PHILADELPHIA, PA.

"THE history of Antiquity," says Professor George Rawlinson, "requires to be from time to time re-written;" and this necessity that distinguished author has himself demonstrated by the production of his superb works on the great Oriental monarchies. Indeed, the history of the Mesopotamian empires has been recently not only re-written but entirely reconstructed. The remarkable discoveries of Layard, Botta, Flandin, and others, have been carefully studied by the most accomplished archæologists of Europe, and we are now fairly beginning to enjoy the results of their labors. The architecture and glyptic art of the Chaldeans, Assyrians and Babylonians have been scientifically examined and described; and "the best linguists of Europe have accepted the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions as a thing actually accomplished." Immense masses of historical facts have thus been placed at the disposal of the historian; and it is gratifying to the Christian scholar to be assured, that all these recent discoveries, when properly interpreted, illustrate and confirm the historical portions of the Old Testament Scriptures. Such men as Rawlinson do not hesitate to declare that their researches have but strengthened them in their faith that the Scripture history contains "the exact truth;"† and indeed it seems to be their highest object to bring a new tribute to their blessed Lord.

* Prehistoric Races of the United States of America. By J. W. Foster, L L.D. Author of the "Physical Geography of the Mississippi Valley;" Joint Author of Foster and Whitney's Report on the "Geology of the Lake Superior Region;" Late President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; President of the Chicago Academy of Sciences, and member of the other Learned Societies. Chicago: S. C. Griggs and Company, London: Trübner & Co.

† Rawlinson's "Five Ancient Monarchies," Vol. I., p. 44.

While these researches have been so satisfactorily progressing in the remote East, another science, which claims to deal with objects of still higher antiquity, has come into existence in Western Europe. It is known as Prehistoric Archæology, and is said to be "the connecting link between Geology and History." Principally concerned with the remains of men of whom history has preserved no record, "it deals," according to Sir John Lubbock, "with times and events far more ancient than any which have yet fallen within the province of the archæologist." While it is to be regretted that many of the exponents of this new science fail to exhibit the reverential spirit of the Mesopotamian investigators, and that they frequently express themselves with a degree of boldness and confidence that is hardly compatible with a science which is confessed to be still in its infancy, the results of their researches are not therefore to be undervalued, and we cannot doubt that they will finally do good service to the cause of truth.

To those Americans who take an interest in the advancement of human knowledge it has long been a source of regret, that while such extensive researches are progressing in Europe and Asia so little has been done in the way of investigating the monuments of the prehistoric races of our own continent. The materials for such an undertaking appear to be abundant. All over the country the plow is constantly turning up the stone weapons of the aborigines; in the Western and Southern States there are thousands of earth-works, commonly called "mounds," which were evidently the work of a race far superior to the American Indians; while in Mexico and Central America there are extensive ruins which show a refined skill far superior to any of the existing monuments of the Aztec race, and at least equal to the architectural remains of the earliest Asiatic monarchies.

It is true that this interesting subject has not been entirely neglected. One of the earliest investigators was Caleb Atwater, who, if we remember correctly, expressed the opinion that he had so fully exhausted his theme that nothing more remained to be said. More recently a number of excellent memoirs, by

Squier and Davis, Lapham, and Haven, have been published under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution; but these are chiefly descriptive of ancient mounds and their contents, and were evidently intended by their respective authors to furnish material for further study. They are useful, as authorities; but they do not attempt to solve the problems which they raise. The same may be said of the works which describe the antiquities of Central America. Thus, Gen. Brantz Mayer—himself an eminent writer on American antiquities—remarks that "the graphic works of Mr. Stephens seem but to open new authorities upon this vast problem;" and even Mr. Stephens himself, while musing over the ruins of the ancient city of Copan, employs the following language:

"One thing I believe, that its history is graven on its monuments. No Champollion has yet brought to them the energies of his inquiring mind. Who shall read them?

> Chaos of ruins who shall trace the void—
> O'er the dim fragments cast a lunar light,
> And say, here *was*, or is—where all is doubly night?"

Such being the unsatisfactory state of our knowledge of American antiquities, we are ready to hail with pleasure the publication of any work which promises to augment the stock of our information, while at the same time it applies to these facts the tests of modern critical science. These conditions the work of Dr. Foster, on the "Prehistoric Races of the United States of America," earnestly attempts to meet, and it is therefore worthy of high praise. It is, moreover, one of the most readable books of its kind, and its perusal has afforded us much pleasure.

We must, however, confess, that the title and scope of the work are too limited to meet the want which we have sought to indicate. The United States of America have not yet celebrated their centennial anniversary, and it therefore appears somewhat arbitrary to circumscribe the discussion by their boundaries. Besides, the author holds, and we think justly, that the mound-builders of the Mississippi Valley were the progenitors of the powerful Toltec race, who in all probability built the

great cities whose ruins still exist in the forests of Yucatan and Central America. Would it not then be better to study the remains of the Prehistoric Races, not only of the United States, but of all America, or at least of North America; in order that, by bringing together and comparing all these widely-scattered fragments, it might be possible, in some measure, to reconstruct a complete and harmonious whole?

Our author, however, does not appear to have undertaken his work with such an object; and he is evidently more fully imbued with the spirit of Lyell and Lubbock than with that of Layard and Rawlinson Thoroughly enamored of the new science of Prehistoric Archæology, he would almost seem to regard the discovery of historic facts as of less importance than the demonstration of the immense antiquity of the human race. He, therefore, introduces his work with an extensive and well-written *resumè* of the recent investigations and alleged discoveries of the geologists and ethnologists of Europe and America, which are held to prove, that "man lived at a time too remote to be embraced in our received systems of chronology, surrounded by great quadrupeds which have ceased to exist, and under a climate very different from that which now prevails."

"Revelations so startling," our author continues, "have been received with disquietude and distrust by those who adhere to the chronology of Usher and Petavius." As, however, our faith is not based on mathematical calculations, we are not in the least disquieted, and can calmly follow him, as we have followed others, to the bone caves of France, the "kitchen-middings" of Denmark, and the lake dwellings of Switzerland, as well as to the alluvium of the Mississippi and the gold-drift of California. We cannot, of course, within our present limits, dwell at length on the discoveries and conclusions of recent investigators, as is done in the volume before us; but we are unable to resist the temptation of making a few remarks on this general subject. This we are the more ready to do, because, according to the historian Lenormant, "Prehistoric archæology is yet but in its infancy; it leaves great gaps and many problems without solution; and all its facts are not yet established with perfect certainty."

Our author quotes from several writers, who have differently divided the period of the prehistoric man, into several distinct ages or epochs. The most recent writers, however, we believe, generally speak of *three* ages. The first of these is the Stone age, when men were ignorant of the use of metals, and made exclusive use of implements and weapons made of stone. This age is subdivided into the Palæolithic period, when these instruments were rough and unpolished, and the Neolithic, or Polished stone period, "characterized by beautiful weapons and instruments, made of flint and other kinds of stone, in which, however, we find no trace of metals, excepting gold, which seems to have been sometimes used for ornaments." Secondly, we have "the Bronze age, in which bronze was used for arms and cutting instruments of all kinds; and, thirdly, the Iron age, in which that metal had superseded bronze for arms, axes, etc., though still to some extent employed for ornaments, and the handles of swords."

Sir John Lubbock, from whom we quote, without strictly following his order of periods, does not hesitate to appeal to the writers of antiquity in support of this theory of "the three ages." He quotes from Hesiod, Homer, and Lucretius; but it appears remarkable, to say the least, that he does not at this point refer to an authority which is far more ancient and important. In the book of Genesis it is stated, according to our version, that Tubal Cain was "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron;" and though the passage has been held to mean no more than that he was "the inventor of weapons of bronze and iron," the natural inference would be, in either case, that there was once an Age of Stone, when metals were unknown. We see no reason for supposing, that mankind were always in possession of what have been called the arts of civilization; but there are, in fact, many statements in Scripture which seem to imply the direct contrary. The theory of a universal "Age of Stone" is, therefore, neither disquieting nor improbable, though until more of its remains are discovered in those countries which are generally regarded as the cradle of the human race, it would be premature to affirm it as absolutely certain.

Nor are we much affected by the statement, that man existed in Europe and America contemporaneously with the Mammoth, the cave-bear, and other extinct animals, especially as no one can fix the date when these animals became extinct. "The opinion has been put forward," says the author of "Life in the Primeval World," "that the great cat of the caves is identical with the lion which after the invasion of Xerxes disquieted, in Macedonia, the soldiers of the 'king of kings,' and that this lion still exists in certain secluded regions of Asia;" and, within the past few months, we have seen it stated that a Russian traveler categorically affirms, that he has seen the Mammoth, alive and well, in the wilds of Siberia. Whatever such assertions may be worth, there is nothing to disprove the existence of these animals within a period of three or four thousand years at the utmost.*

Personally, we feel the force of many of the arguments, by which our Prehistoric archæologists seek to prove the antiquity of man; and, indeed, the fact that human relics are found in geologic formations, which we are accustomed to regard as exceedingly ancient, would seem to render it almost certain, that man has existed, both in Europe and America, for a much longer period than we had hitherto supposed. Still, we must not forget that there are some men, not ignorant of science, who insist that it is impossible to estimate correctly the age of a geologic formation; because we lack an essential element of the computation, the necessary "uniformity of factor." Such, at least, is the opinion of Prof. Rogers, and other writers, as quoted at length in the recently published book, of the Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, on "The Antiquity and Unity of the Human Race."

We have lingered too long, with our author on the threshold of his subject, and therefore hasten to the consideration

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*"Among the animals found, which furnished food for the neolithic dwellers in Caithness, was the Reindeer. The existence of this animal in Scotland, as late as the year 1159, is incidentally mentioned in the Orkneyinga Saga, in which year the Jarls of Orkney, Ronald and Harold, are said to have crossed over into Caithness, from Orkney to hunt that animal. We are glad to see that Sir John Lubbock has admitted, in his last edition, that this notice in the Sagas is probably true."—*British Quarterly Review*, 1872.

of that portion of his book, which appears to us to be peculiarly interesting and valuable. We have here a full description of the relics of the Mound-builders, who at one time occupied the Mississippi valley, the Gulf Coast, and the region of the Great Lakes. "These relics," says Dr. Foster, "consist of tumuli symmetrically raised, and often enclosed in mathematical figures, such as the square, the octagon, and circle, with long lines of circumvallation; of pits in the solid rocks, and rubbish heaps formed in the prosecution of their mining operations; and of a variety of utensils, wrought in stone or copper, or moulded in clay, which evince a knowledge of art and methodical labor, foreign to the Red man. While the character of these structures, as traced over wide areas, differs in minor particulars, still there is a general uniformity which stamps the authors as one people, and subjects of one controlling government."

Our author begins by describing the ancient works of the North West, among which the so-called "animal mounds" of Wisconsin are the most remarkable. These differ so widely from the mounds found in other parts of the country, that they have been supposed to have been constructed by a different race; but are now, in consequence of certain general resemblances, believed to have had a common origin. Instead of being circular or pyramidal, they generally consist of gigantic imitations of animate objects, such as buffaloes, bears, foxes, wolves, lizards, turtles and birds, and sometimes the human form is unmistakably portrayed. "These animal forms attain no great elevation, their height varying from one to four feet above the surrounding prairie; nor are they in all instances thrown up as basso-relievos, but are sometimes represented as intaglios." Only two instances of this kind of mound, are mentioned as occurring outside of the state of Wisconsin, and both of these are in Ohio. The "Great Serpent," in Adams county, is described by Squier and Davis, as having "its head conforming to the crest of a hill, and its body winding back for seven hundred feet, in graceful undulations, terminating in a triple coil at the tail;" and the "Alligator," in Lick-

ing county, whose length "from the point of the nose following the curves of the tail to the tip, is about 250 feet, the breadth of the body 40 feet, and the length of the legs, or paws, each 36 feet." It is, of course, impossible to explain the object of these structures, but it seems most natural to suppose that they had, in some way, a religious significance.

Far more numerous are the circular mounds, and great embankments of the valley of the Mississippi. "Not only are the banks of the Ohio, at frequent intervals, crowned by these structures, but those of the subordinate streams, such as the Wabash, the Scioto, the Miami, and the Muskingum, entering from the north; and those from the opposite side, such as the Kanawhas, the Cumberland and the Tennessee. The number of tumuli in Ohio alone, is estimated by the authors before referred to (Squier and Davis) at ten thousand, and the number of enclosures at from one thousand to fifteen hundred. Ross county, of which Chillicothe is the capital, contains one hundred enclosures and five hundred mounds."

Of course, among so vast a number of tumuli, there are almost innumerable variations in size and form. The largest was probably the great mound of Cahokia, which before it was swept away, by modern improvements, occupied an area of about six acres. Others there are, whose dimensions are not greatly inferior. Then we have long lines of embankments, in some instances having the appearance of ordinary breast-works, while in others they form intricate geometrical figures, whose purpose it is now impossible even to surmise. Very frequently, however, the object of these enclosures was plainly defensive, and it is a remarkable fact, that they "are most conspicuous along what may be called the frontier of the Alleghanies, and disappear altogether as we enter the immediate valley of the Mississippi, which contains the most stupendous of the mounds." Indeed, Squier and Davis go so far as to affirm, that there was a regular system of defences, extending from the sources of the Alleghany and Susquehanna, in New York, diagonally across the country, through Central and Northern Ohio, to the Wabash. This would seem to indicate the presence of danger

in that direction, and to render probable the Ancient Mexican tradition, that the Toltecs were driven southward by a barbarous people, coming from the North-east, who were perhaps identical with our American Indians.

The mounds are described as being of four varieties: sacrificial mounds, temple-sites, sepulchral mounds, and mounds of observation. The sacrificial mounds contain an altar of stones or burnt clay, on which are found the charred remains of human bones. This would seem to indicate either that the mound builders practiced *cremation*, or that they offered up human sacrifices. The existence of apparently contemporary sepulchral mounds, in which the remains of the dead, are found buried with the utmost care, as well as the undoubted fact, that the Aztecs frequently sacrificed human victims as late as the time of the Spanish conquest, incline us to accept the latter hypothesis, though our author would seem to be of the opposite opinion.

Among the most interesting of the mounds, are those which appear to have been constructed as sites for temples, which in consequence of the perishable materials of which they were composed, have now entirely disappeared. "They generally consist of pyramidal structures, truncated, and generally having graded avenues to their tops," thus bearing a strong resemblance to the Teocallis of Mexico and Central America, which however were faced with flights of steps, and surmounted by temples of stone. Our author very justly combats the notion of those who see in these truncated pyramids, evidences of Egyptian origin. "The pyramids," he says, "like the temple mounds, were used for sepulchres, but here the analogy ends. The mound-builders burned the bodies of the dead, or left them to be resolved into dust by the slow process of decay; but the Egyptians believing that the soul would again tenant the body, resorted to expensive processes for its preservation.

The same remarks will apply when we institute a comparison between the Teocallis of Central America, and the Pyramids. They differ both in the mode of construction and in the object aimed at. The Pyramids are complete in them-

selves, and as they tower up in the Nile Valley, the eye at once takes in the coherence of the several parts. The Teocallis form but a part of the general plan,—they were but the foundations for more elaborate structures. 'There is no pyramid,' in Egypt, says Stevens, 'with a palace or temple upon it; there is no pyramidal structure in this country without.' The pyramids, according to Herodotus, were originally coated with stone from base to summit; the Teocallis have flattened summits, with flights of steps descending to the base." It seems plain, therefore, that the mound builders did not copy from Egyptian models. There is, indeed, a much greater similarity between the Teocallis and the Chaldean *Ziggurats*, which are generally supposed to have been surmounted by shrines or small temples; but even here the resemblance can hardly be supposed to be otherwise than accidental.

We cannot, of course, within our present limits, follow our author through his interesting account of the mound system of the West; and must refer those of our readers, who are interested in the subject to the book itself.

The relics of the Mound-builders plainly show, that they were not a civilized people in the modern sense of the term. They were still in the age of Stone, though during the latter portion of their history, emerging into an age of Copper. The skill manifested in the construction of their stone implements is, however, truly remarkable. We have not only the ordinary arrow-heads, which have been made by barbarous tribes all over the world, but innumerable other implements, from rude spades and axes to highly polished statuettes, which are held in some instances, to reproduce the features of the race. They understood the art of weaving, for not only are shuttles, and other portions of the apparatus, frequently discovered, but portions of the texture itself, regularly spun, and woven with a warp and woof, have been recovered from the mounds. In the plastic arts, the mound-builders are said to have attained a degree of perfection far in advance of the Stone and Bronze periods in Europe. Lubbock says that "few of the British sepulchral urns, belonging to the ante-Roman times, have upon

them any curved lines." The urns and vases of the Mound-builders, on the contrary, were very generally ornamented with curved lines and fretwork, and sometimes with the figures of animals or of human beings. Indeed, even in Eastern Pennsylvania, which is generally supposed to have been outside of the territory of the Mound-builders, the writer has found fragments of pottery which must originally have been exceedingly beautiful.

One of the most interesting chapters, in the volume before us, is devoted to the ancient mining for copper in the region of Lake Superior. It was found by modern miners that they had been anticipated by the aborigines. Immense excavations, together with large numbers of stone hammers and other implements, employed in mining, abundantly testify to the industry and perseverance of a prehistoric race. "To connect the copper-mines with the mound-builders," says our author, "is no difficult task. Copper wrought into various utensils, is found in the mounds all the way from Wisconsin to the Gulf Coast, and the supply is too abundant to authorize the supposition that it was derived from the boulder drift. Its wide distribution is an evidence, too, of an extensive commerce. To penetrate that distant region from the Ohio valley, involved on the part of the Mound-builders a voyage of a thousand miles. The passage to and fro was made in the summer season, for there is no evidence, such as mounds, village plots, or house foundations, to indicate permanent occupancy. The climate is too hyperborean to admit of the maturing of maize, and hence they must have had a well-organized commissariat, with no interruption in their lines of communication. It is true, the lakes and streams afforded an abundance of fish of the finest flavor; but man cannot thrive on a fish diet alone."

Other mining operations were conducted in regions equally remote. Mica was brought from North Carolina, and the stones most desirable for the manufacture of their implements were obtained from special quarries. Indeed, in reviewing the arts and manufactures of the Mound-builders, it becomes plain that they were a peaceable and industrious race, who were

rapidly advancing in civilization, when they were conquered by a more vigorous but less intelligent people.

Beyond these facts, and certain peculiarities of cranial development, which mark them as a distinct race, we know little or nothing concerning this Prehistoric nation. Their origin will probably remain veiled in obscurity. It has been suggested, that they were the Lost Tribes of Israel; and the Abbé Brasseur boldly asserts, that they were originally inhabitants of the mythical island of Atlantis, which is supposed to have disappeared beneath the waters of the Atlantic Ocean; but we need hardly remind the reader that there is no proof to substantiate these wild hypotheses. Our author is inclined, on much better grounds, to refer their origin to "that race who, in times far remote, flourished in Brazil, some of whose crania are found in the bone-caves of Minas Geraes, in connection with mammalian bones belonging to genera and species now extinct."

Concerning the later history of the mound-builders, we know absolutely nothing but what is related in the Mexican traditions, to which we have already referred. The Toltecs, who seem to have been their descendants, are said to have emigrated from a country to the north-east, whence they were driven by the Chichimecs—a name applied to all the barbarous tribes of the New World—who were all united under one great leader. After thirteen years of fearful conflict, they abandoned their country and marched southward. Two chiefs guided the march of the emigrating nation, and after remaining several years in a region near the sea, "they at length reached Mexico, where they built a town called Tollanzinco, and later the city of Tullan, which became the seat of their government."

The date of these occurrences it would seem impossible to determine. Prescott, in his "Conquest of Mexico," supposes that the Toltecs "entered the territory of Anahuac probably before the close of the seventh century;" while our author asserts, on the authority of the Abbé Brasseur, that "their migration must have begun more than a thousand years before the Christian era." Such diversity of opinion, it must be confessed, argues no small degree of uncertainty. "After a period

of four centuries," says Prescott,* "the Toltecs, who had extended their sway over the remotest borders of Anahuac, having been greatly reduced, it is said, by famine, pestilence and unsuccessful wars, disappeared from the land as silently and mysteriously as they had entered it. A few of them still lingered behind, but much the greater number, probably, spread over the region of Central America, and the neighboring isles; and the traveller now speculates on the majestic ruins of Mitla and Palenque, as possibly the work of this extraordinary people."

The Aztecs, who succeeded and probably conquered the Toltecs, entered the valley of Mexico not more than three hundred years before the Norman Conquest. Our author asserts that "they were not barbarians, but like the Goths in invading the Roman empire, were disposed to adopt the arts, the civilization, and even the religion of the conquered. The older ruins show a refined skill which was not attained in those of a more modern date; and the picture-writing on the Aztec monuments fails to interpret the inscriptions of Palenque and Copan." Elsewhere he says: "The Aztec system of writing, while symbolical, was carried to a higher development (than the picture-writing of the North American Indian), and separate words were indicated. It became a species of mnemonics, intelligible only to the initiated, and incapable of a literal interpretation. The hieroglyphics displayed upon the walls of Copan, in horizontal or perpendicular rows, would indicate a written language, in which the pictorial significance had largely disappeared, and a kind of word-writing had become predominant. Intermingled with the pictorial devices are apparently purely arbitrary characters, which may be alphabetic. This, however, may be said, that in the Central American hieroglyphics we have a highly artificial system of writing, to interpret which the Aztec picture writing affords no aid."

It will be seen, then, that the difficulty of deciphering the Toltec inscriptions is so great as to appear insurmountable. There would seem to be not a single clue by which the mystery

* "Conquest of Mexico," vol. I. pp. 13-14.

might possibly be unraveled. The true student, however, does not willingly say, impossible. He cannot forget the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and of the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria. If the Aztec civilization was grafted on the Toltec, there was probably a time, when, under a well organized government, it was found necessary to issue edicts in two languages, and hence the possibility of bilingual inscriptions, such as those which rendered possible the discoveries of Oriental investigators. Hitherto the antiquities of Central America have failed to receive the degree of attention which they seem to deserve. Is it impossible, therefore, that a thorough scientific investigation should be rewarded with the discovery of an American Rosetta-stone, that might aid scholars, conversant with the modern dialects spoken in the vicinity, in discovering the significance of these mysterious hieroglyphics?

We still hope, with Stephens, though it is a forlorn hope, at best, that "some Champollion" may yet arise, who will succeed in reading the story of the Prehistoric Races of America. Then, but not till then, may we expect to receive authentic information concerning the history of the mound-builders, the account of whose monuments and artistic achievements, in Dr. Foster's valuable work, has afforded us so much pleasure and instruction.

ART. V.—TRUE CONVERSION AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE.

BY REV. CALVIN S. GERHARD, A. M., SUNBURY, PA.

THE word, in the original language of the New Testament, translated conversion, is *ἐπιστροφή*, and occurs only once. The verb *επιστρέφω*, from which the noun is derived, is used nine times. Several times the verb is found without the prefix *επι*, when its primary signification is *to turn*. With the prefix, it means *to turn towards*. This signification the word retains in every instance, in which it is used in the New Testament. But the turning itself is not always just the same; that is, the word is used in different senses, and the sense in any particular passage, can only be determined by the context.

Closely allied to the word conversion is another Scriptural term, namely; repentance, the noun for which in the original is *μετάνοια*. This term, with the various forms of the verb *μετανοέω*, from which the noun is derived, occurs quite frequently, and several times in immediate connection with some form of the word conversion. The primary meaning of the verb *μετανοέω* is *to change one's mind*. Its signification is therefore akin to that of conversion. The word conversion primarily denotes an outward change, whilst the word repentance designates an inward change, a change of mind. The word mind in this connection, however, cannot refer to the intellect simply, so that a change of mind would be a change of opinion only, but the term repentance denoting a change of mind, is made to stand for a change of the whole inner man, including the soul and spirit.

Now in Protestant Theology, as this comes to view both in the Reformed and Lutheran confessions of the sixteenth century, the word conversion is generally used to express the meaning of the two words, repentance and conversion taken

together. Hence in the original of the 88th Question of the Heidelberg Catechism repentance and conversion are used as synonymous terms. The question is put thus: "In how many things does true repentance or conversion consist?" Taking then the original meaning of both words, conversion is properly defined first of all as a turning toward and a change of mind; the turning and change of mind having of course reference to sin and Satan on the one hand, and to God in Christ Jesus on the other.

We understand now the meaning of the term conversion, but what is the fact itself for which the word stands? As a real inward change it is first a change of the will, and of the affections, and then as the result of this, a change of life. What then is the will? The power of self-determination. But man is a finite being, and none of his powers are absolute. They are all relative. His power of self-determination is therefore not absolute but only relative. A finite will is only partially self-determining. Consciously or unconsciously, our wills are always under the control of a will stronger and broader than the individual human will. Consciously or unconsciously our individual wills either move freely within the sphere of the generic will of God, or are slavishly under the control of the despotic will of the devil. The god of this world, the prince of the power of the air, Satan, is able to sway, and does sway the will of every natural man. The will of such a one is not simply held in bondage by his perverted passions, and evil propensities, but by Satan himself. Hence the devil is in the Scriptures called the prince, and the god, of this world. For, back of every form of wickedness, in all the wide world, is the arch rebel himself, the father of lies, who is not only the author of sin but also constantly kindles it afresh. This holds true not only of adults, but just as much also of infants. We are all conceived and born in sin. The incipient will, and together with it, because the will is the deepest element of our human life, the whole being of the child when it is born is under the power of sin and the devil. From the very beginning, therefore, the development of the child is

abnormal and false. And this is the reason that the promise is to us *and* to our *children*. The blessings of the covenant reach down as deep as sin and the curse, and in their baptism the grace of the actualized covenant, or Christian Church, as the mystical body of Christ is signed, sealed and thus made over to infants. Baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost for the remission of sins, they receive the gift of the Holy Ghost as the Medium through whom the glorified Christ, His Divine human life, and all His merits are received.

In their baptism, therefore, is not only the regeneration of infants germinally effected, but there their conversion begins. There it begins, and as a beginning may slumber for years; and it may ultimately die out altogether, even as the twig, though properly grafted into the tree, may droop, and finally die. The continuance of children's conversion after they have been received into the covenant of grace depends first upon those who have them in charge; afterwards upon themselves, their instructors and surroundings. As the child becomes self-conscious and begins to exercise its will, it always does so in harmony with the will of God, or in subjection to the will of the devil. And just in the degree in which it resists Satan, and yields to God through His Holy Spirit, will its conversion go forward. Now what is true of a child is also true of adults. Conversion consists primarily in a change of the will. And we are being converted, accordingly, just in the degree in which we do not yield to sin and Satan, but submit our wills to the will of God. But how do we come to know the will of God? Through the conscience and reason, enlightened by His Word and Spirit. And how do we know the will of Satan? Whatever contradicts the will of God is the will of Satan. He lives in constant rebellion against God. Whatever therefore is contrary to the dictates of conscience and the decision of the reason, properly enlightened by the Word and Spirit of God, that is sinful and that is the will of the devil. But just as the conscience and the reason must be enlightened to properly know the will of God, so must the will itself be strengthened to do

the will of God. This is precisely what the Holy Ghost does for every one who yields to His gentle wooings. He gives strength to every child of the covenant in whose heart Christ dwells by faith to will that which is good. But although the will lies at the foundation of our personal existence, it does not at once carry along with it the whole man; as says the Apostle, Rom. vii. 18-23, "To will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not. For the good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do. Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. I find then a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man. But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members."

Taking this profound view of the subject it immediately becomes evident that true conversion cannot be a sudden change effected once for all. It includes in itself at least three distinct stages, one of which is frequently mistaken, and more frequently still its counterfeit only, for the whole of conversion.

The first stage of conversion begins when the child is introduced into the covenant of grace, and a counteracting influence is set to work, through the gracious powers contained in the covenant, in the original bent of its nature. The grace of baptism is not the antidote exactly of original sin, but the germinal possibility rather through which this evil tendency in our nature may be gradually overcome, and finally altogether rooted out. The unfolding of the life germ implanted in baptism, is the development of principial regeneration into the new man, and the effect which flows from this development is conversion. This double process goes forward like every other phase of Christian life, just in the degree in which there is living faith in Christ either on the part of the child itself, or on the part of some one for the child as long as it cannot itself exercise conscious faith. Christ exercises His saving power, and thus dwells in our hearts, only by faith. Unconscious in-

fants have capacity to receive the implanted germ of a new life, but do not furnish the conditions for its growth. What light, heat and moisture are to the grain of wheat, deposited in good soil, that living faith is to the infant regenerated by the Holy Ghost in baptism. Or more pertinently still, what the love, care and attention of the mother, through whom God feeds, clothes, and shelters the infant child, are to its natural life, that living faith on the part of pious parents is to its regenerate life. We must therefore believe for our children, as long as they cannot believe for themselves if we desire the grace of God to unfold in them. Truly pious parents who pray for their children, and are as much concerned about *their* growth in grace, as they are about their own, are the only parents who can properly claim that they are bringing up their children, in the way they should go. Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God. As soon as the child is old enough to hear the Word of God, and partially understand it, it must be taught that Word, which is Christ, and for the child, the infant Jesus. All this will impress the child and work faith in its own heart, and as it grows in age it will also grow in grace. This will be for the child a real turning to God, and thus also a real turning from sin and Satan. This is the first stage of conversion, and leads the way to the second stage.

The second stage is entered upon, when the regenerate life of the believer so pervades the will that it is subdued, and the subject of grace as a new man gives himself up freely, and consciously to God in Jesus Christ through the Holy Ghost. Hence before the second stage of conversion is reached, there must be for some time a conscious or unconscious moving, toward the inevitable issue. Sometimes the crisis, when it is really entered upon, as in the case of Luther, involves a terrible struggle. Sometimes, too, the change is so gradual that the subject passes imperceptibly from a state of rebellion, or merely passive obedience, into a state of active obedience to God in Christ. But whether the change be accompanied by a violent struggle or not, the thing itself is essential. Every adult that

would be saved, must be brought to that point where he will no longer be in a state of rebellion against God, or simply passively obey the Lord, but when he will freely and consciously determine himself in harmony with the will of God. At this period in the life of the believing subject of grace, when by the power of faith he is brought to determine himself freely, and consciously in harmony with the will of God, his justification, which was effected essentially in his baptism, takes place actually, and consists in his full judicial reception into the favor of God through Christ; the ethical approval of God, authenticating itself to his believing heart. This free, conscious self-surrendery cannot be made for us by others. This each one must make for himself through the Holy Ghost, who is given to us for this very purpose.

The third stage of conversion is reached when, having fully surrendered ourselves to Christ, we enter earnestly upon the work of subduing the law of sin in our members, the assaults of the world and Satan; and of consecrating ourselves continually to Christ, and working for Him in His kingdom. With this stage begins our sanctification, in which the new man, having conquered the citadel of the soul and obtained a full surrender to himself of the old man, enters upon the work of cleansing and purification. The will and the heart are now right, but there are evil tendencies, corrupt inclinations and vicious habits to be overcome through the positive activity of the regenerate life of the believer, now moving freely and consciously into fuller union with the life of God. As this process goes forward, our sanctification progresses and our conversion becomes continually more complete, but is never fully consummated in this world.

Thus far we have considered, mainly the change which the will undergoes in the work of true conversion. But along with a change of the will, and not simply followed by it, goes also a change of the affections and a change of life. The heart is the seat of the affections. Out of it come love and hatred. The natural man loves the pleasures of sin, and hates the law and commandments of God. In the process of conversion our hearts are renewed. We learn to hate the

pleasures of sin, and to delight in the law of God after the inward man. Nay, more than this. We come to hate all sin because of its very nature, and learn to love God in Christ more and more fully. The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts. By faith we hold real communion and fellowship with Christ. Our hearts grow warm with love to Him. We delight to do His will, and it becomes our greatest pleasure to please Him. This affects us in all the relations of life, and will cause us to hate all evil and to delight in good works, which will then necessarily bring about a change of life. Conversion is correctly defined therefore as not only a change of the will, but as a change also of the affections, as well as a change of life.

It is necessary that we now consider and justify the sense in which the word conversion is used in this article. This is very important, as there is perhaps no word in the English language that is more abused than the term conversion. It is on every one's lips, and yet very few persons stop to think what it means. This produces endless confusion and occasions much mischief. Most persons have a very vague idea as to what conversion really is, and imagine that it is brought about through a peculiar experience, which the Holy Spirit produces in the heart, when at the right moment, He takes sudden possession of it. The Spirit is regarded as effecting a sudden, sensible change, which takes place in an instant and is accomplished once for all. But this doctrine is a fiction, only this and nothing more; a false doctrine, not verified either by Scripture or by the history of the Church, as this embodies the faith once delivered to the saints. It is a new doctrine, scarcely a hundred years old; a doctrine which contradicts the faith and teachings of the Church in all ages; and what is new in this sense cannot be true. As a pernicious principle it was born, and commenced to work as an evil leaven when men put asunder that which God hath joined together; when men forgot that the Church, as the mystical Body of Christ, into which fallen men are received that they may be saved, is necessarily visible and invisible as one organic constitution, even as man himself, a concrete entity uniting in himself the natural and

spiritual worlds, is visible and invisible, and taught that the Church is not thus two-fold in its character, but that there are two Churches, the visible Church and the invisible Church. Through the rise of Puritanism, the principle worked itself into a theory, and in Methodism and Baptistism, has been carried out to its farthest possible extreme as a doctrine. This doctrine of instantaneous conversion we reject as false, because, as already said, it cannot be verified by the Scriptures and the history of the Christian Church. It entirely contradicts the teachings of the New Testament. It does this in altogether ignoring the Holy Sacraments as means of grace. Men are, according to this theory, regenerated, converted and perfected without receiving any grace through the Sacraments. But what do Christ and His apostles say? "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." (John iii. 5.) Again: "And He said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach my Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is *baptized* shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." (Mark xvi. 15, 16.) "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, *baptizing* them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." (Matt. xxviii. 18, 20).

We have here the instructions which the Saviour gave to His Apostles as to the manner in which they should carry forward in His Name, the work which He had commenced. On the day of Pentecost after the Holy Ghost had been poured out, and the apostles were "endued with power from on high," (Luke xxiv. 49), St. Peter commenced the work which had been entrusted to him and to the other apostles. He preached the Gospel to the Jews who had crucified Jesus Christ, and assured them that "God hath made this same Jesus both Lord and Christ." Some of His hearers were convinced of the truth of what He said. They believed, and "were pricked in their heart, and said unto Peter and to the rest of the apostles,

Men and Brethren, *what shall we do?*" What was St. Peter's infallible answer guided now by the Spirit into all truth? (John xvi. 13). Because of the peculiar circumstances under which this answer was given, it is very important. What then did the inspired Apostle say to these Jews who had been brought to exercise some degree of faith and desired to be forgiven and saved? "Then Peter said unto them, Repent and *be baptized* every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, *for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.* For the *promise is unto you and to your children*, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call."

"Then they that *gladly received His word were baptized;* and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls. And they *continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine* and fellowship, and *in breaking of bread*, and in prayers. And the *Lord added to the Church* daily, such as should be saved." (Acts ii. 37-40, 41 and 47).

We will select a few other passages from the large number, that might be quoted. "And now why tarriest thou? Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord." (Acts xxii. 16). "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ." (Gal. iii. 26, 27). "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into His death? Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life." (Rom. vi. 3, 4). "The like figure whereunto, even baptism, doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." (1 Peter iii. 21).

What! Has baptism indeed nothing to do with our regeneration and conversion? Do not rather Christ and His Apostles plainly teach us, that we are to regard His grace as actually ours not before we become members of His Church, but only afterwards? What else can the passages of Scripture just quoted

mean, but that salvation comes to us through the Church, the Body of Christ, into which we are by faith engrafted through the initiatory sacrament of baptism? Any theory, therefore, which has no need of baptism to effect regeneration and true conversion, contradicts the whole tenor of the New Testament.

An important truth, however, underlies the false doctrine to which we have referred. The doctrine is based on the necessity of a personal awakening in the case of every unawakened adult who desires salvation, and lays great stress on the truth that any one who has come to the years of discretion, to be saved, must realize that he is a sinner by nature and practice, and heartily believe on the Lord Jesus Christ. This is possible not only in the case of those who are in the Church, but also in the case of those who are outside. Unbaptized persons can be awakened, can be brought to a knowledge of their sins and misery, and can believe in Christ. This much is possible in virtue of prevenient grace coming to them through the Holy Ghost. This however is not conversion itself, but only the necessary condition which leads to it; for, of course, no one makes any real attempt to turn to God in Christ, unless he realizes his sin and misery, believes in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, and comforts himself, because of the conviction that Christ died and rose again, not only for others, but also for him. This leads the unbaptized penitent sinner to submit to baptism and confirmation whereby he is received into the full communion of the Church and receives the Holy Ghost as the Bearer and Dispenser of the life of Christ and all His merits. Baptized into Jesus Christ he is *born* of water and the Spirit. He enters a new order of life. He is made to have part in the life of Christ as really as by his natural birth he has part in the life of Adam. He now occupies the same position which the baptized child has occupied from its earliest infancy, and in the degree in which by the power of faith he surrenders his will to the will of God, learns to love Him more fully, and changes his whole course of life is his old Adamic nature taken up by his regenerate life, and his conversion thus continually goes forward, but is never completed in this life.

So the Reformers looked upon conversion and so it is set forth in the Heidelberg Catechism. The Catechism regards conversion as a process reaching from the moment of regeneration forward to the close of the Christian's life on earth. "In regeneration the personality is centrally and principially renewed, but the law of sin still exists in the periphery of its nature, so that the appetites, desires, inclinations and passions are still more or less under its dominion. This is that law of sin in the members; warring against the law of the spiritually renewed mind, or against the 'law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus;' which has become the determining principle of the mind. Here there is a conflict. The old and the new are contrary to each other. But the old is to be more and more absorbed by the new, or converted into the new, in such way however that it loses its own properties and qualities and puts on those of the new. Thus the new must grow at the expense of the old, until the old has been wholly abolished and the new has become all in all. The Catechism calls this entire process conversion or repentance." For, apprehended of Christ Jesus through the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost the true believer fixes his eye of faith steadfastly on Jesus Christ, and "with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord is changed into the same image from glory to glory." The mystery of godliness opens more and more fully to his vision, but he cannot fathom or comprehend its exceeding greatness and glory. Continually he turns to it if that he may apprehend that for which also he is apprehended of Christ Jesus, and, like the Apostle Paul, says with deep humility, "I count not myself to have apprehended; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

Is it then improper to speak of true believers as converted? Certainly not. For that which is not yet completed is frequently spoken of in the Sacred Scriptures as already consummated, when the concrete process only has been entered upon which makes the desired result not only possible, but also probable.

Whoever in his life of grace has passed into the second stage of conversion, when, as has been seen, the regenerate life of the believer so pervades the will that it is subdued, and the subject of grace as a new man gives himself up freely and consciously to God in Jesus Christ through the Holy Ghost, he may be properly said to be converted. Such an one's heart is turned from sin and Satan to God in Christ, and he may be said to be converted, although he is still very imperfect and needs to advance in grace and holiness as long as he lives. He is converted, but needs to be ever more fully converted.

There is no contradiction in this statement, neither is the view here expressed peculiar. It was taught by the Reformers of the sixteenth century and is maintained by the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism. Ursinus in his commentary on the Catechism asks the question: "Is conversion perfect in this life?" and answers it thus: "Our conversion to God is not perfect in this life, but it is here continually advancing until it reaches the perfection which is proposed in the life to come. All the complaints and prayers of the saints are confirmations of this truth, 'Cleanse thou me from secret faults.' 'O wretched man that I am who shall deliver me from the body of this death?'" Immediately after this it is said: "The same thing may be said of the exhortations of the prophets and Apostles, in which they exhort those who *are converted* to turn more fully unto God." It is also added: "There are two plain reasons why the will, in the case of those who *are converted*, tends imperfectly to the good in this life." The author gives these reasons, makes some further statements, and then closes his remarks with the following strong passage from Calvin's Institutes, in confirmation of his position that our conversion is not perfect in this life, although true believers are properly spoken of as converted. "This restoration is not accomplished in a single moment, or day, or year; but by continual, and sometimes even slow advances, the Lord destroys the carnal corruptions of His chosen, purifies them from all pollution and consecrates them as temples to Himself; renewing all their senses to real purity, that they may employ their whole life in

the exercise of *repentance*, and know that this warfare will be terminated only in death."

The religious experience which accompanies true conversion depends to a very great extent on the temperament, disposition and surroundings of the person who is being converted. There may be a general or even a very striking resemblance in the experience of the subjects of conversion, but there is always some difference. It is never precisely alike in any two persons. There is a general resemblance between all human beings, and yet no two look precisely alike. Whilst there is an indissoluble unity running through the human family there is also infinite variety. We differ in temperament, disposition, inclination, habit, age, education, intelligence, surroundings, and in all the circumstances of life. Christianity does not remove our individual peculiarities, in so far as they are not sinful, but only sanctifies them. There is endless variety in human life, therefore endless variety in Christian life. To compare our experience may at times be edifying, but the experience of one person cannot be made the test of true religion in others. The Apostles were all true believers in Christ, except Judas, and yet their faith manifested itself in a peculiar manner in the case of each one.

But this infinite variety of religious experience, as already intimated, does not destroy its inner unity. For running through all the peculiarities of religious experience there is a deeper peculiarity which distinguishes the genuine from the counterfeit. This peculiarity it is, however, very often extremely difficult to detect, and for this reason experience is never by itself a good test of the presence and power of true Christianity either in ourselves or others. God alone knoweth the heart. We do not even fully know our own hearts, much less the hearts of others. And just here it is that many persons make a grave mistake. A particular experience is to them the only proof of genuine Christianity, and the principal incentive to piety. This makes their Christianity partial and one-sided. It becomes too subjective. They look too much into themselves and not enough at Christ. They understand the words, "The Spirit itself

beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God," to refer, and exclusively too, to the emotions and spiritual pleasures which true believers experience. But how are we to tell whether these emotions and spiritual enjoyments are genuine or counterfeit? If so much depends on these, faith must of course turn in upon itself, examine itself and ascertain whether the Spirit thus witnessing be the spirit of truth or delusion. But in this way the testimony of the Spirit is rendered so hard to be discerned, that it does not help us at all, but our assurance in the end is made to depend only on our own certain knowledge of the genuineness of our experience. This leads the earnest inquirer to look away from Christ to himself, and what he desires is faith in his faith in Christ. His whole effort is to believe that he is believing in Christ. But how is he to gain such confidence in his faith in Christ? He must have some evidence on account of which he is willing to believe that he is a true believer. And this evidence he thinks must be in his feelings. He wants to *feel* that his sins are forgiven, and that God has accepted him; and then he is willing to regard himself as a true believer. Hence it is very common for persons who look at Christianity in this way to ask others this question: "Have you experienced religion?" By which question they mean this; "Did you ever feel anything in your mind and heart on account of which you believe that you are a Christian?" The answer of many professing Christians is this: "Yes, at such a time I was brought under conviction. I felt myself to be a great sinner. I prayed to the Lord to have mercy on me. I struggled fearfully, but at last on such a day I was blessed. I felt that the Lord had now forgiven my sins, and I was very happy. On this experience I base my hope, and because God gave it to me I believe myself to be a Christian and try to live like one."

This test of personal religion is the direct opposite of a dead formalism, which regards Christianity as made up of outward observances. Formalism is the one extreme, and the form of religion just described, or Pietism, as it is called, is the other extreme. Formalism causes men to be satisfied with an outward religion. Pietism turns men in upon themselves, and makes

them anxious to feel right: and their feelings then become the test and measure of their religion. Now although these two extremes directly contradict each other, they are precisely alike in one respect. They both ignore Christ. Formalism seeks comfort in rites, ceremonies, observances, and ordinances, sundered from Christ. Pietism seeks comfort in experience, in feeling, in the emotions, without any regard to the means of grace. Both these forms of Christianity are unfaithful to Christ, and whoever falls into either one of them is guilty of unbelief. And just this, namely; unbelief, is the besetting sin of very many sincere inquirers after the truth. Instead of looking to Christ, taking Him at His word, pondering His gracious promises and simply trusting Him for all needed grace and help, they are constantly forgetting Him. If they succeed in procuring what they regard as the proper experience, then are they willing to believe that they are Christians and try to live like Christians, but not until then.

Now this is manifestly the perversion of an important truth. For the experience of religion is not the cause of personal Christianity and true piety, but the effect of these. A man is not a Christian because he has "experienced religion," but because he is a true Christian he has religious experience. A man does not become a Christian by being simply brought under conviction, by feeling himself to be a great sinner, by praying, and struggling with his sins, and then experiencing a feeling of comfort, else there were no occasion or necessity for the Holy Sacraments as means of grace, and yet these ordinances are prominently set forth as such by the Saviour and His Apostles. Something more than the experience just described is necessary to make a man a Christian. Of course any one who has not from his childhood been turning to, believing in, and loving the Lord Jesus Christ, but has led a careless, wicked, selfish, sinful life must be awakened, must be brought to a knowledge of his sin and misery, and must turn to the Lord with all his heart, which act of faith will bring comfort to his soul. But this does not in itself make a person a Christian any more than true love between a man and a woman marries them, makes them man and

wife. Something in addition to true love is necessary to make a man a husband and a woman a wife. They must be married.

What then is it that makes us true Christians? Not our religious feelings, and pious emotions, but life union with Jesus Christ. How is this brought about and maintained? Neither through mental and spiritual exercises, nor through outward observances, but by faith and prayer in the use of the means of grace—the Word of God and the Holy Sacraments. The Lord Jesus Christ is the source of all grace, and without His assistance in the Holy Ghost we can neither begin, continue nor finish the work of our personal salvation. Faith in Him therefore is the one indispensable requisite whereby His grace will reach us and become effectual in us. In His Word and Sacraments, as means of grace, He really comes to us, and by faith, and prayer, as the deepest expression of faith, we are brought into life union with Him through these means. In His Word He makes known to us the Promise of the Gospel, concretely fulfilled—become flesh and blood in Himself. In the Holy Sacrament of Baptism this fulfilled Promise is signed, sealed and thus made over to us in our infancy. In the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist our Lord, as the glorified Christ, feeds us by faith with His own body and blood, whereby our regenerate life is nourished and built up. Hence true faith directs us to Christ as the Head of His mystical body, the Church, of which we are true members by faith in the proper use of the means of grace, and thus in life union with Him. Faith leads us to look away from ourselves to Him, our Saviour and our God; and the Holy Ghost helps us to bring all our burdens and cares to Him who alone can sustain us.

Therefore we pray in the proper spirit, when, forgetting our feelings and remembering our sins, we ask Christ to reveal Himself to us, to manifest our wants, needs and sins to ourselves, to open the Scriptures to our minds and hearts, to enable us to appreciate the Holy Sacraments, and to give us above all things faith in Him who is the way, the truth and the life. It is positively wrong to seek a certain experience which we may think we ought to have. For religious experience is like pleasure, not an end in itself, not something to be sought for its

own sake. We must come upon it incidentally whilst we truly follow Christ in faith; whilst we seek and follow the path of Christian duty. It cannot be right to earnestly desire and pray for a particular feeling. Does feeling good bring us nearer to Christ? Does it make us better? Does it honor Christ? Is it not rather selfish? Is it not making too much of what is unessential? Is it not seeking a sign instead of taking Christ at His word and trusting Him? Why did the true patriot go to war during our late civil strife? To see the country? To satisfy his roving disposition? To become an experienced soldier? No. He went to fight for his country and his God. Going in this way, from the right motive, he became an experienced soldier, but his experience was to him of altogether secondary importance. So precisely it is with the true followers of Jesus Christ. The question to be asked is not, "Do I feel right?" but always this: "Am I turning away from sin and Satan to God in Christ? Am I giving up all and following my Master in heart and soul?"

Whoever thus draws near to Christ with a true heart in earnest faith learns to know Him. For as the eye, illumined by the light of the sun is the organ through which the mind comes to a knowledge of the sun itself and of all other objects in the natural world, so is faith, illumined by the Sun of Righteousness, the organ through which the soul apprehends Christ Jesus in the Holy Ghost, and comes to a knowledge of its own sin and misery. The sense of sin is indeed universal. Even the heathen, as well as the poor blear-eyed natural man the world over, feels his sin and guilt, but to come to a proper knowledge of his sin and misery, Christ must shine into his soul through his faith, which as a natural capacity the Saviour Himself quickens into living faith through the Holy Ghost. The Lord Jesus is Himself the Gospel, the Sum and Substance of the Glad Tidings of Salvation. His love coming into and warming our hearts begets love for Him. Himself the Image in which man is created, His love, so unselfish, so true, so generous, touches a responsive chord in the susceptible human heart and calls forth its confidence and love. Here lies the root of all true sorrow

and penitence, as well as of all true joy and peace. The boy, who is sure of his mother's love, which love calls out his own love and confidence, is troubled when he disobeys her, and finds comfort, peace, and strength to do better in the future, in her forgiveness and the renewed manifestations of her love. He, who is sure of Christ's love, is penitent and sorrowful because of his sins, and rejoices in Christ forgiving and strengthening him. The experience of true conversion, therefore, consists both in "heartfelt sorrow for sin, causing us to hate and turn from it always more and more," and also in "heartfelt joy in God; causing us to take delight in living according to the will of God in all good works." This experience is not to be attained suddenly, and once for all, but manifests itself gradually and not because we seek it, but because we seek and follow Christ by faith in the use of the means of grace. But it does not move steadily forward, growing as regularly as the healthy child grows in stature. Our souls are sick with sin, and conversion has to do principally with the ethical part of our being. Did we never yield to sin our sorrow for sin and our joy in God would indeed unfold steadily and continuously. But our weakness and depravity, wrought upon by the temptations of the world, the flesh and the Devil, frequently lead us into sin, and oftentimes make us lukewarm, indifferent, cold. We do not always watch and pray as we ought. Hence every believer, unless he gradually loses his interest in Christ and draws back to perdition, passes through spiritual struggles, or crises, more or less decided. Each relapse calls for the renewal of penitence and faith, and for fresh consecration to Christ. And coming to Jesus in sincerity the believer receives new comfort, joy and strength from His Lord. He takes courage and learns to delight more and more in the service of his blessed Master. For as the stone, cast into the heaving lake, starts a series of concentric circles on the surface of the water, that ever widening, move onward till taking in the whole lake, they strike the surrounding shore and are at rest, so the grace of God once lodged in the troubled soul must move onward and still onward, crisis following crisis, until it has, as a living power, reached the outermost periphery of the believer's being, which process is fully

consummated only when he himself lands on the golden shores of the New Jerusalem and is at rest. In this life, clinging to the cross of Christ and living in His light, he learns to rejoice and triumph more and more in his Saviour. He realizes continually more fully that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold: sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb. With David and Christ Himself, he says, "I have set the Lord always before me: because He is at my right hand, I shall not be moved. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth; my flesh also shall rest in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou wilt show me the path of life; in Thy presence is fulness of joy; at Thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore." And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself even as he is pure. Giving all diligence, such a one adds to his faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity. For if these things be in him and abound, they will make him that he shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. Entering ever more fully into the mystery of godliness he learns to appreciate even the sublime utterance of St. Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians where he says: "For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that He would grant you, according to the riches of His glory, to be strengthened with might by His Spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God. Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto Him be glory *in the Church* by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen."

Art. VI.—THE IDEA OF GOD IN ITS BEARING ON HUMAN KNOWLEDGE.

There are three general departments under which all knowledge may be comprehended, the knowledge of God, of man, and of the world. Corresponding to these three forms of knowledge are the three necessary ideas of the reason, standing in the three-fold consciousness of man, self-consciousness, world-consciousness, and God-consciousness. This trinity of the human consciousness stands in a necessary unity. There can be no development of self-consciousness without the development at the same time of a consciousness of the world. The *ego* must distinguish itself from the *non-ego*. And there can be no proper unfolding of these two forms of consciousness, without a consciousness of God, of the Absolute, which binds the two together. What we call self-consciousness proper differs from the other two forms named, in that in it the subject and object are one and the same. All human knowledge or thought must start in this three-fold consciousness. We would start, therefore, in our examination of the ground of human knowledge, not as Des Cartes, with his proposition, *Cogito, ergo sum*, and then derive the knowledge of the existence of God and the world from this, but with the axioms, I exist, the world exists, God is. No one of these can be demonstrated, because they constitute the first principles on which all reasoning must rest.

Accordingly we find that ancient philosophy, particularly the Greek philosophy, moved forward in its development through three periods, characterized by the object of chief inquiry in each. First came speculation and study in regard to the origin and nature of the world (Cosmogony), then followed the study of man (Ethics and Logic), and this was followed by an age of inquiry into the nature of God (theology,

or theosophy, as in Neo-Platonism). See Ueberweg's Hist. Phil. vol. i. p. 26.

It is our purpose in this article to consider the Idea of God, in its bearing on human knowledge.

We know that God is intimately related to man and the world, as the Maker and Preserver of all things, that He is immanent as well as transcendent, that His presence underlies the deepest substance of our life, that conscience testifies of the absolute authority of His law, and that He is the object of worship. So much natural religion teaches. We know also that the presence and grace of God are brought into the world in a still deeper sense in the revelation He has made in His Son Jesus Christ, through whom and in whom the kingdom of God is come on earth. God is the central presence and principle of all religion, for religion is a binding of man to God as the source of his being and the end of his seeking. There is a universal sense of this, and no amount of skeptical philosophy can rule it out of the world. The consciousness of God is in all men, the idea of God is intuitive and innate, at least in possibility. This truth, of course, is vital in considering the general subject of religion, and religion must exert an influence on all departments of human life, on all forms of knowledge. This is not, however, what we propose to consider. We wish to inquire what bearing the idea of God has on human knowledge directly, what the idea of the absolute (which is a form of the idea of God) has to do in all philosophy and science.

We can perhaps consider our subject to the best advantage by noticing and criticising two opposite views that have been advanced in modern times. In answer to the question, can man know the absolute? opposite answers have been given. It is maintained on the one side that man cannot know God, because He is absolute and infinite, and all human knowledge has to do only with the relative and finite,—that while He may be an object of faith, and authenticate Himself in some way to the moral nature, to conscience, as Kant allowed, yet He is entirely excluded from the reach of human thought or

knowledge. The most ultra form of this modern skepticism and infidelity is brought out in what is called the Positive Philosophy, of which Compte is a leading exponent. This shuts out all idea of God from science, yea from the world, for it regards all religion as a stage of superstition merely, through which man passes, a dream of the world's childhood, from which he then enters the metaphysical period, and ends in the positive stage, in which man accepts only a knowledge of mere phenomena as reached by observation and experiment, a dreary, dark, blank infidelity.

This position is taken still more boldly by many leading scientists of the present age, and it is fortified by the assertion that while it may be right enough for philosophy to speculate in regard to an ultimate cause, science in the strict sense has to do only with laws that are open to observation and experience,—that whether there be a God or not, or whether He acts upon the world in an extraordinary way, as above the laws of nature, science at least has nothing to do with such questions. Some go still further and assert that science must rule out all reference to any supra-mundane power. It is just here that much of the science of the present day places itself in antagonism with all revealed religion, and advocates a naturalism which would banish God entirely from His universe.

On the other hand it has been maintained that man can know the absolute, that he can grasp the infinite, and that only by starting from this stand-point can any universal system of knowledge or philosophy be developed, any satisfactory system of science be elaborated. With this problem struggled the great Spinoza, who was said to be drunk with the idea of God, and from this starting-point did such giant thinkers as Schelling and Hegel seek to construct the system of the universe in their philosophy of the absolute. On the one side thought gives up the problem, flees from it, and, in the case of some, seeks to shut out entirely all thought of God ; on the other side the thinker grapples with it and imagines that he is able to master it, as Hegel, when he attempted to explain the very genesis of the being of God by a dialectic process from non-being.

There is a sense in which all such efforts to scale the heavens by the power of human thought is profane. "Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection?" "No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath revealed Him." The boldness and pride of thought may become a snare quite as dangerous as doubt and infidelity.

What answer, then, must we give to the question, Can man know the absolute? We answer, he can, in the sense that he has the idea of the absolute as an intuition of the reason, just as he has a sense of moral obligation to God in conscience. To deny this would be to say that there are no soundings or echoes of the eternal in man's intellectual nature, and sunder his intellectual from his moral nature. Then the words eternal, absolute, infinite, would be for him words without meaning, and no explanation could be given as to how they ever found their way into the human vocabulary. It does not relieve the difficulty to say, that the infinite is merely the non-finite, and that therefore while we may have a positive conception of the finite, what lies beyond is unknowable. The great matter here is that there *is a beyond*, an unlimited, boundless sphere of being. To know that such a sphere of being *is*, is everything for the point here concerned, for without this we could form no conception of the finite. To be able to assert such a negation as the non-finite implies a positive idea, we say not conception, of the infinite. The two are related as necessarily as the law of identity and the law of contradiction in logic. A=A requires that we should be able to assert that A does not equal non-A. The idea of the infinite is postulated in thinking the finite. Kant was right when he said, in presenting his *autonomies*, that man cannot think the finite without at the same time thinking the infinite, nor can he think the infinite without at the same time thinking the finite. Let any one attempt, for instance, to think of the universe as limited, and, on the supposition that it is limited, ask himself what lies beyond its limits, and he will at once see the force of what we have said. To deny the idea of infinity is at the same time to destroy the concep-

tion of the finite. We know that the universe is not infinite in the sense that God is infinite, and yet it reflects the infinity of God in such a way that we cannot contemplate it without being apprehended at once by the idea of the infinite.

But in addition to the criticism thus based on the words used to designate the absolute, we may press the argument that, to allow that God can authenticate Himself to man's moral nature, and then deny all power of apprehending Him in any sense by the intellectual nature, the reason, would be to create a dualism in man's being. His very personality implies that the absolute sounds through him, and if no echoes are heard in reason, then there would be a gulf between reason and conscience. They would be unintelligible to each other; and this would involve then also a dualism between faith and knowledge, and revelation and science.

But when we say that man has an idea of the absolute, we must not infer that man can comprehend the absolute in the way of understanding it. It pertains to the nature of the *idea* that it is not limited and bound, but is universal in its character. What holds in the reason as idea, when reduced to the forms of the understanding, becomes in the very nature of the case limited. The reason is the eye of the intellectual nature of man that can at least look out into infinity, though it can not in any sense measure it, while the understanding has to do with the finite. And this is so, no doubt, because the finite and infinite are themselves so related as that the one is in the other. The one does not exclude the other. The infinite comprehends the finite, underlies it, and is its substantial support. The reason has a sense of this. This is a very different thing from saying that reason can comprehend the infinite. It can apprehend it. We can agree with Kant, and Sir William Hamilton after him, in saying that we can form no *conception* of God, and any attempt of the natural reason to find Him out in this sense must be regarded not only as vain but profane. In this respect Kant did good service in clipping the wings of boasting rationalism, and taught reason to be humble; and in establishing the reality of *a priori*

knowledge he demolished the skepticism of such men as Hume; but in shutting out God entirely from cognition he in turn played into the hands of rationalists. It has always been felt that there is an inconsistency here in his view on this point taken in his Critique of pure reason and that in his Critique of the practical reason. In the latter, the idea of God becomes a necessity, while in the former it is ruled out. Yet there must be a God for the reason as well as for the will, for the intellectual as well as for the moral nature of man. "I am that I am" must become in some sense an intelligible word for the reason as well as the "thou shalt" must be a categorical imperative for the will.

What we have now said of our subject will appear still more clearly if we consider it more practically in the way of example and illustration.

In philosophy we think of the absolute in the forms of the good, the beautiful, the true. The good is for the will, the beautiful for the phantasy, the true for the intellect.

Take for instance the science of Ethics. What is left here without the idea of the absolute good? How can we come to any proper apprehension of will and free obedience on the part of man without positing an absolute will that is to be obeyed? How can we understand the nature of laws or rights without the idea of universal law and absolute right? It is only when an absolute is posited for ethical science that we can escape the utilitarian and eudæmonistic principles that have perverted and degraded so many systems of morality. Not only must the absolute authenticate itself to the will as a categorical imperative, but we must apprehend it intellectually in order to any true metaphysics of Ethics. Take away this grand background or reservoir from the study of Ethics, and you have only an empty shell, a stream without a fountain that loses itself in the sand.

In like manner the science of Æsthetics requires the idea of the beautiful. The beautiful is the infinite as apprehended by the phantasy in finite forms. The animal can have no sense of the beautiful or the sublime, just because it has no sense of the infinite or absolute as the mystery that underlies the creation. A

sense of the beautiful, I know, is not the same thing with the thought or intellectual apprehension of it; but the one requires the other, else there would be no metaphysics of Æsthetics, no bond of connection between the phantasy and the reason. If the phantasy has to do with the infinite (not indeed directly but mediately through the finite), the reason must be able to apprehend the idea.

The same must hold in regard to the true, which brings us more directly into the sphere and scope of science. Science proper has for its mission to bring the intellect into communication with the true, with truth in its variegated forms. There is also a metaphysics of the true, what is generally understood by *Metaphysics* in which we seek all the axioms and postulates of science. For, truth is one, and all the particular sciences must refer themselves to the idea of truth in general. We find here that we cannot move a single step with any light until we have the idea of absolute truth.

This point needs to be carefully noted. There is an impression with some that ontology belongs only to the sphere of pure metaphysics, that questions in regard to the essence of things, to their ultimate origin and final end, belong entirely to philosophy, and have nothing to do with science. Many eminent scientists of the present day in this way seek to sunder science from philosophy. Compte turns over metaphysics, as he does religion, to a by-gone stadium of historical development. And the popular mind sympathizes with this disregard of philosophy. It exercises itself in beating the air. It is a sort of intellectual gymnastics. It has done nothing in the discovery of truth, &c. Such are the charges made against it, and because comparatively few are qualified for abstract thinking, the metaphysician finds very little sympathy with the multitude.

And yet with all this, philosophy always rules the thinking of the age. As people reason on the basis of axioms, and reason, too, without knowing the meaning of a syllogism, so the principles of philosophy continually mould the thinking of the people. And science, also, must accept its necessary dependence on philosophy. It has a certain measure of inde-

pendence. It has doubtless been greatly wronged in past ages by being held in unnatural bondage to philosophy and religion. It is now asserting its independence, and in doing so its danger is in attempting to free itself from all restraint.

But it is plain that no science can thus sunder itself from philosophic thought; for it belongs to the very conception of science, that it must have to do with general principles and not merely with facts. Science is systematic knowledge, but in reducing facts to a system we come at once into the region of principles which the mere facts, as phenomena, cannot supply. It matters not whether we proceed by induction or deduction, the result must be the same. Scientists are continually talking about laws, but what are laws but generalizations, and in order to pass from any given number of facts to a general law, we must pass from the phenomenal to the supersensuous. Men who deny philosophy are constantly using philosophy to set it aside. Darwin, for instance, finds a different origin for man than the Scripture doctrine of creation teaches, but he must call in speculation to reach his conclusion, for neither he nor any one else ever saw an animal transformed into a human being.

But, now, if philosophical principles must underlie, and permeate all science, then it follows that the ideas of the reason must also perform an office in all science. And if the idea of the infinite is intuitive in the reason, it cannot be excluded from science. Accordingly we find that every science has its mystery, its hidden depths. It has its beginnings in mystery and its ends in mystery. It is like a picture in which a portion of the landscape is separated from its natural finite surroundings, just to impress us with a sense of the infinite, that looks through it. Mathematics has its paradox in its infinite series, astronomy its boundless universe. Language points to thought, and all thinking implies infinite reason. Natural science, history, mental science, all lead into depths that require to be interpreted in the light of the idea of the infinite. To rule out, not only the idea of God, as He is known to us in revelation, but the idea of the absolute from science is to put out its own

light. Compte says, the beginning and the end of things is unknowable to us. Only what lies between these two, belongs to us. He will accept neither atheism nor theism, neither transcendent nor immanent causes. But what is this but the ostrich hiding its head in the sand? Here is the root of the skepticism of science. It can all be traced to an ignoring of any idea of the absolute in man, and this is like putting out the eye because it cannot see to the utmost limits of the universe.

We do not complain of this skepticism in science because it does not accept the direct guidance of the Bible, or revelation. The Bible was not given as a guide directly for science. The two move in different spheres and have different objects in view. The Church was wrong when it attempted to control science directly, and theologians in this age are wrong, we think, when they set up the Bible as against the deductions or conclusions of science. But we charge upon this skepticism first that it wrongs itself, and contradicts reason, when it rules out the idea of God, in the form in which this idea holds in the reason, from science. Just here is the point where it must be met on its own ground. When science denies the law of cause and effect, and declares that reason can recognize sequence only, and that the idea of a first cause, that is itself uncaused, is an unknowable term to science, we charge it with wilfully closing its own eyes to the light, and then declaring that light does not exist.

This skepticism, we know, says, it is not our province to assert anything in regard to God, or transcendent causes or principles. If a God there be, and if there be transcendent causes or powers, the religionist, not we, have to do with that question. But it will be noticed that while they do not consider it their province to teach for God, they inevitably regard it as their mission to teach against God. They "deny God, deny mind, deny even self." Of course we do not charge this on science itself, but on a certain class of scientific men, the materialists, who have not been few in these latter times.

Religion cannot help science here directly. It would be

at best only an external authority in this form for reason, and obedience to it would have no ethical significance. It will not cure the evil of Darwinism to confront it with the account of man's creation in Genesis, and say, give up your infidel theory and take that. It must be met first on its own ground, and shown to be unphilosophical and unscientific. At least it must be shown that the Scripture account is not inconsistent with the established facts of science.

But what is to be done if the scientific man denies that man has any idea of the absolute, or of God? We would seek to show him that by proceeding with such denial, he becomes involved in contradiction and confusion, that he becomes inconsistent. It may be possible that he will persist in his denial, and this only shows that man may shut out the revelation which God makes, though dimly, in nature and reason, and that those especially who refuse His higher revelation in Christ are in danger of having the light that is in them turned to darkness. When Christ confronted the Jews with the revelation and presence of God in His own person, and they refused to believe on Him, He charged home upon them that they had destroyed and obliterated the revelation they already had. "If ye were of God, ye would hear God's words;" that is, if ye were true to the revelation of the God of the Old Testament, ye would recognize the God of the New. So the skepticism of science blots out the idea of God as He reveals Himself in man, and in the universe, and then it denies His higher revelation in His Son, Jesus Christ.

It is just in this idea of the absolute, that we find a connecting link between science and religion. It is related to science in the one direction through philosophy, as we have seen. And we may see from this, how necessary it is that science should not be divorced from philosophy, and how necessary it is that philosophy itself should understand and be true to its great mission. It sits queen over the realm of all science. It sheds its light down through the winding, dusky avenues that lead up to the temple of truth. Without it all knowledge becomes disorganized and loses itself in confusion. Hence it is, that

no course of liberal education can be complete that does not end in philosophy, and that is not based upon philosophy throughout. Without this there may be acquisition of knowledge in various directions, but the education will lack unity. It is no reason that philosophy should be eschewed or neglected in our higher institutions, because it has at times spent its energies in useless vagaries or scholastic subtleties. Like every other good thing it may be misused. But it still remains true, that without philosophy scientific knowledge, or education, must lack unity. Even where it is formally neglected, some philosophy will nevertheless exert a controlling influence over the thought of an institution. It may be that the system of Bacon and Locke, tending to sensationalism, has become ingrained in all the teaching, even where they are not formally recognized as authorities, or it may be that Herbert Spencer has gained the ascendency, and with him the skepticism of science to which we have referred. It is a matter of vital importance, that the thinking in our higher institutions should be organized by a sound philosophy.

Having now considered the bearing of the idea of God on human knowledge in philosophy and science, we proceed to consider its relation to the revelation of God in Christ, or in revealed religion. We have not intended in this article, to present this idea, or philosophy as enshrining this idea, as a sufficient guide in human knowledge. We believe just the contrary. Philosophy in itself is not a safe guide for science. It must stand related to a higher guide, and thus become the mediating link between Christianity and science. In the treatment of this point we may be able to find the true relation between revelation and science, a problem that is of the utmost importance in this age.

We may say in the first place, that the revelation in Christ does not supersede the idea of God, or the idea of the absolute, lodged in the reason, but it confirms and illumines it. The world of nature still remains as the creation of God, even though a new creation has come in Christ.

Nature, with her systems and laws is still the object of human study, and investigation. The laws of language and thought, remain unchanged, and science still moves forward in its investigations and discoveries. The same God who framed the worlds and made man a reasonable being, reveals Himself for man's salvation in Christ. When Christ came as the bread from heaven to support man's true life, He did not take away the material which supports his bodily life. When He brought into the world the light of heavenly wisdom, He did not thereby supersede the necessity of man's gaining knowledge in the ordinary way. Christianity does not take the place of science.

So the consciousness of God, the God-idea, remains in man, and continues to be the condition in man by which a revelation is possible. The absolute reason which the human reason apprehends, is just the light which proceeds forth from the eternal Word. In Him was life, and the life was the light of men. This was the true light that, coming into the world, lighteneth every man. The idea of the absolute continues all the same to assert itself in all human knowledge. The laws of thinking and reasoning are the same now that they were in the time of Aristotle. As man must still reach the discipline of his intellectual powers through their exercise in study, as he must study the sciences in order to become learned, so philosophy must still classify and unify all man's knowledge, and still occupy its throne among the sciences.

In the second place the revelation in Christ illumines with a flood of light the whole realm of nature, the whole sphere of knowledge, especially in relation to their proper end. Thus when He was on the earth, He revealed the significance of nature by the light thrown upon it in the parable, where He brought out the deep inner correspondence between nature and the supernatural. As Christian students and scholars, we do not set aside the truth that Plato found in the realm of ideas as a world of reality above the phenomenal, but we know now that those ideas are forms of the absolute, confronting the reason and informing the reason, while the absolute Absolute,

as it has been called, is the true and living God revealed to us in Christ our Lord. Here comes to us the light that removes the darkness from the human mind, and enables us to interpret all truth with reference to its end. The ideas of Plato, which were as dark, shadowy images to him, now stand out in the clear light. As mountain top and valley, river and plain, come out to view, in the light of the rising sun, so the light of truth reveals to us what is only shadowy and dim in the light of nature and reason.

In the third place, Christianity not only reveals more clearly the fragmentary truth we possess in nature and reason, but enables it to come to its proper unity and perfection. It comes to us as the proper complement and fulfillment of all knowledge and all truth. As the knowledge of the Alphabet finds its meaning in the formation of words and sentences, and without going on to this would remain without any proper end, so all knowledge, all science, comes to its completion in the knowledge of God in Christ. Here the idea of God becomes filled out with its proper contents.

It does not follow from this, that philosophy must give up its work and mission in its own sphere, and merge itself into Christian theology, nor that it must receive the guidance of revelation in the way of an external authority. But neither are we to regard the two as moving in separate and independent spheres, which can never touch each other nor come into any real communion. This view we know is often taken by Christian teachers. They say, science receives its facts on the evidence of the senses, while religion receives its facts on a different kind of evidence, addressed to faith. But faith and reason cannot be sundered. Religion has to do with knowledge also, and its knowledge must be the highest reason. There must be in man a connecting link, or at least a basis for reconciling the knowledge derived from nature and reason, and that derived from revelation. While the two move in their own spheres, they must not remain apart and contradictory, but find an affinity and a harmony.

Christian theology, for instance, freely uses the knowledge

of science, and especially of philosophy, in producing its system of thought. Christianity domiciliated itself, as we know, in forms of thought and government, which Greece and Rome furnished it, while it still remained a new life, a new creation. It retained its independence still. So, we maintain, science and philosophy can proceed on their own stand-point, and yet employ the light that comes to them from revelation, not indeed as an external, mechanical guide, but as entering and guiding them from within. And the point around which they can thus harmonize above all others is, we think, the God-idea in man.

That there should be difficulty in harmonizing the two at all points we need not wonder, because the two orders, the natural and the supernatural, are not yet united in fact in the work of redemption, but the two are in essential harmony—must be—because both are the work of one God and Father. But we do not propose to extend our remarks on this point. What we have aimed at is to bring out the bearing, which the idea of God has on human knowledge, and the sphere in which this idea must exert its chief moulding influence is Philosophy, and through this also in science. When this is once admitted, there will be a recognized common ground, so to speak, for science and revelation. The revelation of God in Christ, will prove itself the true light to aid in developing natural truth—natural religion will at least point to a revelation, and revelation will authenticate itself as that in which alone the natural can realize its true end.

Art. VII.—THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

BY PROF. F. A. GAST.

Among the nations of antiquity, there is one that is surrounded with a higher glory and a more sacred interest, than all others. It is the people of Israel. Other nations have played a more prominent part in the external fortunes of man; none has exerted a deeper, more lasting and more beneficial influence on his spiritual life.

Yet Israel was in many respects an insignificant people. Its territory was small. It never carried its arms far beyond the narrow boundaries of Palestine. It felt no ambition, like Rome, to found a universal empire. Military success was not its grand aim. Even in the peaceful pursuits of commerce and navigation, it was far outrivaled by the neighboring Phenicians. Philosophy, science and art never engaged its highest energies, as they engaged the energies of Egypt and Greece. Its noblest achievements belong to another and higher sphere; and that sphere is religion. The religion of Israel constitutes its true, almost its only glory.

With religion the general interests of the nation and the private interests of the individual were intimately and indissolubly connected. Its law related to a large extent to public worship. Daily occupations were hallowed by divinely prescribed and significant ceremonies. Festivals were frequent, and the blood of sacrifice flowed in an almost constant stream. The nation had its wars; but they were in defence of its altars, as much as of its hearths. It had its literature; but that literature was so entirely the fruit of its pure, sober, unmythological religion, that epic poetry found no place in it and the drama never advanced beyond its rudimentary beginnings. Philosophy, in the sense of a system reasoned out according to the laws of logic,

it never had; yet its sacred books embody philosophic principles profounder and more comprehensive than ever were reached by the sages of India or Greece,—for, viewing all things in the higher light of religion, the inspired writers trace them back to their deepest and most fundamental relation—their relation to God.

Israel was the nation of religion, as classic Greece was of science and art, and classic Rome, of government and legislation. This was its sole importance. "The history of this ancient people" says Ewald, "is in reality the history of the growth of true religion rising through all stages to perfection, pressing on through all conflicts to the highest victory, and finally revealing itself in full glory and power, in order to spread irresistibly from this centre, never again to be lost, but to become the eternal possession and blessing of all nations."*

What was that religion of which Israel was the bearer and of which the Old Testament is the record? Especially, what was its relation to heathenism, on the one side, and to Christianity, the religion of the New Testament, on the other? A few brief hints in answer to these questions is all that our time will allow.

In saying that Israel was the nation of religion, we do not imply that other nations were destitute of religion, but only that their special mission lay in another sphere. No people has yet been found without some consciousness of God, however vague and imperfect, and without some feeling of guilt, however dim. Even among the most degraded races, oracles have been consulted to ascertain the divine will, prayer offered and penances undergone to secure the divine favor, and bloody sacrifices laid upon altars to appease the divine wrath. Religion in one form or another is as universal as man; for it is the deepest necessity of his spiritual nature.

Seeing, then, that Israel was not in the exclusive possession of religion, wherein is the religion of the Old Testament distinguished from the Gentilic religions? In this, that it is the off-

* Ewald's *History of Israel*, English translation, Vol. 1, p. 5

spring of revelation, while all heathen religions, from the fetichism of the African tribes to the beautiful religion of Greece, are the products of nature, the spontaneous outgrowth of the human mind, struggling by its unaided light and power to enter into union and communion with God. And while the Gentile nations were not wholly withdrawn from the general guidance of God, nor unilluminated by single rays of truth, they were yet suffered "to walk in their own ways." Their religions, to use the beautiful expression of Schelling, were "religions that grew wild" in the soil of man's unregenerate life. Heathenism had its origin on earth, and exhibits the poverty and helplessness of man; the religion of Israel sprang from heaven and reveals the riches of the grace of God. In the one, man gropes in the dark, blindly feeling after God, if haply he may find Him; in the other, God seeks man and, entering into personal fellowship with him, communicates a light and a life which the highest culture in science and art, in literature and government could not give. The one is the manifestation of the human need of salvation, a yearning cry from earth to heaven for help; the other is the manifestation of the Divine will of salvation, the gracious response from heaven to earth. In a word, the religion of Israel, unlike the religions of other nations, is a religion of revelation, in which God, by act and word, by miracle and prophecy, comes ever nearer to man, that in Christ He may finally become man and thus bring the fulness of His life and grace into the bosom of our fallen world.

Attempts have not indeed been wanting to explain the religion of the Old Testament, as the natural and necessary result of the historical development of humanity, which, rising out of its originally rude and barbarous condition, is supposed gradually to mount to the summit of perfection, as well in the religious, as in the intellectual and social life.

According to the Hegelian philosophy, the religious development of man comprises three stages, each of which gives birth to particular religions that exhibit, in single and peculiar aspects, the relation of the Infinite to the finite, of the Absolute to nature. The lowest stage is the religion of nature and of

magic; the highest, the absolute religion, Christianity; and the intermediate, transition stage is the religion of spiritual individuality under three special forms: the religion of Israel, the religion of Greece, and the religion of Rome. The religion of Israel Hegel designates the religion of Sublimity, because in his view it regards God as dualistically sundered from the world, hovering over it, but never entering into true union with its life. On this account he places it on a lower plane than the Greek religion of Beauty and the Roman religion of Law, in both of which there is effected, in a partial and inadequate ways that reconciliation of the Infinite and the finite which is fully brought to pass in Christianity, the religion of Incarnation.

But this once popular philosophy of religion belongs to an age that has passed away,—an age of *a priori* speculation that paid almost no regard to historical facts. It fails to comprehend the fundamental truth of Israel's religion. By assigning to it a lower place than to the pagan religions of Greece and Rome, it betrays extreme ignorance of its ethical significance. Indeed what it describes as the religion of Sublimity is rather the religion of the Koran than that of the Old Testament.

As this view affords no satisfactory explanation of the origin and growth of Jehovism in its doctrinal and moral contrast to all, even the highest, forms of heathenism, it has been superseded by another, which seeks the solution in a peculiar native genius for religion,—a genius that distinguished Israel from all other nations. Israel, it is said, by a natural instinct, cherished a loftier aspiration than they. Its aim was nothing less than the true, perfect religion,—"a good which all aspiring nations of antiquity made a commencement and an attempt to attain; which some, the Indians and Persians, for example, really abored to achieve with admirable devotion of noble energies; but which this people alone clearly discerned from the beginning, and then pursued for centuries through all difficulties, and with the utmost firmness and consistency, until they attained it, so far as, among men and in ancient times, attainment was possible."* From the dawn of its history it set out gladly in quest

* Ewald's History, Vol. I. p. 4.

of this spiritual boon. It bent its highest and noblest energies to reach the goal. Periods of decline and apostasy there doubtless were, as well for the nation as for individuals: but the deepest and truest life of the people always aroused itself anew for the pursuit, until after ages of weary seeking, Israel, and Israel alone of all the nations of the earth, was fortunate enough to find the prize.

There can be no question that this view contains many and profound elements of truth. It may be said especially of Ewald, its ablest and most learned representative, that he has a clear eye to discern the sublime idea, and a warm heart to feel the moral majesty of that religion which the Old Testament embodies. Undeniably, there exists a natural predisposition for this religion in the peculiarity of the Semitic mind,—its energetic concentration of thought and feeling, its inwardness and easily excited susceptibility, its rapid and high tension of the imagination. There was Divine wisdom in the choice of Israel rather than of an Aryan nation with its predominant objectivity of spirit, to be the bearer of Old Testament religion. The monotheistic instinct which Renan conceives to be an original endowment of the Semitic mind may have no existence; but there does exist in that mind an original aptitude to receive and develop under the guidance of revelation the monotheistic spiritual religion of Israel.

That, however, is one thing; and to regard this religion as the natural, spontaneous product of the mind of this ancient Semitic people, is quite another. It can never be explained as the fruit of the national life. The paths which Israel instinctively chose were not the paths marked out for it by Jehovah. Its history shows that the proclivity to error and the danger of falling into the bondage of nature, were as strong in it as in the surrounding nations. Israel in the end submitted in mind and heart to the religion which came to it as a gift; but it submitted only after ages of stubborn resistance. There were needed all the rigid discipline of its Law, and all the severe chastisements and bitter experiences of its long history, and all the stern rebukes and denunciations of its noble prophets, before

its religion came to be established in the life of the people as upon immovable foundations. Israel's religion was not a necessary fact of its nature, but a free implantation into its history.

In this light it was viewed by the nation itself. It was no arrogant, but idle boast, when this people named itself "the people of God," singled out from among the nations of the earth to be the theatre of a supernatural history and the repository of divine truth. It was the simple expression of a sublime fact, when Israel claimed that Jehovah was its King and that He had entered into special covenant with it as with no other people. It was not a vain delusion nor yet a rhetorical flourish, when Israel's prophets introduced their announcements of the will of heaven with a "Thus saith the Lord." For nothing can be more certain than that the religion of the Old Testament is not the product of human wisdom, but the free gift of divine revelation.

In no other way can we give a satisfactory explanation of its origin and character. How else shall we account for the wide contrast which it presents to all the religions of the heathen world? Israel, and Israel alone, among the nations of old, knew the Living Personal God. Its religion was a spiritual monotheism. While the universal mind of Paganism was fettered by the power of nature and incapable of discerning a God distinct from, and transcending all cosmical life, this chosen people, without philosophic culture and at the earliest dawn of its history, had attained somehow to the thought of the "One God" clothed with the highest attributes of personal spirit, the Creator of all things, the Judge of all men and the Fountain of all good. It was a thought to whose sublime height even a Socrates and a Plato could not soar. Their conception of deity was doubtless purer and more spiritual than that of the uncultivated masses; but the conception of a *holy* God, a God of *love*, lay far beyond the range of their philosophic vision. Yet this conception dwelt in the mind of Israel from the very beginning. Nor was it the exclusive possession of a few sages; rather it was a national inheritance transmitted from the earliest of their

forefathers, and as familiar to the peasant as to the prophet and the priest. God, the one, holy, personal God,—that is the grand thought which distinguishes this nation from all others and which it made the centre and aim of its life.

And as Israel alone knew the True God, so it alone felt a real and deep sense of sin. Its religion was *ethical*, as well as monotheistic. "Be ye holy, for I am holy" was the solemn injunction laid upon this people, an injunction that touched the deepest springs of its life. "The law," says Luthardt, "was a constant remembrancer and a constant convicter of sin. Sacrifice was the central point of all the rites and ceremonies of the law. The sacred fire was to be burning incessantly upon the altar; sacrifices were to be offered day by day; and the climax of all sacrifice was that offered on the great day of atonement, on which the high-priest, as the representative of the nation, laid upon the sacrificial animal the sins of the whole people, and bore the blood of atonement into the place of God's typical presence, and sprinkled with it the mercy-seat, that the people might be absolved from sin and reconciled to God. A more striking remembrance of sin does not exist; nor is there a nation in whom the consciousness of sin was deeper, more genuine or more powerful than in this."*

Israel, it has been well said, is the conscience of the world. Read the Psalms, and mark the moral tone by which they are pervaded! What a profound feeling of guilt, what a heartful penitence for sin, what an earnest spirit of prayer, what a living communion with God they express in the simplest and most childlike utterances! They are the holy inspirations of the Holy One of Israel. The religion that could give birth to them must be infinitely exalted in its spirit above the highest religions of the pagan world. For what are the most elevated hymns and the most devout prayers that Greece and Rome have produced, but the wild outpourings of hearts distracted by a fantastic and corrupting mythology? While heathenism is unconscious of sin, because it knows not a Holy God, Israel on

* Luthardt's Fundamental Truths, p. 250.

the other hand, walking in the revealed law of Jehovah, is filled with the deepest sense of unworthiness and guilt.

Yet there was no gloom or despair. Rather, the people of the Old Testament was pre-eminently the people of *hope*, and its religion, the religion of the future. While other nations looked back and sighed for a Golden Age that had departed forever, Israel constantly looked forward and anticipated the brightest glories in the time to come. Already in the remotest age of its history, there was awakened in it a presentiment of its exalted destiny. Insignificant among the nations as regards the territory it occupied and the political influence it exerted, it yet cherished an unwavering belief that in the seed of Abraham all the families of the earth should be blessed. Its faith in the advent of One who should be a Prophet greater than Moses and a King more glorious than David, was kept alive from age to age by types and promises. Indeed, the entire history of Israel was a continuous prophecy, which grew clearer and more definite the nearer it approached fulfilment. The attitude of this chosen people was that of constant expectation. "While other nations were growing weary of their gods —without anything in their mythology or philosophy to satisfy the deep cravings of their nature—with religion operating rather as a barrier than a link between the educated and the ignorant—with morality divorced from theology—the whole Jewish people were united in a feeling of attachment to their sacred institutions, and found in the facts of their past history a pledge of the fulfilment of their national hopes." *

And the fulfillment came; for the religion of the Old Testament introduced that of the New. Christianity is the goal toward which the development of revelation in all its stages had hitherto been tending. From the beginning Israel felt a sense of the relative character of its religion. It maintained this sense unimpaired through the best periods of its national life. It lost it only when, in the post-canonical age, Jehovism degenerated into a narrow and exclusive Judaism. The reli-

* Conybeare & Howson's Life of St. Paul, p. 30.

gion of the Old Testament is throughout a promise only, a shadow, a type. Its conscious aspiration and purest endeavors are toward something higher and better than itself. Christ is its Alpha and Omega,—the ruling idea of its entire movement. Apart from Christ it has no meaning. Only in the light of Christ can it be rightly understood.

It is needful that we emphasize this truth. He who loses sight of it will wrong the religion of the New Testament no less than that of the Old. The New has its historical foundation in the Old; and the Old reaches its deepest meaning in the New. Between the two there exists *an inward organic unity.*

This indeed has often been denied. In all periods of the Church's history, some have attempted to divorce the New from the Old, and refused to admit any other than an external connection. In the Patristic age, while the Ebionites regarded Christianity as only a higher form of Judaism, which aimed to realize the popular idea of the Messiah, the Gnostics viewed it as standing in irrepressible conflict with the Old Testament. In the eyes of Marcion, the chief representative of this tendency, the religion of the New Testament had worth only as it broke away from the traditional bonds of the Old.* In the Reformation age, Socinus, while acknowledging a certain historical value in the earlier Scriptures, ascribed to them no higher dogmatic and religious importance than other Protestants ascribed to the Apocrypha.† And in modern times the same disposition has often manifested itself to deny the internal and indissoluble tie between the religion of Israel and the religion of Christ. Schleiermacher, especially, was so deeply impressed with what is new and absolute in the New Testament revelation, that he failed to see the necessity of its historical mediation in the Old. In manifest injustice to the Mosaic religion, which he confounds too much with the later Judaism, he maintains that Christianity stands in no closer internal relation to it than to the pagan religions of Greece and Rome.‡

* Hagenbach's History of Doctrine, p. 75. † Hagenbach, Vol. ii. p. 240.
‡ Glaubenslehre, § 12.

But it is becoming more and more evident continually through a profounder study of the Bible, that the religion of the Old Testament is not indifferent to that of the New, and that the religion of the New is inwardly bound to that of the Old. They form an organic whole, pervaded by the presence of the same spirit of revelation. The attitude which Christ assumed toward the Old Testament was not one of hostility. He indeed opposed the degenerate Judaism of His age; but it is hardly necessary to say that the Judaism of the scribes is not identical with the Jehovism of the prophets. The one with its dead literalism and false national hopes, takes its rise only when the other begins to fall into decay. So far from placing Himself in antagonism with the true religion of the Old Testament, Jesus stood forth rather as its defender against those who, professing to be its friends, were yet in reality its most destructive foes. He lived in the Old Testament. His spirit was in large measure nourished by communion with its saints. He felt no disharmony between it and Himself. On the contrary, He saw in it a progressive movement of which He was Himself the predestined goal. The pious Israelite, in becoming a disciple of Christ, knew that he was not, as in this case a heathen would be, disloyal to the religion of his fathers. Jesus was no revolutionist; He was not even a reformer: He was a fulfiller, in whom the Old Economy reached its appointed end. And the Israelite, in attaching himself to His person, felt an inward conviction that he was acting in obedience to the spirit of his earlier religion.

But while it is necessary to insist strongly on the internal unity of the two Testaments, it is equally necessary to observe clearly the broad *difference* between them. Here, as elsewhere, unity is one thing, uniformity quite another. The old religion cannot be elevated to the plane of the new; the new is not simply a higher stage of the old. Mosaism may give birth to Prophetism as a higher development of Old Testament religion; but neither Mosaism nor Prophetism can give birth to Christianity. The religion of the New Testament does not spring genetically from that of the Old. It is a new creation

in the person of Christ, the absolute revelation of the eternal Word; and while this revelation is mediated by all the preceding stages of Old Testament history and thus stands in strictest continuity with the earlier revelation to the people of Israel, it is the manifestation of something new and not merely the further unfolding of something old. There is a dividing line between the Old and the New, which must be carefully maintained.

This, it must be confessed, has not always been done. While the early Church happily escaped the dangerous error of opposing the New Testament to the Old, it was not so happy in avoiding the no less dangerous error of confounding the one with the other. This is true especially of the Alexandrine School which saw only a difference of degree between the Law and the Gospel, and ascribed to the prophets in general the same high illumination which it ascribed to the Apostles. But even Augustine, and with him the other Fathers of the Church, failed to distinguish the two Economies rightly from a theoretical point of view.* Nor were the Reformers more successful. Amid all the difference of external forms, they discerned no difference in doctrine, but regarded the dogmatic faith of the Old Testament as identical with that of the New Testament. And in the orthodoxy of the seventeenth century there was a complete identification, from the after effects of which we are still suffering.

The source of this error is not difficult to trace. It lay in a one-sided intellectualistic conception of revelation, as essentially, almost exclusively a communication of doctrinal truth to the understanding; and since the truth of revelation can only be one, the older divines sought and supposed they found the theoretical teachings of the New Testament, everywhere in the pages of the Old. The one was for them as rich a repository

* Augustine c. Adim. Ch. iii. 4: "Certis quibusdam umbris et figuris . . . populus ille tenebatur, qui Testamentum Vetus accepit: tamen in eo tanta prædicatio et prænunciatio Novi Testamenti est, *ut nulla* (in Retract. i. 22, 2: *pæne* nulla) *in evangelia atque apostolica disciplina reperiantur, quamvis ardua et divina, præcepta et promissa, qua illis etiam libris veteribus desint.*" Quoted by Oehler: *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 36.

of *dicta probantia*, for the peculiar dogmas of Christianity, and quite as available, as the other. The mystery of the Trinity was as fully disclosed to Moses as to John. The saints of the Old Testament, the patriarchs and prophets, had at least the grand outlines of the Christian salvation before their vision; and though its full meaning was not perfectly clear to their minds, they stood, in an intellectual point of view, at no great disadvantage, behind the Christian believer. In a word, for the theologians of an earlier age, as indeed, for many of this, almost the only distinction between the Old Economy and the New was this: that to believers standing in the former, salvation was something still future in fact, though, as foreshadowed by types and announced by prophecy, present to thought; while on the other hand, in the Christian Economy, salvation has actually been brought to pass, and believers, standing in this economy, possess in reality what the pious in Israel could only long for as an object of prophetic vision.*

It is evident, however, to one who has a right conception of the historical character of revelation, that this is not the relation which the religion of the Old Testament sustains to that of the New. Such an abstractly supernaturalistic view wrongs the whole idea of revelation. It will not allow the divine to come into true union with the human. It ignores the natural in the vain dream of thus honoring the supernatural. Old Testament history ceases to be truly historical, and is trans-

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* In confirmation of these assertions, take the following extracts from the writings of the Reformers, as quoted by Oehler. Luther on Gal. iv. 2: "(Christus) patribus in V. T. in spiritu veniebat, antequam in carne appareret. Habebant illi in spiritu Christum, in quem revelandum, ut nos in jam revelatum, credebant, ac acque per eum salvati sunt ut nos, juxta illud: 'Jesus Christus heri et hodie idem est et in sæcula.'"

Melancthon's Loci: "Nam ut sciremus, doctrinam ecclesiæ solam, primam et veram esse, Deus singulari beneficio scribi perpetuam historiam ab initio voluit . . et huic libro . . . addidit testimonia editis ingentibus miraculis, ut sciremus, unde et quomodo ab initio propagata sit ecclesiæ *doctrina*."

Calvin's Institutes: "In eo elucet Dei constantia, quod *eandem omnibus sæculis doctrinam* tradidit; quem ab initio præcepit nominis sui cultum, in eo requirendo perseverat. Quod *externam formam et modum* mutavit in eo non se ostendit mutationi obnoxium: *sed hominum* capitui, qui varius ac mutabilis est catenus se attemperavit."

formed into a divine play. Patriarchs and prophets become mere automata in the hand of God, and with no independent life, they think, speak and act only as they are magically touched by a foreign power. Inspired men are regarded as the passive organs of the Holy Ghost; and from this point of view it is not surprising that the rich treasury of New Testament truth, should be supposed to have been fully opened to Old Testament saints.

But if we would determine the organic relation of the two Testaments aright, it needs to be clearly understood that the word of revelation, as a communication of divine truth, cannot be sundered from the history of revelation, as a communication of divine life. It is a mistake to suppose that revelation is for the theoretical understanding simply; it is for man in the totality of his being, and consists in the gradual and progressive self-manifestation and self-communication of God, in order that man, and through him the creation in general, at the head of which man stands, may be filled and glorified with the divine life, and that thus he may reach the perfection of his existence in God, and God may be all in all. Revelation is possible in a fallen world only in the form of redemption. In revelation, God comes into history more and more fully, until in the incarnation He reveals the fulness of His life in the bosom of the world's life, that He may redeem it from sin and glorify it in Himself. In Christ therefore, we have the absolute revelation, for which all antecedent revelation served merely as a preparation, by educating man to apprehend by faith the glorious mystery of the Word made flesh.

The preparation, however, was necessary as well as real. The incarnation could be no abrupt, sudden phenomenon. As such it would have been magical, not historical. An actual entrance of God into history for the purposes of salvation could be effected only by conforming to the law of all history, the law of gradual progressive development. And in truth, this is the form which the religion of the Old Testament assumed. It is one life flowing in unbroken continuity from Abraham to Christ; yet, like all life, unfolding itself in a

series of stages, in which the truth of each lower stage comes to an ever fuller and clearer expression in the higher stages, and in which each higher stage is adumbrated, and at the same time mediated from the beginning by the lower. Starting in the individual, it widens into the family, and then into the nation, to become at last a universal possession in Christ. It first takes the form of Promise, then of Law, and finally in Prophetism, it looks to the breaking up of an old order of things, and the advent of a new.

In the very nature of the case, the religion of the Old Testament and that of the New must be inwardly conjoined. In both there is the presence of the same spirit, and together they constitute the one true religion, in which there are, indeed, stages of development, but no fundamental contradictions. United by one central principle, the formal side of which is revelation and the material side redemption, their aim is not primarily theoretical, to furnish the human mind with a knowledge of God, but practical, to bring salvation from God to man. And since knowledge and life are everywhere inwardly related, the doctrinal apprehension of salvation is necessarily conditioned by the actual history of salvation. There are stages of progress in the one as well as in the other; and if we fail to recognize this fact, we shall fail to comprehend the relation of the Old Testament to the New.

Salvation, not doctrine, is the grand aim of revealed religion. But the religion of the Old Testament, even in the highest stage of its development, was incapable of bringing the true salvation. Promise might awaken the hope of it; the discipline of the Mosaic Law might generate the sense of its need; prophecy might point to its certain advent; but neither promise, nor law, nor prophecy could do more than prepare the way for its actual accomplishment. In this regard the religion of the Old Testament was only a shadow and type, not the reality itself. It was the religion of a salvation that was really coming in the divinely guided history of Israel, but which had not yet actually come; a religion in which the divine was mirrored in holy, yet external, symbolical and transient

forms ; in which the perfect life was as yet only an ideal hovering before the pious mind in the form of law ; in which God and man, heaven and earth, were seeking to come, but never really came, into a living and abiding union.

Christianity, on the other hand, is the religion of a salvation, fully brought to pass ; in which the Divine is not enshrined in holy symbols, but personally incarnate in human form ; which confronts the trembling sinner not as a threatening law, but as a life-giving power ; in which God and man, heaven and earth are really and forever one in Christ ;—in a word, it is the religion of the incarnation, of the eternal reconciliation of all antitheses, and of the final glorification of all existence.*

It is in this light that we must study the Old Testament records. Without its guidance we shall assuredly go astray. If, on the one hand, we ignore the teleological character of the Old Testament revelation, we shall be exposed to the danger of rationalism ; for we shall be affrighted by the manifold difficulties of a critical, dogmatic and ethical kind, and fail to see that these lie on the surface only and do not touch the inner life. If, on the other hand, we lose sight of its historical character, we shall be betrayed into that exaggerated view of the Old Testament, which lifts it up well nigh to the level of the New. A forced exegesis will become a necessity, and we shall read into the inspired record our own arbitrary conceits.

"Vetus Testamentum in Novo patet, Novum in Vetere latet," is indeed true in the sense that the Old is the undeveloped germ, the New the ripened fruit. There is no New Testament doctrine that is entirely new and whose roots do not strike far back into the Old. On the other hand, there is no Old Testament doctrine that is peculiar to the Old and that does not assume a higher form in the New. It is not true, however, that New Testament doctrine in its New Testament form was present to the minds of Old Testament saints. Such an assertion would be at variance with historical fact.

It is of great importance that the mutual relation between the

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* Sehultz : Alttestamentlishe Theologie, p. 70.

two Testaments be rightly understood. If misconceived, it may be turned into a dangerous weapon for attacking Christianity. "If, on the one hand, the connection between them is either severed or depreciated, Christianity will, by means of that character of novelty which is thus in a one-sided way impressed upon it, be placed in an insecure position, deprived of its historical basis, and exposed to the suspicion of having originated in subjective arbitrariness. If, on the other hand, the connection between the two is enhanced to actual identity, and not viewed as exclusively the connection of a deeply felt want and its supply (Matt. v. 3), the suspicion will arise—as many recent appearances show—that a transference of Old Testament occurrences, images and Messianic features to the person of Jesus of Nazareth is the source of the Gospel history. Such a suspicion it will be difficult to obviate on historical grounds, and all that is new in Christianity will thus be reduced to its carrying out of these principles to universalism. And the more literathe fulfilment of Old Testament sayings found in the New, the more difficult will it to be dispel the suspicion that the former is the source of the latter. But the more we succeed in showing, in a truly historical manner, that the essentially self-consistent image of Christ found in the books of the New Testament, is by no means simply identical with the Messianic idea of the Old, and still less so with the discordant and self-contradictory Messianic expectations of His contemporaries; that, on the contrary, the fulfilment, both on the whole and in particular, far surpassed those limitations by which even prophecy was restricted; that there is moreover, a real teleological connection between the Gospel in general and the one organic whole formed by the history of the Old Testament, so that what was deposited and prepared in remote ages attains its fulfilment in Christ—the more will both the novelty and originality, as well as the historical basis of the appearance of Christianity, 'when the fulness of time was come,' be established."*

* Dorner's *History of Protestant Theology*, Vol. II. p. 445.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

MODERN DOUBT AND CHRISTIAN BELIEF. A Series of Apologetic Lectures addressed to earnest seekers after Truth. By Theodore Christlieb, D. D., University Preacher and Professor of Theology at Bonn. Translated with the author's sanction, chiefly by the Rev. H. M. Weitbrecht, Ph. D., and edited by the Rev. T. L. Kingsbury, M. A., Vicar of Easton Royal, and Rural Dean. New York; Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1874.

This is truly one of the substantial works of the present day. It is a work on Apologetics which is eminently adapted to the wants of the present time. It exhibits on every page a spirit of respect for what has been done in the department of Apologetics in the past, and yet the whole work shows plainly that the author understands fully the necessity for a reconstruction of the science. He maintains throughout a firm and unyielding position in regard to the truth of revelation, never compromising in the least, yet he gives to reason and philosophy their due.

In the opening lecture, extending over sixty-seven pages, he considers "the existing breach between Modern Culture and Christianity. 1. Causes of the breach—causes historical, philosophical, ecclesiastical, political, social and ethical. 2. Present extent of the breach. 3. Can the breach be filled up?"

A good deal of the interest of the work concentrates in this third division of the first lecture. The author shows most conclusively that there can be no real contradiction between Christianity and true Science and Culture, and seems hopeful that the breach that has come to have place actually between them may be overcome. Theology must not seek to antagonize science, but only correct its false claims, and science must learn to accept the light that comes from revelation. It is the special vocation of the Teutonic races and Protestant Christianity to work in the solution of this problem. We agree with the learned author that science and revelation cannot contradict each other, but whether their actual interpretation will ever come to a full understanding must be left for history to determine. Meantime it is of the utmost importance that the Christian Church should assume the right attitude towards the culture of the age and seek to win it to the truth.

The second lecture is on Reason and Revelation, running to page 135, and contains a lucid and masterly treatment of this difficult

subject. We do not feel entirely satisfied with the author's answer to the question, "whether reason is to be regarded as a material source of knowledge, or as a mere faculty?" We would not identify *thinking* with *being*, as Hegel does, but neither would we make thinking purely formal and receptive. The ideas of reason imply contact and communion with real being, we believe, but, as the author truly says, these ideas can come to be filled with proper contents only as we receive the truth into us through divine revelation. The revelation of God in nature must fail for man without the supernatural revelation in Christ, through whom alone man can come to the knowledge of God, and above all to living communion with Him.

The third lecture is devoted to a consideration and criticism of "Modern non-biblical conceptions of God." These are Atheism, Materialism, Pantheism, Deism and Rationalism. The fourth lecture considers "The theology of Scripture and the Church in relation to these errors." Then in the fifth there is an able discussion of the nature of Miracles, with reference to the modern objections. Lecture sixth takes up "Modern Anti-miraculous accounts of the life of Christ." Seventh, "Modern denials of the Resurrection," and eighth, "The modern critical theory of Primitive Christianity."

The whole work is an *octavo* volume of 549 pages. Next after *Dorner's History of Protestant Theology* we regard it as one of the most interesting and vigorous works that Germany has produced in the present age. It is felt on all sides that Christian Apologetics needs a reconstruction in the contest with the skepticism of the present century. The present work opens the way and points to results of the most promising character in the new theological literature which the age is producing. We commend this volume to all earnest readers, especially to the ministry.

ISRAEL IN EGYPT. Egypt's Place among the Ancient Monarchies With more than 200 illustrations. By Edward L. Clark. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1874.

A most beautiful ornamental volume, published on tinted paper and handsomely illustrated. The matter of the book is highly interesting. Egypt, the cradle of civilization, the country that formed a large and powerful empire when Israel was but a colony, the land in which the Israelites dwelt, and from which in later years God called His Son! Egypt the land of the Nile, of the Pyramids! Here we have described in animated style and beautiful language its Temples, its Home Life, the River, the People at Work, the Religion, from which so much was derived in the religion of Israel, the Land of the Dead, the Story of Egypt, and the Exodus of the Israelites. The reader is carried along without weariness. The descriptions are terse and graphic. The author gives us results of patient and scholarly investigation set in life pictures. No one can read the work without profit and pleasure.

THE CATACOMBS OF ROME AND THEIR TESTIMONY RELATIVE TO PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY. By the Rev. W. H. Withrow, M.A. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1874.

Another ornamental volume fully illustrated, though gotten up in plainer and cheaper style. The subject is one of great interest to the Christian reader. What these Catacombs were originally intended for is not certainly known. We know that they became the place of worship and then of burial for the early Christians when they had to conceal themselves from their enemies during the times of persecution. Far down under ground there are about 1200 miles of winding ways, where, it is estimated 6,000,000 of Christians were buried.

In book first the author gives "the structure and history of the Catacombs;" book second, "the art and symbolism of the Catacombs;" and book third; "the inscriptions of the Catacombs." The writer has endeavored to illustrate the subject by frequent pagan sepulchral inscriptions, and by citations from the writings of the Fathers, which often throw much light on the condition of early Christian society. The value of the work is greatly enhanced, it is thought, by the addition of many hundreds of early Christian inscriptions carefully translated, a very large proportion of which have never appeared in English.

The last chapter is devoted to the ministry, rites, and institutions of the Primitive Church, in which the author makes a number of points against the claims of the Roman theory. Some of these are no doubt valid, but the controversial character of this chapter does not, in our opinion, add to the interest of the book. In its place this would not be objectionable, but the interesting and beautiful story of these early Christians leads one to feel averse to polemics. We have found much interest and pleasure in reading this volume.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HERBERT SPENCER. With an examination of the First Principles of his System. By B P. Bowne, A. B New York: Nelson & Phillips, Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1874.

Herbert Spencer is one of the chief advocates of a new school of philosophy which seeks to account for the present condition of the universe according to the law of evolution, so as to rule out any activity that transcends the universe. He is not an atheist, and he denies that his system is atheistic, on the ground God is unknowable, and therefore all knowledge of Him belongs not to science, but to belief. It is atheism in science which he advocates, even though he denies the charge. Kant made the world unknowable, that is, we cannot know the thing—in—itself. There is a contradiction here of our own consciousness. Man has a consciousness of himself, of

the world, and of God. To deny either of these is to close our own eyes. We cannot take a single step in knowledge of any kind.

But it follows that any system that starts with a denial of the data of consciousness must become involved at every point in error, and can appear to maintain itself only by the use of sophistry. Prof. Ulrici has shown this in a masterly way in his criticism of Strauss' last work. And his argument applies as well to Herbert Spencer's system. In this little work the ground is travelled over in a series of essays forming a united argument. What is Evolution? Laws of the Unknowable, Laws of the Knowable, Principles of Psychology, The Theistic Argument, Summary and Conclusion, are the titles of the different chapters.

Herbert Spencer's writings are among the most plausible and fascinating of the school to which he belongs, and there is enough truth in the evolution theory to give strength to the system he advocates. The answer to it must seek to separate the truth from the error, so as to conserve the former while it repudiates the latter. This, we think, is done by Mr. Bowne. He writes at Halle, from a German University, and seems to be well posted in the latest researches of German learning. Those who are interested in philosophical writings will be pleased with this volume.

STRAUSS AS A PHILOSOPHICAL THINKER. A Review of his book, "The Old Faith and the New Faith," and a Confutation of its Materialistic Views by Hermann Ulrici. Translated, with an Introduction by Charles P. Krauth, D. D., Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Philedelphia: Smith, English & Co., 710 Arch Street. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1874.

An unpretending but very solid little volume of 165 pages, about one half of which is occupied by Dr. Krauth's introduction. This introduction serves a valuable purpose in opening up the general subject, and gives an outline of the literature that has been called out by Strauss.

Dr. Hermann Ulrici is Professor of Philosophy in the University at Halle. He leaves for theologians the refutation of Strauss on dogmatic grounds, while he proceeds to show in this article, or treatise, that he is unreliable as a philosophical thinker. Rejecting revelation Strauss, of course, professes to build up his New Faith on philosophical principles, Ulrici meets him on his own ground. If any one wishes to read a keen philosophical criticism let him turn to the brief chapters of this little book. It will not be found easy or light reading. To follow the argumentation requires close and disciplined thinking. But the reader is amply repaid for his work.

Strauss has been answered and put to confusion from many sides by the theologians of Germany, but the scientific opposition to Christianity in our day must also be met by men of science. A theologian is not usually just the one to enter this field. There is a feeling

that he is not quite the equal of his opponent in the sphere of science. Hence besides the theological argument against Darwinism, the scientific argument has special value. Agassiz, for instance, would have inspired more confidence in this field than is inspired by the little work of Dr. Hodge. He is a theologian, but likely to fall into some mistakes when treating his subject from the stand-point of pure science. But in the work here noticed we have the master—the philosopher—answering one who ventured to overthrow Christianity on the basis of philosophy. Strauss is here answered, and entirely demolished we think, on his own territory. We see here the great advantage of true philosophical training. It cannot make known the truths of revelation, but it can answer a false philosophy that attempts to overthrow the true religion.

MODERN SKEPTICISM: A Journey through the land of doubt and back again. A Life Story. By Joseph Barker. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co., 1874.

No doubt many of the readers of this Review will remember the somewhat notorious discussion between Dr. Berg and Joseph Barker in Concert Hall, Philadelphia, 1854. It produced a good deal of noise at the time and was attended by large and excited audiences. Mr. Barker in this work says that Dr. Berg undertook to prove too much and failed, that he was substantially right, but logically wrong, a testimony to the truth that the Bible may be defended in a way that adds nothing to the strength of the true evidences of Christianity.

Mr. Barker was originally a Methodist preacher and gradually fell under the power of skepticism until he avowed himself an infidel. He fell from the faith, not through immorality of life, but through doubts in regard to Christianity, which had their origin in part no doubt in the one-sided and defective manner in which Christ is preached by many. His recovery seems to have been genuine. He seeks now to repair, as far as possible, the evil he did by disseminating infidel views. The book is a readable volume, though it might have been condensed, we think, to advantage.

THE SUPERHUMAN ORIGIN OF THE BIBLE INFERRED FROM ITSELF. By Henry Rogers. Author of the "Eclipse of Faith." New York:—Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 654 Broadway, 1874.

A substantial volume of 465 pages, consisting of a course of lectures, which the author was not able to deliver on account of ill health. They are published, it seems, under the direction of the "Committee of the Union," though who or what that committee is the preface fails to inform us. The author dates the preface from Pennal Tower, Machyulleth.

The subject here treated, though belonging to the same general department to which Dr. Christlieb's work belongs, pertains to the

formal side of divine revelation, the Bible. It is fresh and vigorous and will well repay a perusal. It contains ten lectures and an appendix.

These works on the Evidences of Christianity, as Dr. Christlieb remarks, are more generally read by believers than unbelievers. They possess an interest and value, not only in arming believers against the assaults of unbelief, but, as is the case in the present volume, they unfold positively new views of the truth itself for Christians. A careful reading of this work will be found both pleasant and profitable.

THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN. Expounded by John Peter Lange, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn. Translated from the German by Evelina Moore. Enlarged and edited by E. R. Craven, D. D., Pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church at Newark, N. J. Together with a double Alphabetical Index to all the ten volumes of the New Testament, by John H. Woods, A. M. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co, 654 Broadway, 1874.

This volume completes the translation of Lange's Commentary on the New Testament. Lange undoubtedly possesses special qualifications for the contribution he here makes to the interpretation of this last of the New Testament books. He presents an epitome of the literature on the subject, and, as in the case of the previous volumes, the reader will here find a notice of pretty much all that is known and has been written on this difficult book. This volume will no doubt be eagerly sought for and studied. Dr. Schaff must enjoy a great satisfaction in having brought this Commentary on the New Testament to a close.

THE LIFE OF RUDOLF STIER, (From German sources). By John P. Lacroix. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1874.

This life of Stier is made up of material gathered from a monograph by Dr. Carl Nitzsch, an essay by Dr. Tholuck in Herzog's Encyclopedia, letters from friends and relatives of Stier, and a Life of Stier by his two sons. We think the author has done a good service by presenting this biography to the English reading public. Stier is widely known through his commentaries, his Words of Jesus, Words of the Apostles, &c. He commenced his University studies at Berlin under Schleiermacher, De Wette, and Solger, and then studied at Halle under Knapp, Gesenius, and Wegscheider. He was repelled by the rationalism of the times and took refuge in a life tinged somewhat with pietism. His various labors and experiences are here portrayed in a way to furnish much interest and pleasure to the reader.

HAND-BOOK OF BIBLE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS. By James M. Freeman, A. M. Illustrated by one hundred and sixty-eight engravings. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1874.

Of books on the Bible there is no end. Some of them no doubt make the Sacred volume clearer and better understood, and some of them obscure it. The present volume is intended for popular use. It contains what is usually put in a work on Biblical Antiquities, but, according to its title, it aims at no scientific arrangement. It presents its subjects in alphabetical order. The amount of information presented is considerable, and the numerous plates are interesting. It would be a good volume for Sunday School libraries, and excellent also for the family.

A LIFE THAT SPEAKETH. A Biography of Rev. George P. Wilson. By Daniel Clark Knowles. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. Sunday-school Department.

HOLINESS TO THE LORD. By Rev. Lewis R. Dunn, author of "The Mission of the Spirit." New York: Nelson & Phillips Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1874.

HOLINESS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF ALL GOD'S CHILDREN. By Rev. J. T. Crane, D. D., of the Newark Conference. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1874.

The first of these works is an interesting biography. The other two are devoted to a discussion of Christian Perfection, both claiming that, according to the teaching of Methodism, Christians may and should attain complete holiness, that is freedom from all sin, in this life. The theory, we think is based on a defective view of the Christian life, and the nature of our fallen life. The subject has awakened a good deal of attention of late in the Methodist, and to a certain extent in the Presbyterian Church.

STAR OF OUR LORD: or Christ Jesus, King of All Worlds, Both of time and space. With Thoughts on Inspiration and the Astronomic Doubt as to Christianity. By Francis W. Upham, author of "The Wise Men; How they came to Jerusalem." New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1873.

An extensive discussion of "The Star of our Lord." The author maintains that the star that appeared to the *Magi* was a new creation, and that the Eastern Sages were instructed by the mother of our Lord, and came to a full apprehension of the divinity of Christ, and so were born into the Kingdom of heaven before the time,—a conclusion hardly warranted, we think, by the Scripture narative.

LIFE-STORY OF REV. DAVIS WASGATT CLARK, D. D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Compiled from original sources. By Daniel Curry, D. D. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1874.

SIGHTS AND INSIGHTS: or Knowledge By Travel. By Rev. Henry W. Warren. Three Illustrations. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1874.

It is not an easy task to write a book of travels at the present day that will interest the reader. We have so many of them that repeat the same story, mostly following the guide books. The present is an exception. The style is terse, keen, and incisive. The writer carries you along without weariness, holding your attention steadily to the end. He begins with a visit to Niagara and other points of interest, and only then takes you to Europe, Egypt and Palestine. Seldom can one find so much information in a small space. The writer is sharp and keen, sometimes tempted to become a little too much so, and the reader is for a moment tempted to think he is showing off his smartness—but this thought soon departs and leaves him in good humor with the author. We can recommend it as an interesting volume.

ON "HOLY GROUND." By Edwin Hodder, author of "Memories of New Zealand Life," "Tossed on the Waves," "The Junior Clerk," &c. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1874.

An interesting account of a journey through the Holy Land, professing to give a faithful picture of it as it now is, as well as to hold up its former greatness and glory. Nothing need be said to commend the subject here treated, and the style is pleasing.

SOLAR HIEROGLYPHICS: or the Emblematic Illustrations of the Revealed Doctrine of the Tri-Personal Godhead, which are discernible in the Solar light. With an introduction by Rev. J. Grier Ralston, D. D. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co., 714 Arch Street, 1874.

Light is a symbol of God. It has three constituents, the *actinic*, the *luminiferous*, and the *calorific*—illustrating the Trinity. The blue represents the Father, the yellow, the Son, and the red, the Holy Spirit, others make the red, or caloric represent the Father, the yellow, the Son, and the blue, or chemical, the Spirit. An interesting analogy of the mystery of the Trinity.

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ART. I.—THOUGHTS ON THE REFORMATION.

THE question is often asked, every earnest student of history often asks himself, whether the reformation of the Church could not have taken place without a division, without a separation of Protestantism from the Roman hierarchy? It would have saved the Christian world so much trouble on the subject of divisions and denominations and sects that came in after the Reformation, that one is apt to wish that it could have been so. It would seem to be so much easier to understand a reformation which worked no radical change in the body or organism. If the Roman Church, which was then the Catholic Church, could have thrown off the errors and evils that became attached to it during the long centuries of Mediæval history, and presented itself reformed of all its abuses, without a change in the leading features of its organization, the problem would seem, at first, to be more easily understood. We are familiar with such reformations in individuals and in society. Life in all its forms seeks from time to time to renew itself. When the State becomes entangled and weighed down with corruption the people rise and demand a reformation. Might not the Church have reformed itself in a similar way, thus shaking off the dust that

had settled on her garments during a long and weary journey through a sinful world?

It is known, too, that the leading reformers at first aimed at such a reformation as would not change the general organization of the Church. Luther, as we know, at first acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, and fondly hoped that he would sustain him in his efforts at reformation. Melanchthon, even after Luther had given up all hope in that direction, still desired that the reformation might go forward without disturbing the organic character of the Roman hierarchy. When it was found that the Pope turned against the reformation, it was thought that an appeal to an Œcumenical Council would be sustained. Only when all efforts to reform the Church in union with the Roman hierarchy failed, and when the reformers and their followers were excommunicated and thus driven out of this organization, did they come to see that the reformation must be carried forward in a separate and independent way.

In this conclusion or result the Roman Church only reasserted what had indeed been settled already during the previous century, that no full and thorough reformation could take place within her organization. And this is the first thought which we wish to unfold. Let us notice the history in reference to this point.

All through the Middle Ages, especially towards their close, voices were raised, urging the necessity of a reformation. This necessity came to be so generally acknowledged that in every Synod and Council a standing article for consideration was, to consider the subject of reformation in manners and ecclesiastical discipline, or in head and members. All acknowledged the necessity of reformation. The Church had become so corrupt from the papacy down through all subordinate offices, the condition of things was becoming so contradictory and confused, that it was felt on all sides that some radical movement was required in order to deliver the Church from the increasing difficulties that beset it, and save it from perishing. Not only was wide-spread corruption extending itself over the Church, but the Papacy itself was showing signs of its inability to extricate

itself from its weakness. The reformation should go forth from the head, but when the head itself became corrupt and enslaved, then the reformation must take place in *head* and members.

The matter became more urgent when the papacy was carried into Babylonish captivity, as it was called, during the seventy years' residence of the Popes at Avignon. Rome was falling into decay and ruin, while the Papal Court was revelling in luxury under the control of a foreign potentate. Then came the Papal schism. The Church was ruled by two Popes, one at Rome, the other at Avignon, and under these two heads the Christian world was divided. Who could decide which was the true Pope? There was no higher umpire or tribunal to which an appeal could be made, unless a general Council should be invested with that character. Such a Council was at length called at Pisa after the schism had existed for over a quarter of a century. The Council was called, not by Pope or Emperor, but by the authority of the Cardinals of the two contending Popes. It was a case of necessity. There was no Pope, whose authority was universally acknowledged, to call the Council, hence the next highest authority must act. At this Council the two rival Popes, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. were pronounced notorious schismatics, obstinate partisans, abettors, defenders and approvers of the long schism; notorious heretics, &c., and were deposed. The way was now open to elect a new Pope, which was done. Alexander V. was chosen. The result was three Popes instead of two, for the other two still had their adherents. The Œcumenical character of this Council has been contested. But while *Hefele** says that, *for the reason* that more than half the bishops of Christendom (*episcopatus dispersus*), as well as whole nations, have protested against its decisions, and would not receive them, neither ecclesiastical authority nor the most trustworthy theologians have ever numbered it among the Œcumenical Councils (a strange reason from the Roman stand-point), yet "it must also be said that some Ultramontanes have had too little regard for this Council, in saying

* History of the Christian Councils.

that the election made by it of Pope Alexander V. was valueless, and that Gregory XII. was still the legitimate Pope until his voluntary abdication in 1415." From which we may infer that it is a question with *Hefele* whether the Church had a legitimate Pope at all during this first portion of the Schism.

Then came the Council of Constance, 1414-1418, which is classed, *in part*, among the acknowledged œcumenical councils, that is, those portions of it presided over by Martin V. (sessions 41-45 inclusive), and those decrees of the other sessions which were sanctioned by this Pope. In this Council all three Popes were set aside, the legitimate one, John XXIII. as a monster of vice, and a new one elected, viz. Martin V., and so the schism was brought to an end. At this Council the practical difficulty was felt in regard to the reformation of the Church *in head and members.* If the Council should proceed to the work of the reformation, which they did in part, without a Pope, the legitimacy of their action might be questioned; whilst if they first elected a Pope and he should prove unwilling to go with them in the work of reformation, their efforts would be defeated. Accordingly after declaring the supremacy of the Council over the Pope they proceeded to elect a Pope, who at once assumed the supremacy himself, and the question of reformation was at an end.

It is known that this Council compromised on the martyrdom of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. The Emperor was willing to violate his safe-conduct solemnly given to Huss in order to unite the adherents of Pope John XXIII. and the reforming party. Yet it must be acknowledged that this same reforming party, led by *Gerson*, and which ruled the Council, gave its free consent to the burning of Huss. The true reformation principle and the hierarchical theory came into conflict, and the one or the other must perish. The result was Huss had to be burned. The Council could have done no otherwise and save themselves. It was not so much that the reforming measures advocated by Huss were not desirable. We believe the better portion of the Council of Constance, and certainly a large portion of the members of the Church would gladly have welcomed

those measures; they were deeply longing for them; but the question, whether consciously realized or not, was, could those measures be sustained and the Roman hierarchy continue to live? The martyrdom of Huss was one of those tragedies, with which history, and Christian history as well, is familiar, in which two opposing historical forces, both being relatively legitimate, come into conflict with each other, and some one must be a martyr.

The effort towards reformation *in capite et membris* was continued in the Council of Basle, which lingered on in the assemblies of Ferrara and Florence. It renewed the decree of the Council of Constance that the Council is superior to the Pope, and proceeded to take up and carry out the reforming measures introduced at that Council. But in doing this it became necessary to reach out to the Papacy itself (the reformation in *the head*). Regulations were made concerning the choice of a Pope, the oath to be taken by him, and the duties of his office, also concerning the Cardinals, and an unconditioned prohibition of the Papal Reservations. They had already taken suitable action in regard to the reformation in *the members*, and now, it was thought, with these restrictions and limitations attached to the office of the Pope, the good work inaugurated might go on. But just at this point arose the ever recurring question between Pope and Council. The Pope regarded this as an encroachment on his prerogatives. The result was that the Pope, having now no rival to divide and weaken his authority, triumphed, and the Church went on its way, helpless to deliver itself from the evils that afflicted it. Nothing had come to an effectual settlement. The question as between Pope and Council continued to be discussed, the authority of the Pope in civil affairs was kept up by Concordats, and no healing power was found for the enormous moral disorders that everywhere prevailed.

There are several interesting questions connected with these reforming Councils which, while we are referring to them, we may notice. The Councils of Constance and Basle, for instance, asserted the supremacy of the œcumenical council to the Holy See, and the Pope in each case is said to have sanctioned the

decree. Let us see what *Hefele* says of this matter, before the whole subject was cleared up by the recent Vatican Council. He says: "Many maintain that Pope Martin V. sanctioned the decree of the Council of Constance establishing the superiority of the œcumenical council to the Pope, and Eugene IV. also sanctioned a similar decree from the Council of Basle. In point of fact, however, these two Popes sanctioned only a *part* of the decrees of the Councils of Basle and Constance. As for those of Basle, Eugene only sanctioned those which treated of three points, viz., the extinction of heresy, the pacification of Christendom, and the general reform of the Church in its head and in its members. Martin V. sanctioned only those decrees of the Council of Constance which had been made *in materiis fidei conciliariter et non aliter, nec alio modo.* Now the decrees in question, respecting the superiority of the general council to the Pope, have nothing to do with the faith" (what would be said of such an assertion now?)! "and were given at Constance rather *tumultuariter* than *conciliariter.* We may add that the Council of Constance did not intend to utter a universal truth, but only, with reference to the case before it, asserted a superiority over the Pope, and particularly over the three Popes who were then contending for sovereign power. It was more concerned to solve an entirely peculiar question, than to propound a general theory." Besides the nice distinction between *tumultuariter* and *conciliariter*, which it would require an infallible Pope sometimes to determine, if one œcumenical council is superior to a legitimate Pope, the general principle of the universal superiority of the Pope is gone. But, to continue our quotations, let us see what more this learned writer says. After stating that the Pope is neither above nor below the general council, he says: "If the question arises of several pretenders to the pontifical throne, and it is impossible to distinguish which is in the right, Bellarmin says that in this case it is the part of the council to examine the claims of the pretenders, and to depose those who cannot justify their claims. This is what was done by the Council of Constance. In proceeding to this deposition, however, the Council had not the authority

of an œcumenical council; it cannot have that authority until the legitimate Pope enters into relations with it, and confirms it. The question is evidently only of the deposition of a pretender, who has not sufficient claim, and not that of a Pope legitimately elected. The Council of Constance would not have had the right to depose even John XXIII. if (*a*) the validity of this Pope's election had not been doubtful, (*b*) and if he had not been suspected of heresy. Besides, he abdicated, thus ratifying the deposition which had been pronounced." Yet this Pope had been elected by the unanimous suffrages of twenty-four cardinals, although he was suspected of having poisoned his predecessor, of which crime he was accused in the sixth article presented against him at Constance. And if he was an illegitimate Pope, a mere pretender, it is not easy to see how his abdication could *ratify* the act of the Council in deposing him. There is certainly much food for thought in these remarkes of *Hefele*, whose authority as a historian, that is when writing the history of the Councils, we would not call in question, but whose perplexity when philosophizing in regard to them is no less here than it was in regard to the late Vatican Council.

Here then was an honest effort made to bring about a reformation by the Roman hierarchy itself. The effort runs through nearly the first half of the 15th century. We believe it was both honest and earnest on the part of those who had control of the reforming councils. And yet it failed, and signally failed. It seemed as though there had to be a still darker hour before the day should break. The Papacy had to sink to a still lower degradation under the *Borgias*, to have an Alexander VI. who is called the most profligate of all the Popes. The monastic institutions which had once been an arm of so great power to the Church now fell themselves under the same spell. They needed reformation fully as much, to say the least, as any other department of Church life. It was as though the energies which had carried the Church through the wonderful struggle with Mediæval barbarism and won the victory were worn out, and new strength and life had to be infused for the new work of the

Modern age. For, the weakness lay not merely in the difficulties that environed the external form of organization of the Church, but also in her inward life. Her doctrines and worship grew formal and dead. They were no longer clothed with fresh vigor for the people as in earlier centuries. The peculiar form or phase of Christianity which performed the work of the Mediæval period was not adapted to the new age dawning upon the world. Let us examine this point a little more closely.

The external authority of the Papacy which had imbedded itself so deeply in the respect and reverence of the people, and by means of this respect and reverence had subdued the lawlessness of the barbarians, restrained the unbridled power of kings, and saved Europe from a Cæsarism which would have rivalled that of heathen Rome, could no longer make itself felt. As the nations, particularly the northern nations, of Europe came to a sense of their developed nationality, and the sphere of the State came to assert itself, and as the science of civil law came to have a class of lawyers and jurists who became its expounders and defenders, the Papacy was compelled to retire. It was not possible to restore the theory of the Papacy that had prevailed in former ages. If, for instance, it should be held that the reformation of the Church could have been advanced by strengthening the power of the Pope, that, historically speaking, would have been an impossibility. The civil and political progress of the nations would have had to go back some centuries in order to restore the relation that existed between the Pope and the civil order. When the Pope exercised unlimited control over these nations they were, so to speak, in their minority; they had now become of age, and determined to rule themselves. The change had been slow and gradual. Statute after statute was framed, as in England that of Mortmain, of Provisors, of Præmunire, until the progress of civil law and political independence had outgrown the former bondage. The Papacy could not regain its former power unless history would move backwards.

The hierarchical constitution within itself had come to such a condition that nothing but a general breaking up from the

foundations could remedy the evils. A wide gulf of separation had come to exist between clergy and laity. The one was the *ecclesia docens*, and that was called the Church, *i. e.* the Church meant the ministry, and the ministry only. The other was the *ecclesia audiens*, the hearing and receiving Church. This dualism had become so fixed and rooted that it was impossible to restore that mutual relationship and mutual influence between ministry and laity which is necessary to preserve the spiritual health of each. There is a special priesthood and there is a general priesthood. These are organically united in one body, the Church. Neither one can be ignored for the benefit of the other. And it is just as great an evil to *undervalue* the Christian ministry in order to elevate the general priesthood of believers, as it is to undervalue the general priesthood of believers, in order to magnify the office of the special priesthood. The Roman theory fell into the latter error. The consequence was that the priesthood stood shorn of their power. The wide separation between them and the people left them helpless to really reach the hearts of the people. As a consequence they grew indolent, careless, and, to a mournful extent immoral.

It would seem that such an evil might be reformed by gentle measures. What more was needed than to modify some of the claims of the clergy, and give some status and provide some functions for the laity? But this could not be done. The theory of the priestly office had to undergo a radical change before a step of progress could be made. What made the matter more difficult was the reaction in the sects and brotherhoods, among whom the abnormity of virtually setting aside the ministerial office presented itself. The two came into conflict. Persecution followed. Both were thus wedded to their positions, and the Church was compelled to wait another century before the reformation came.

We might go on to show that in the sphere of dogma, as to the theory entertained in regard to the form of faith, and the material contents of faith, there could be no deliverance except in a general breaking up of the scholastic philosophy and theology and the incoming of a new age. We might show also the helplessness that

existed in the sphere of life and morality. This is forcibly expressed by a certain writer in the following statement of the dualism that existed: "Increasing worldliness of the Church, and alongside of it Monasticism; the requirement of strict obedience to the Church, and alongside of it a moral laxity which penetrated even into the sanctuary; a vigorous penitential discipline, and alongside of it indulgences; the asserted vicegerency of God, and investiture with divine power, and alongside of it impotency to pacify the inward pain and unrest even of the simplest and most needy hearts. Life passed from contrition to frivolity, and from frivolity to contrition, lost at last all heart and character, and drifted anchorless and broken to the abyss of inward emptiness and spiritual death. The masses followed the traditions, and multitudes of them remained pious and devoted in spite of the obstacles they had to encounter, but in the centres—yea even in Rome itself there were not wanting those who said, 'This fable of Christ has brought us great gain,' and some who, when they heard of Melanchthon's faith in eternal life and the judgment, declared they would esteem him a more modest man if he did not believe such things." But we need not enlarge on these points. Sufficient has been said to make our proposition understood, that the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of the Middle Ages and of Latin Christendom, after having done the work assigned it, could not be prepared for the new work devolving upon it without passing through an epoch, an epoch, in which the old form of Christianity should be laid aside and a new one arise.

Such a movement implies that the *form* and the *contents* or substance of Christianity are so related to each other that the former may undergo great changes while the latter remains the same. Christianity is, in its essence, a new life, even the life of Christ mediated to men by the Holy Ghost. It never exists abstractly. Corporeity is essential to its concrete existence in the world. Hence the organization or founding of a Church was necessary to the existence of Christianity. But in saying this we do not identify the form and the substance. The form may undergo changes, and this makes room for development,

progress. Such development pertains necessarily to the constant unfolding of Christianity in its apprehension by men. This point must be conceded in the change that took place when the Church passed from the Apostolic to the primitive period. One marked feature in the change that here took place was the withdrawal of the Apostolic office. After the death of St. John there were no living Apostles to govern, teach and direct, the Church. The significance of the Apostolic office was not, indeed, lost. Their teachings, under the directions of the Holy Spirit, remained and have been perpetuated ever since in their inspired writings, and the power of their ministry was perpetuated in the office of the Christian ministry, but not in the same outward form. With this, certain other changes also took place. The inspired record was closed, and not even the Roman Church, with its claim of infallibility, presumes to add to or take from the faith once delivered to the saints. They may define it, but they cannot add to it nor take from it.

There is a great difference also between the primitive Church and the Mediæval Church. The Episcopate grew into the Papacy. The change was not sudden. We see the movement going on for centuries. The tendencies all point one way. Rome becomes the central see. The unity of the Church finds outward expression in the gradual acknowledgment of the Papacy. Any one who can follow the course of things in the early Church, and not find a wonderful advance, a change into a new and different order in the full-fledged Papacy of Gregory I. or later Gregory VII., must read history through strange glasses.

We cannot understand the historical meaning of the Papal Hierarchy by assuming merely that error and corruption crept into the Church. That hierarchy for the time represented the authority of the Church, and the unity of the Church. It was largely an external authority and an external unity, but so far as it represented these ideas it had a relative legitimacy.

Now as the Papacy came in the course of history, with all the features that inhered in it, so it must pass away in order to make room for a new stadium of Christianity in the world. Thus

we approach the Reformation, on the one hand through a legitimate development of the Roman Church itself, while on the other hand we behold the free working of the Holy Spirit who brings forth even more than lies in the old.

The best energies of the Roman Church struggled towards the Reformation. The men that labored for it were Roman Catholic Christians. There were, indeed, many and varied influences that united in bringing the new era to birth. It was a movement that stirred all forms of the world's life. We can trace the preparation in politics, in science and art, in the reading and study of the Bible by the people, but at the centre of the movement we find good, pious, earnest, Christians. Roman priests become reformers, and out of the old struggles forth the new, with the old form left behind, and the life now clothing itself in new form.

This is a very different conception from that so very commonly entertained, that the Protestant Church is in no sense a ripened product of the Church life of the Middle Ages. How many are there even yet, though by no means as many as in former years, who look upon Protestantism as drawn directly from the Bible! That Bible that Luther discovered in the University Library at Erfurth is sometimes looked upon as the whole cause of the Reformation. We would not undervalue the influence of the Bible in the great work, as we shall see further on, but the Church had the Bible all through the Middle Ages. Why did not its pages speak to those who studied them the great truths that Luther found there? Why were the doctrines set forth in Romans and Galatians, for instance, locked up, so to speak, from the comprehension of earnest Monks and theologians before Luther? Just because the Church was engaged with different problems, problems that drew forth meaning from other Scriptures, whilst the meaning of these slumbered.

In this view we can do full justice to the Church of the Middle Ages, while at the same time we recognize the originality of the Reformation. Even New England theologians, through the influence of German Church historians, can now see a meaning in that type of Christianity. "Such a type of Christianity"

(the Roman), says Dr. George P. Fisher, of Yale College, in his History of the Reformation, "had certain advantages in relation to the uncivilized condition of the nations. Its externality, its legal character as well as its gorgeous ritual, gave it a peculiar power over them." "The Reformation," quoting from Ullman, he says, "viewed in its most general character, was the reaction of Christianity as Gospel, against Christianity as law."

This acknowledgment, since *Neander* has led the way, has led Protestants to find new interest in the history of Christianity during the Middle Ages. Nay, the conception of the Church as an organism has led Protestants to see that the wealth of all ages of Christian history is ours. The old Creeds, the decisions of early Councils, the primitive liturgies, the struggles of the Papacy with the civil power, though often attended with a tyrannical spirit, the missionary labors of an Anschar and a Boniface, all belong to the common Christianity which has come down to us with its precious treasures of heavenly grace. In this we can see that the casting off of the form of Christianity, at the Reformation, which existed during the preceding centuries, did not involve a separation from the life and spirit of those ages.

But a right view of development in the history of the Church must make room for the original and free working of the Holy Spirit. Even secular history cannot be understood or interpreted without considering the working of a divine factor, the governing power of God.

In the process of development here we have not merely evolution, the evolution of what is involved in the constitution of the world from the beginning, but such a governing and directing as imply a transcendent as well as immanent God. This divine factor works in history to carry it through epochs in which the life of the race is carried over to new stages, giving ever new and fresh interest to the problems of humanity.

But much more is this the case in the onward progress of the kingdom of grace. As there is here a deposition of new life, carrying with it the regeneration of the old, so there is also a new and peculiar guidance of God, as He is present by the

Holy Spirit, to guide and direct the history of the Church to its final victory and glorification. In one sense the revelation is complete from the beginning, in the person and work of Christ, who is the principle of it, but in the unfolding of this revelation there is a bringing forth of new contents, and that by the power of the Holy Ghost who mediates the revelation in Christ to the Church, and at the same time originates and breaks the pathway of the Church's history through the ages.

In maintaining this position, we, of course, deny that the form of the organization of the Church, as it existed in the Episcopate of the Primitive Church, and in the form of the Papal hierarchy during the middle ages, was divinely appointed and fixed in the Apostolic Church, or in the New Testament. Certain features were established and fixed for all time. The ministry and the word and sacraments were appointed, constituting essential elements of government and worship. But we deny that this government was fixed in the form of a Papacy or an Episcopate, as these terms are now understood. The ministry is one—but it has power to divide and arrange its functions, as it did in the Apostolic Church already in the appointment of deacons and elders and Apostolic legates. So the Church originated a form of government and called the first Synod or Council at Jerusalem. Exercising the same prerogatives afterwards it appointed an Episcopal order, and made this then to centre in a Pope.

At the Reformation the Papacy was set aside, and to a large extent the Episcopate also. The ministry throughout Germany and in some other countries went forward with one order, providing, however, for the varied exercise of its functions in the appointment of elders, deacons, and superintendents. This was not just a return to the forms of the Apostolic Church, as some imagine, but it was the assertion of the same original prerogatives of the Christian ministry.

Neither were the doctrinal teachings of the Reformers a mere repristination of what was doctrinally present to the mind of the Church in any previous age. These doctrinal teachings were, indeed, in the Word of God, but this Word itself is a *liv-*

ing Word, and on this account capable of giving forth new riches of truth. Those who imagine that Christian doctrine is all at hand in the Bible in such a way as to require only the application of natural rules of interpretation by the common understanding, fail to see that the Word of God in the Bible is for faith, and can only be interpreted therefore by faith. To regard the Bible as a rule in such an external way is the same error as to lodge infallibility externally in a Pope. There is indeed a parallel in St. Paul's teaching against Judaism in his epistles to the Romans and the Galatians, and Luther's doctrine of justification by faith against the Roman doctrine of works, but they are not just the same. How indeed could history after fifteen centuries repeat itself in such a way? Yet there was that in the teaching of St. Paul which under the enlightening power of the Holy Spirit, could satisfy the wants of such spirits as Luther.

In this way it is that portions of the Word of God remain unlocked, not fully understood, until a necessity opens up their inner meaning, and just because of this the Word of God proves itself to be a well of truth which will never be fully exhausted. It is like Him whom it reflects, who is the infinite fountain of truth and grace to the Church.

Let us turn now and consider the Reformation in its relation to the future. It has already unfolded its meaning through three centuries of stirring history, a history more wonderful, indeed, than the wonderful ages that went before it. If the Roman Church moulded history in the period of the childhood of the modern era, it has fallen to the lot of Protestantism to be such a moulding power and guide during the period of the full-grown manhood of the modern age. In the spheres of science, philosophy, the state, in the settlement of new countries, in the solution of new problems, in the wonderful progress of invention and discovery, surely we may regard the world as having attained a ripeness and a maturity during the last three centuries, which place it far enough in advance of the Middle Ages.

The Protestant principles of justification by faith, and the Bible the rule of faith, have not been inactive. They have been tried by new forms of error. Protestant freedom has had to contend with licentiousness. A false supernaturalism had to be overcome, and an age of rationalism to be conquered. Sectarianism continually asserts its power against the true unity of the Church. Indeed Protestant Christendom to-day shows the same perplexity and confusion that we noted in the Roman Church before the Reformation. Our Evangelical Alliance conventions are as little able to meet the issues that are upon us as were the Reforming Councils. The Reformation confessions, good as they are, have not power, it would seem, to carry the Church forward to a better future. So long as each claims to be sufficient for the wants of the whole Church, it is not likely that any one or all combined can open the door to a better era. *What then?*

I. First, we are not to doubt the legitimacy of the Protestant movement, nor to give up the Protestant principles. The solution of the problem before us cannot be reached by attempting to go back and repristinate the old. It does not matter how far we may mean to go back. The Romanist would revive the Hildebrandian age of the Papacy, even while his external building is falling over his head. The High-Church Episcopalian, or Puseyite, would bring forward the Nicene Age and live over again primitive Christianity. The modern Puritan would go back to the Apostolic Church. He claims that, with the New Testament in his hands, he can resurrect from the past the precise model of what he calls Apostolic simplicity in worship and Apostolic purity in doctrine. All this is a vain dream. We are in the 19th century, and, constituting an epoch in the history of the Church, back of us lies the 16th century, which gave a new turn to the whole spirit and life of the Modern Age. We accept what was then given forth under the guidance of the Holy Spirit as true and genuine. Much that has come in the name of the Reformation, we know, is bogus. We are not bound to accept just every interpretation of the Reformation principles. The true conception of faith, as held by the Reform-

ers, has often been perverted. Whole sects have arisen and built on, either a one-sided and imperfect view of Reformation truth, or an entire perversion of it. We need not fear to oppose these. But all through the three centuries since the Reformation can be traced the workings of true principles then set in motion. The more clearly these are set before us, freed from the rust and rubbish that have gathered around them, the stronger we are to maintain our ground against skepticism and infidelity.

It would be well if some of our modern Reformation Churches would faithfully and honestly concede this. The Reformed Church should, at least, be willing to confess, for instance, what was the view held in reference to the holy Eucharist and the sacraments generally, instead of gliding into a later, Puritan theory, and upholding this as the old doctrine. Lutheranism should, at least, confess what was the old Lutheran doctrine as set forth in their symbolical books, and not make common cause likewise with Puritanism and Methodism, and still claim to be genuine Lutherans of the primitive type.

Faithfulness and honesty to the old confessions are necessary in order to a proper advance. For progress should not be blind. To be effective it should be awake to what changes are going forward, and this requires, at least, as we have said, an acknowledgment of the old from which the departure is being made.

Faithfulness is necessary here also because whatever progress is to be made, the substance of the old should always be taken up in the new. In the Reformation, as we know, the Reformers had to fight for old Catholic truth against the fanatics, who were madly bent on overthrowing the true with the false, as well as against the errors of Romanists.

Some are disposed to give up the struggle of Protestantism just because it is confronted with trials and difficulties. As though it would mend the matter to fall back again into Romanism, or take refuge in Episcopacy! Both of these, as all may see, have no power to bring the Church to any deliverance from its present troubles.

II. But, secondly, and this is the main point to which our article looks, neither must we be wedded to the Reformation as an absolute standard, or of absolute authority for the Church for all time. The sixteenth century has no more claim to this high prerogative than any other epoch. If the Primitive Church cannot be accepted as such model or standard, neither can the Church of the sixteenth century. Indeed the Reformation in its true character could never be vindicated on this principle. We have seen that it was itself a movement which broke loose from old traditions and presented a new form of Christianity. The only principle on which it can be supported is the inherent power of the Christian life to move onward to new forms while it retains the one spirit and life.

There is a true and a false way of asserting this principle. The false radicalism of the age is ready to join in with the cry of progress. It will not be bound by any Reformation confessions, or for that matter by any confessions. It takes the Bible for its guide, and will know of no historical interpretation of the divine Word—no historical character of Christianity. We have no sympathy with such a spirit. But, granting the historical significance of the Reformation symbols, and the mission they had to accomplish, we nevertheless must hold that the Holy Spirit has even still more truth to reveal to the Church than they contain.

But, it is said, are they not sufficient to guide souls into saving truth, and if so, what do we need more? That might be said of every age. There is always enough truth at hand for individual salvation. But the Christian Church of the present time confesses universally the need of help to lead it forward in its victory over the world. Its divided state, while it does not shut out the opportunity for individual salvation, yet presents a serious obstacle to its progress and prosperity. It must unite its strength in order to stem the tide of skepticism and infidelity. It needs union in order to accomplish its work in Christianizing the still outlying heathen world. How can the Church think of standing still or being satisfied while more than half the world is still in heathenism. Such an attitude would at once

be fatal to its own existence. All this is felt. And it is coming to be acknowledged more and more. The Evangelical Alliance confessed it, though it is a question whether it did so with anything like a full sense of its meaning. It is coming to the surface more or less in every denomination. No one of them stands fully and fairly in the position it occupied doctrinally when it started. Who cannot see that Presbyterianism is no longer what it once was? In every denomination opposing forces are at work. In all of them there is an old school and a new school, a high-Church and a low-Church party, the conservative and the radical. It is idle to shut our eyes to this conflict. The liturgy may be the occasion of the strife here and there—but the trouble is far deeper than in regard merely to forms of worship. In some it may turn on a doctrinal controversy, in others on Church government. These things are indices of a movement in all the Churches.

In all such times the higher truth, in whatever form it may come, is held up before the Church. Romanism had such truth presented to it, but it was unwilling to give up the old forms. It could not think of a Church without a Pope. May not Protestants be so wedded to a peculiar form of Church government, or to some system of doctrine, as to make the whole future of the Church depend on these?

Very sure we are, as we have had it brought to our notice often in the pages of this REVIEW by abler pens than our own, that the true path of progress in this age lies in an acknowledgment of Christianity as a life, and of Christ in His living person as its principle, and that help can come only as the Church turns in faith to Him. The scene on the Sea of Galilee must ever be re-enacted. When the Church is tempest-tossed, He must be seen coming to her walking on the waves. As indications of the coming in of a better age, we need not grow disheartened, but rather encouraged when we see the old foundations breaking up. When God shakes the nations, the Desire of all nations will come.

NOTE.—We append the following from Dr. Döllinger's lectures on the Reunion of the Churches, in support of the position taken in the foregoing article. "His-

torically considered, we know that the Reformation was inevitable, and that when no room was allowed it in the bosom of the ancient Church, a breach of unity was the necessary consequence. Nor can we blind ourselves to the fact that it has had many beneficial results, and has in various ways proved a gain even to the ancient Church which was so hostile to it. We see that it has created a rich intellectual world, and given an impulse to every form of mental activity. It has become the most powerful and permanent force in modern history."

Again he says: "The Reformation was a movement so deeply rooted in the needs of the age, and sprang so inevitably from the ecclesiastical conditions of the centuries immediately preceding, that it took possession of all the nations of the West in turn." "German bishops, like Faber in Vienna, made the most moving representations. The whole generation, he said, whose birth or youth coincided with the time of the great controversy, knew not what was the true religion, and if this continued men would become thoroughly godless and atheistical."

We might quote more of like import. As a Roman Catholic Church Historian he has always been awake to the importance of the German Reformation, and his authority on such a subject is worth more than a multitude of inferior historians on either side. He is equally awake to the necessity of another step of progress in the whole of Christendom in order to reach a reunion of the Churches. May it come quickly!

ART. II.—THE PRIMITIVE AND SUBSEQUENT RELATION OF MAN TO THE PRE-EXISTENT POWER.

BY H. P. LAIRD, ESQ.

"The invisible things of Him * * * are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made."

A GEOLOGICAL history of the rocks has furnished the world with a probable theory of the original condition of this Planet, and the changes it has undergone. There, in these enduring monuments we find the foot-prints of creation, and can trace from age to age the successive changes until the present period. The silent voice of the rocks and the myriads of other worlds revealed through the telescope affirm the truth of those simple but wonderful words: "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." The material world or Cosmos is the objective manifestation of the completed work of creation. But what countless millions of years it required to organize the great chaotic masses of material substance into the harmony and beauty we now see, no thought can ever grasp, and then that each several

world might have light and heat, stupendous masses of combustible material were organized and brought together as we may justly infer, from age to age, through all the vast periods of creative time sufficient for the measure of the great cycle of world-life, all finished and complete and prepared for ignition when living eyes were about to be created to behold the light, and when vegetable and animal life should need the warming and vivific influence of light and heat. At a word all these vast suns till then concealed in impenetrable darkness and separated from each other by immeasurable distances are on fire, and their far-flashing beams of light traverse the immensity of space with electric speed, and in a moment the darkness that covered the face of the deep was dispelled and the attendant worlds unseen before, appear. So magnificent and overwhelming was this spectacle that the Angelic Host are said to have shouted for joy. We are not informed that the author of first Genesis was either a Geologist or an Astronomer, and how could he be in that early period of the world? And yet he has predicated of this one creative act something different from all the others—an instantaneous result, "God said let there be light and there was light,"—all the other creative acts involve the idea of time. How could the author of that most sublime and wonderful account of the creation *uninspired* predicate of this one creative act something different from all the others, and which in the present state of scientific knowledge is rendered highly probable? The ordinary phenomena of nature which he was accustomed to behold was against it—after darkness the light comes gradually—not instantaneously.

But the history of the race of men and their relation to one great Superior Power is more difficult and yet more interesting than any Geological or Astronomical investigation.

The material world has its sun, and this great globe freighted with so much of life as if conscious of its high responsibility, turns every day to receive the benefit of its warming and vivifying influence. We might learn from this grand symbol of God-like power that there is also for the higher nature of man one great central Power, shedding forth divine rays of light

and pervading the whole universe, and that communion with this absolute One is as necessary for the soul as the rays of light and heat emanating from the sun are to the growth and development of vegetable and animal life, and that man without God is as incapable of true development as the vegetable world would be without the sun. But the vegetable kingdom has no Will to antagonize and oppose the beneficent effects of the rays of the Sun, and hence we find throughout the whole of this domain a constant and passive communion with that heavenly orb and that complete development which results from perfect harmony. Man, on the contrary, elevated far above all other terrestrial life is conscious of a Power within himself, that may and can upon its own responsibility act in opposition to the One Great Power, and even resist the holy and all-pervading influences that flow from that Power. This ability to oppose and resist the Parent power and even to do violence to the law of his own being, constitutes man an order of peculiar beings. The acorn *must*, if it live at all, follow the law of its being; and the great spheres that revolve with almost electrical speed, *must* perpetually run the circuit prescribed for them of old. This power of opposition and resistance increases with the practice and culture of it, and he who so practices, even takes a pride in the consciousness that he feels more of freedom than at first. In the original constitution of man not changed by sin, the tendency of the law of his being supplemented only by that measure of divine influence that still left him free to determine for himself was designed to be adequate to preserve him in harmony with the One Great Power from whence he derived his being. Man cannot be considered separate and apart from the Cosmos of which he is a part, and where all things reciprocally act upon each other, and God upon the whole. If he, resting on his self-determining power, voluntarily withdraws himself from the co-operating influence of nature around him and the Creator above him, and the goodness of God ceases to be shed abroad in his heart—he becomes like a material world without a sun—darkness reigns in his soul, and he feels that unrest necessarily incident to his unnatural position in the

world. We call the separation of the soul from the body, death; but a higher wisdom denominates the separation of the soul from the beneficent influence of the Divine Spirit, death. If the plant cannot live and be developed without the aid of the sun, so neither can the higher nature of man move in its appropriate sphere, or ever reach the purposed destination without the co-operating influence of the Holy One. What the sun is to vegetable life God is to the soul. If we understand this great problem of our existence here we shall learn to prize more the infinite treasures of knowledge made known in the sacred record. How do we find the race of men? Evidently like the broken element of a ruined world—discordant, belligerent, restless and ever unsatisfied. If we turn our eyes upward to the great revolving spheres we find them day by day through all the unceasing ages come to time—with unwearied progress they roll on, and roll on in endless circuits and above the blackness of the night and the darkness of the storm they still obey the primeval voice of Jehovah, "Let there be Light;" and with unabated brilliancy, clear and serene, as on the Morning of Creation they pour forth even now the cheering light of Heaven into the most distant regions of space. If we examine our own planet in its material aspect we find every thing as perfect as is consistent with the necessary antagonizing forces. Even the furious collision of the elements has its law and its design. The air is purified, and vegetable and animal life stimulated thereby. It is nature's battery to restore the wasted energies of all that has life, and as necessary as the water we drink. How comes it then, that man, the completed problem of the whole, is confessedly imperfect, unhappy, restless, anxious, and troubled from foes internal and external? There is neither in himself, nor in his relations with those around him that kind of exact harmony that exists in other things where reason is wanting. Was he placed on the earth in that imperfect condition we now find him? Was the Creator less careful to make His highest workmanship perfect than that of the inferior and irrational? How did Moses, educated in a Pagan Court, where the gods worshiped had frailties in common with

humanity, know that the One Supreme Being had perfections far transcending that of humanity in its best and purest forms? If he founded the doctrine that he has handed down to us on his own observation of a mixture of good and evil in the world, why not plant himself on the Magian doctrine, which explains this by the supposition of two first principles: one perfect, and the other less perfect, and that the government of this world pertained to the latter?

But the foundation on which the corner-stone of a great system of religion rests, trembles in no uncertain balance. If we admit that God created man and that the Creator is endowed with the perfections and power that all Nature attests, the conclusion is irresistible that this, His highest act of workmanship stamped with His own image was perfect,—but mutable. We do not so find it now, and the experience even of the present time clearly proves that the tendency to fall still lower and lower is engrafted into the very nature of humanity. It was an ancient but truthful observation *facilis descensus Averni*. The man of Paradise was then created perfect but mutable. His soul was in unison with the Divine Nature, and he received from that presence and Power all needful aid and encouragement short of controlling his will. Divine interference beyond this point would have reduced him from manhood to mechanism. This condition of things ceased. Fleeing when none pursued, his terror-stricken soul revealed to himself the guilt of his disobedience and he hid himself. Whence came this fall?

Passing by the proximate cause of this first act of disobedience we find the possibility of it in the nature of man. If men were controlled absolutely by the Divine Power, by fixed laws as the material universe is controlled, then there could be no evil and no departure from the perfect way; but then earth and heaven and the souls of men would be but parts of one great whole, all necessarily obedient to One all perfect and controlling will. But then there could be no intelligent, rational, separate life, outside of the One great first Principle of all life. This necessary condition of man's existence made it possible for him to act in opposition to the Divine Will, and to

defeat that perfect development which results from the human and Divine acting in harmony. But why should man now possessed by the gift of the Creator with a free and independent Will still conform his life and actions and even thoughts with the Divine standard of perfection? And if he depart from this, why are the terrors of eternal pain set before him as the alternative? This is the Revelation that has come down to us, but in obedience to what necessity? It is impossible to conceive that the Divine Being could be possessed of any feelings of vindictiveness, or that he could have any pleasure in the punishment of His creatures. But on the contrary, we have in the same Record the solemn asseveration, "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live." First then in the nature of things there can be but one way that is perfectly right. The Creator, from His absolute perfection, intelligence without limit and perfect goodness is the standard for that perfect way. We cannot imagine any higher authority than this. The Divine Will in regard to morals is conditioned by the holy nature and being of the Deity, and is unchangeable because He is unchangeable. It is both Will and the Supreme law of the universe, and the thoughts and actions of men not in harmony with the Divine Will are sinful because they conflict with that, which is perfectly right. The laws of God proceed from His divine nature and are the result of necessary and unchangeable qualities of His being—as much so as gravitation is of matter. There is no place in the universe where they do not operate. Sin is either a want of conformity to these laws or a direct violation of them. It is a collision of the human with the Divine. There is no difficulty then in comprehending why the sinner is punished. His thoughts, his words, and his actions all come in collision with the Divine Will, which has the force of an unchangeable Law. God cannot abnegate the ubiquity of His presence, nor surrender the holiness of His nature to accommodate the opposing force of sin; nor can that law that impinges on the sinner be repealed. It is the outgoing of God's holy nature from all eternity against wrong. There is no other

world into which the sinner can escape from the Divine Presence, and while he lives and moves and has his being in God and still continues in sin, he must feel the pain and misery that arise from these opposing forces, and as the One is omnipotent, eternal and unchangeable, and the other limited in power and without friend or hope, he sinks down into despair, and the terrors of Hell take hold of him, and when in the world to come he realizes that in the divine economy there is a time for everything—that the day of probation is past, and that the doors of the kingdom are closed—that he has missed the great aim and end of life, and that the world of light, and progress, and peace are no longer open to him—that he is let alone forever to enjoy the companionship of his own evil thoughts, and to the society of spirits like himself: then he will realize that the horrors of eternal woe have not been too strongly painted, and that there is a state "where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched."

To illustrate further: Matter as being, whether found on the planet or in the great spheres above us, has certain common properties and qualities that bind all together in one harmonious whole. If it were possible that any one of the planets should gradually lose the properties common to the whole and acquire other properties in conflict with the law that now holds the whole consistently together disorder would immediately ensue; and the planet thus divested of the primal dynamic force common to the whole would become a vagabond wanderer in interminable space, liable to be smitten and driven in an opposite direction at every point of the heavens. The alphabet of the whole solar system, and, indeed, of the whole celestial sphere, when understood, not only proclaims the necessity of inexorable Law; but also that there is for all matter but *one law*—and the same may be affirmed of all spiritual Natures. The original man had stamped on his nature the image of the one great Antecedent Power; but that he might be something separate from that Power he was endowed with the ability to determine for himself his own actions. His nature was not so unalterably determined that he must necessarily act and think

in accordance with the Antecedent Power ; if so all would still have been but an objective manifoldness and yet but One. The law of holiness or will of the Divine Being is conditioned by the very nature of His being and is therefore not mutable—His presence is not limited. If by thought or word or act we put ourselves in opposition to this great original central Force of Holiness—the collision is inevitable—the higher nature of man feels the shock, and until harmony is restored—until the at-one-ment is accomplished, there is a painful and indescribable consciousness that peace has departed, and that the future has still greater horrors in store not yet experienced.

The progenitor of the race being the immediate workmanship of the Creator and the highest and noblest of His terrestrial creatures was doubtless potentially perfect as a man—with benevolent and paternal care his wants were anticipated and provided for; but he had a will of his own, independent and free, and he was inexperienced in the world and in his own nature. In the simple lesson of the forbidden fruit he was taught that opposition or disobedience to the Creator, was death—not that God was either vengeful or unmerciful, but that the Ancient of Days—that He who inhabited eternity and filled the immensity of all space, whose nature was fixed and unchangeable, and who in Himself by the very condition of His being was the standard of perfect rectitude could not change His Divine nature to accommodate any thought or action antagonistic to this standard of perfect holiness. This prohibition was the Alphabet of that Eternal Law that subsists in the nature of God and admits of no change. It was paternal, wise and benevolent thus to set before the eyes of this child of His immediate creation the consequences of opposition to God. There in the midst of the Garden stood the Tree of Life, pointing to immortality, and then that other tree, emblem of Death. These were the pictures that pointed the representative man to the destinies that lay before him and the race. The admonition was not heeded. Man fell from his high position of purity and holiness, and thus through disobedience he ceased to be as he originally was, and learned by bitter experience that the breach

of *harmony* between the soul and God was death—strange terrors took possession of his soul, and he fled from the presence of the only friend he had in the universe.

If he should be restored to his original purity by an exercise of absolute power then he must also be kept there by the same power, but this would involve the destruction of his manhood and reduce him to a piece of mechanism under the control of the All Powerful One. If he did not keep his state when all pure and holy aided by the divine presence and assistance how could he now, tarnished with the sin of disobedience and less holy than at first, do so afterwards? His transgression substituted fear where confidence before reigned—his mind still rested on that yet incomprehensible sentence of death, and he fled from the voice of his only friend. Such a disposition and feeling could never of itself come again into harmony with the Divine Nature. If God had not provided a remedy there would have followed for all the race to whom this disposition was transmitted, that eternal death that is symbolized by being in eternal collision with the Divine nature. And here we have the Revelation of the most stupendous problem. In the language of the Theologians, How could God be just and yet justify the sinner? How could the All Perfect Sovereign of unchangeable holiness harmonize again fallen man with his divine nature and not touch the freedom of his will nor destroy his manhood? God could not yield—the eternal principles of justice and truth and right that are conditioned by his Holy Nature could have no modification. These principles, in man, in a modified form, may be sovereign in his own breast, and it is evident that an opposing Force of diverse principles in the same breast would create disorder, put peace to flight and originate a perpetual warfare. But the universe in all its immensity is the bosom of God. He circumscribes the whole, and His law which is none other than the holy and pure and just expression of His Divine Nature reigns supreme and unchangeable, and no evil nature in that domain can in the nature of things have peace and be at warfare with these holy attributes of the Divinity. If flesh and blood cannot arrest the motion of this

Globe, so neither can man make evil good or set his antagonistic principles of right and wrong successfully in opposition to the moral laws of God. If planting himself on the freedom of his will man vainly attempts to overcome the Divine Law and persists in this through all the ceaseless ages, and thus invites the stroke of Divine wrath to smite him forever, is God unjust? The All Seeing Eye beheld the helpless situation of the human race—man having placed himself in opposition to the Divine Force could not of himself restore the original harmony, and without his voluntary consent this could not be done for him without the exercise of such power as would overcome his will and divest him of his essential and distinctive nature. The Divine scheme for his restoration preserves the Sovereignty of God, and also the freedom of man's will. And here it may be observed that the Gospel Scheme of restoration is beyond the invention of any human mind—it contemplates, to us an apparent impossibility—the harmonizing of antagonistic forces where the feebler power has neither the desire nor the capacity of itself to be restored, and where the greater power can surrender none of the claims of justice nor yet force the sinner back against his will.

The Incarnation closed the gulf that separated humanity from God and established an abiding union in the person of Christ. A new order of Sequence was thus made manifest, capable of restoring harmony between the human and Divine, without destroying the freedom of man's will. But how do the incarnation and humiliation and death of Christ and the revelation He made of the world to come accomplish this object? An evil nature inherited and acquired had separated man from the fountain of Light, and how shall his eyes be opened that he may see his true relation to the Divine Being and be persuaded without force to sacrifice his long cherished evil desires and apparent treasures of happiness on an altar that he does not love and at a shrine where he sees neither beauty nor comeliness? Belief in Christ and baptism are the assured terms of Restoration. But how shall this belief be obtained? How shall the unwilling man in the natural state become willing? It is a

part of the experience of the Christian world well established, that no man can of himself by any process of investigation or thinking attain belief in the Gospel sense of this term—nor is there in the human heart any natural process of development lifting it up into a higher and better life.

In all the material world external forces must co-operate with the principle of life in the seed germ or there is no growth nor development. If we reason from analogy we must look for some external power acting directly upon the soul to aid its transformation into a higher and better life. We can comprehend without difficulty that the objective manifestation of God in Christ, and the blind ingratitude that ignorantly consigned Him to a cruel death should touch the human heart in a way it never before had been touched, if believed. This greatest Tragedy of the Universe was such a high attestation of the benevolence of God to the world, and as it were sacramental assurance over the blood of His beloved Son, of the impossibility in any other way of averting the fatal consequences arising from sin, that if truly believed the victory for Heaven was won. Hence the ever-recurring force attached to belief. But still the question remains, how shall this necessary belief be attained? It is important here to note attentively in the first place the respective forces that stand in opposition to each other. The Divine Nature prior to the coming of man into nature, pre-occupied the whole compass of the universal Cosmos—stability, fixedness, unchangeableness, holiness, justice and truth had always been and must be immanent attributes of that nature. The creation of man involved the problem of a distinct rational, moral and intelligent nature, not one with the pre-existent nature, but so organized as to be in harmony with the antecedent nature, and so it was done. But man, conscious of his freedom, disregarding the Divine injunction, began to set himself in opposition to the fixed attributes of the pre-existent nature. Having done so he immediately became conscious of a collision with a power that before had tranquilized and invigorated his inner nature—such a presence was no longer agreeable to him, and instead of seeking to find in himself the cause

that now robbed him of his former happiness, he sought to justify himself and by indirection to cast reflections on his Creator. From such a state of mind it was an easy transition to begin to regard God as an enemy not to be loved, but dreaded, and to justify the pointed and emphatic declaration of Apostolic times that "The carnal mind is enmity against God: is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." It is easy to comprehend that under such circumstances, humanity had not within itself the power of restoration, and that God without man's consent could not do so for him without depriving him of his distinct nature as we have already shown.

This antagonism seemed to require the intervention of a Mediator related to each by the bond of a common life. Christ having the nature both of God and man is set forth as that Mediator, and through Him the eternal, incomprehensible and invisible Spirit is objectively manifested to the world, and the theanthropic life in opposition to the world life communicated to as many as believe in Him.

In the original organization of man he was so endowed in reference to the Antecedent Divine Nature that he had in his nature a consciousness of God. While so abiding in purity and holiness Eden was linked to the throne, and the divine Presence passing over into the human soul inspired it with faith and belief in God;—and in the external world in the works of Creation there lay before him for his reason and intellect vast fields of research through which by investigation and thought he could arrive at a more perfect knowledge of the Great Antecedent Nature, and at the same time strengthen and invigorate his own rational nature. Man was not organized for a state of collision with the antecedent Nature, and consequently had no faculty or power given to him originally, by or through which he could after the fall of himself apprehend Christ as the Mediator It is true, that the world generally seems to have had a vague and indistinct idea that some kind of mediation was necessary, and hence the almost universal resort to sacrifices to appease the Deity, and the Jews in particular unto whom were committed the Oracles of God, were daily living in expectation of a personal and

earthly Messiah. But none of these felt wants tended in the least to induce men to accept and rest upon Christ as that Mediator because he was not such an one as was looked for. There being nothing then in the organization of fallen man capable of apprehending Christ as The Mediator—no consciousness of Him as such—how then can man apprehend Christ unless there be such a change wrought in his spiritual organization as will unfold to his mind a full consciousness of Him as the Mediator? The light and heat of the sun aid the development of the seed germ because when originally created the one was constructed in relation to the other and to the end that the one might act on the other in the way of developing life and growth, but if the seed germ should lose its original qualities and nature, it must perish or be reorganized and readapted to the heavenly luminary. But nothing in material nature can fully illustrate the relation now under consideration. Man voluntarily dissolved the harmony that existed between his nature and the antecedent nature—eternity, that vast and incomprehensible Time that surpasses the power of mathematical calculation, was the measure of the duration of the conflict with all its attendant sufferings unless Reconciliation was accomplished. Christ in the Incarnation became a new order of Sequence to reach by a power immanent in Him as Mediator the hard and carnal hearts of sinners. The human life free from sin was incorporated with the Divine life, and He thus bore to humanity a new and extraordinary relation. And yet there is no natural internal consciousness of Christ as the Mediator in the world at large, and all men feel that in themselves they have no power—no desire to come to Christ. But when the theanthropic life passes over into the heart of the sinner, enlightening and transforming it into a newness of life, Faith is begotten in the heart and belief follows. It is this double consciousness—the consciousness of a former inability and indifference and even aversion to Christ and afterwards the consciousness of the transition from the former state into a newness of life—love substituted for aversion—confidence, faith and hope for distrust and darkness that have installed Christianity

in the world on an unshaken Rock; our senses may deceive us, reason may overlook some factor and arrive at wrong conclusions, but the soul cannot be mistaken in a conscious change when none is expected. The food for the awakened soul is the spiritual flesh and blood of the God-man Jesus Christ, and the message of Eternal Life recorded in the Gospel. The latter becomes inspired with a new life, and all point upward and onward to the Author of our Faith.

It would transcend a reasonable limit to attempt at the present time, a full discussion of the correlation that exists between the Power now brought into view and fallen humanity. The divine activity under new relations is still the perfect Law of the Lord, converting the soul, and with complete fullness is responsive to every condition of the human heart whether hardened or tender. Like the sun that has not too much power for the delicate seed-germ that is scarcely sheathed with any covering, and not too little for another germ of a different kind encased in a covering as hard as a stone. It meets the requirements of each individual case. It is a living, energizing Law working with means human and Divine to an end not mutable but fixed and stable as the Law that holds all nature consistently together. That the results are not uniform—that one "is taken and another left" is not the fault of the Law—that is dependent upon the opposing Force of rational independent Natures, whose wills are not forcibly subjugated by this living, energizing Law, but only kindly and persuasively influenced. Otherwise man would lose his identity as an objective separate rational nature and be merged in the One great antecedent Nature.

III.—PROGRESS *vs.* MECHANICAL CONSERVATISM.

BY REV. I. E. GRAEFF.

THE world moves in more than one sense. The motion of the earth around the sun in a fixed orbit is a grand phenomenon in the economy of the universe, but the history of its geological evolutions may be regarded as even more grand and sublime than its spheroidal course in the solar heavens. The progress of the world in any sense involves infinitely more than mere change or motion. It is ruled by the principle of development, and is tending continually towards a higher end. This is the law by which it is governed in its material formations, and much more may we expect that in the sphere of the social, the intellectual, the moral, and the spiritual, the same law must rule. There is historical progress in the material world, yet the proper idea of historical development is only reached in the sphere of humanity, since it is in the life and consciousness of the human race alone that the law of progress can come to its normal freedom.

All history points to the fact that the ultimate end of development, in any department of knowledge, is only approached by degrees, and is not reached absolutely at any given time. Modern science confirms this idea of history, and militates against all mechanical notions of historical progress. In the creation of the earth we have not an outward putting together of parts or strata by mere extraneous force, but a correspondence, an affinity, also by which the higher and the lower are brought together in the process of development as but different stages in the historical evolutions of a grand whole. But social and political economy exemplify the law of progress in a higher sense. Here we find the native peculiarities of the race strictly conserved, at least as far as these are fundamental to the idea of manhood, yet vast and endless changes have also been brought

about in social and civil life since the first dawn of history. Leaving all previous epochs out of view, we may refer only to the familiar experience of the Anglo-Saxon race and our American nationality as a proper illustration of the law under consideration. Anglo-Saxon nationalities are now substantially what they were from the beginning, but in the arts and principles of civilization, in social and intellectual culture, and in the genius and breadth of their institutions, they are far from being identical with the primitive standards of their history. Let us glance for a moment at the progress of our American nationality.

The Declaration of Independence and the establishment of a separate government by the thirteen Colonies was not a mechanical process, leaving our young nationality precisely where it stood before in the cardinal issues of civil life. The Christian civilization and common law of the mother country were of course retained as the organic basis of the rising Republic, but the broad-minded genius of modern freedom readily left behind in the movement all institutions, laws, and prerogatives, not in harmony with the progressive popular ideas of the age. And even after this was accomplished and the Republic was fairly set up, it did not become a fixed and stationary fact no longer subject to the law of historical progression. If that was the notion of some of its original founders and defenders, the experience of the nation during the one hundred years of its independence tells a different story. The nation has not stood still in the onward course of its progress, and neither has it been confined in its onward march to the extension of the national domain, the increase of population, and the development of national resources, all of which have contributed much towards making us a first-class power in the family of nations. Along with this outward growth and development there was going on a radical revolution in social and intellectual culture and in political ideas and doctrines, which led to results far more grand and comprehensive than anything of the kind that entered into the schemes of our Revolutionary fathers. To-day we are the same nationality that we were in 1776, and yet this

sameness is one of organic historical growth rather than of fixed economical identity. The history of the nation is one of conservation as regards the genius of American life and institutions, but that genius has all along asserted its force in constructing new channels for the popular life and will, whenever this in the course of events became necessary.

The State of Pennsylvania, which is not without propriety called the keystone of our national arch, has a history which in a striking manner illustrates the law of our organic growth; it is perhaps even more illustrative in some respects at least than the history of the country at large. The general government has undergone great change, not only in amendments to the national constitution, but in broad political and social issues, such as carried with them the main current of the national life; but the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania went deliberately to work at different times within the experience of the present generation, and radically remodelled its organic law, with a view to meet the growing demands of its rapidly developing interests. The cardinal features of its genius and life are the same now that they were at or before the adoption of the constitution which has lately been made to yield to another; nevertheless there is an enlargement of ideas and of culture in all the diversified channels of thought and activity, which places this State far in advance in every way of what it was but a quarter of a century ago. Progress has been in force here in the most comprehensive sense; it has done its work not simply in the domain of politics and the law, but it has affected all the material, intellectual, and moral energies of the people, and left us a few degrees higher in the scale of modern civilization.

Thus we see that the people of this country are familiarized with the idea of historical progress in a practical way; they are taught the necessity and the value of it by tangible results. It is with them not a logical abstraction which has not yet come to a practical test, but a reality that enters into the familiar everyday life of the nation. Hence the American people are becoming progressive more and more intelligently. As a body

they do not adhere slavishly to established doctrines and customs, neither do they madly rush into destructive revolutions. Rational freedom, which is by them regarded as the only safeguard of the rights and prosperity of the individual citizen, is in their judgment only possible in connection with obedience to just and equitable laws, yet these laws are not like those of the Medes and Persians—without change; but the popular will which lies back of them is allowed to mould and modify them to meet the changing issues of the times. Thus the better judgment of the popular will has carried us forward safely in the course of national growth, until we now stand second to no nation in all the elements of a prosperous, a happy, and a mighty people. Marked as our growth has been, however, we are still but a small episode in the colossal movements of modern history. There is not a country to be found anywhere that has not moved forward under the general pressure of the times, and in the bosom of Christian nations every department of thought and life was inspired by the upward and onward tendencies of the age. Law, medicine, philosophy, the fine arts, are just as little rigidly identical now with what they were three centuries ago, as the modes of culture, the styles of dress, the routine of business, the cultivation of the soil, the facilities of travel, the development of mineral resources, the navigation of the seas, in short, everything that belongs to the activities and usages of mankind, is just precisely what it was in times gone by. Even the most ancient and exact sciences were not allowed to remain stationary; they had to yield, along with those only in a state of formation, to the moulding genius of our era. The higher mathematics were not exactly in the hands of the ancient masters what they were made to be in the hands of Newton, and Copernicus did not allow the science of astronomy to rest on the same fundamental principles that ruled it in the *Megale Suntaxis*. The practice of medicine also has evidently felt the impulse of the progressive movements of the age, especially since the rise of conflicting rival systems, and, no matter where we may look in the unbroken circle of human affairs, we see at every point indications of the fact that the

world is moving, that society is progressive, that the life of the race never stands still, that all is continually tending towards a higher end, and that the ultimate issue of historical progress must necessarily lie far beyond anything that has yet been attained in the movements of secular science. And, if this is the case in the sphere of the secular, can it be otherwise in that of religion and theology?

Revelation itself has a history. It is not just the same in the Old Testament what it is in the New. There is indeed an essential identity between the two, but a broad difference also. And even the Mosaic economy was not rigidly uniform at every period of its history—it was not just in the hands of David what it had been in the hands of its inspired founder. Notwithstanding its legalistic rigor, it was in its very essence progressive, since it looked throughout prophetically for the coming of Him who fulfilled all its signs, shadows, sacrifices, and other ceremonies, being therefore but temporary in its nature, and looking beyond its own order for the ultimate aim of its existence. And the New Testament is the record of the life and work of Him who is Himself the life of the world, and hence of course the life and ruling principle of history. The order to which it belongs is in the fullest sense a life-economy, not bound rigidly by legal restrictions of a fixed judicial character, but entering freely into the course of human events, in order to mould and control these by the force of its own evangelic genius and life, with continual reference however to the circumstances and demands of the ages. The Christian era is, for this reason, emphatically the era of the Spirit. It has, it is true, its ultimate rule of faith in the written Word, yet not in the sense of a mere law or letter strictly defined at every point, after the manner of the Mosaic code. Under the guidance of the Holy Spirit Christ leads His people from one degree of knowledge and experience to another, from the day of Pentecost onward to the day of judgment; and hence theology and the life of the Church generally must necessarily be subject to the law of historical development, just as humanity is under that law, and can never break away from it without doing violence to its own

being and destiny. Such, we have said, is the law of the Christian economy, and it will not be difficult to find facts without number, in the course of ecclesiastical affairs and theological science, proving that this law has always been in force since the dawn of our era, and has surmounted every obstacle that presented itself in its way in moulding and directing the issues of history.

At the opening of modern history a grand rupture in the Church gave rise to two antagonistic rival forces, which have ever since been in deadly array against each other. The Church of Rome adhered mechanically and blindly to the notion of formal organized authority, over against the proper claims of individual freedom. Her conservatism was as unhistorical and as arbitrary as that of the Jews in the days of Christ, and failed just as signally to discern the signs of the times. This was one of the main reasons of the rise and success of Protestantism, which became the representative of liberal ideas, and moved in the life-force of the genius of historical progress. Hence it carried with it from the start the main stream of modern history, gaining largely as time passed on in the strength and breadth of its influence and power. Under its lead the Christian consciousness has made immense strides in the proper theoretical and practical solution of the most difficult problems of social and political economy, and has approached gradually towards the goal of an untrammeled, well-balanced, manly, individuality. Rome is still a powerful and potent rival, and resists with increasing determination the genius of modern culture, but she is happily led to confine herself in the exercise of her absolute authority, now lodged by ecumenical decree in the Pope, to the use of spiritual agencies. She can no longer apply the instrumentalities so commonly used during the middle ages, and, although she resists the spirit of the age whenever this refuses to move strictly within the limits marked out by her own infallible hand, she is obliged to fall in with the milder temper of the times in the propagation of her dogmas. In a word, she cannot now be what she was three hundred years ago; no amount of mechanical conservatism will save her from the

necessity of doing justice to the reasonable demands of popular freedom and popular culture, if she wishes to maintain her ground on the arena of modern thought, and wield her influence successfully on the field of modern civilization.

But Protestantism has a history too. It was not a mechanical movement from the start. It carried in its bosom the element of progress. It was a historical movement in the fullest sense. It cannot, therefore, be fixed and stationary at any period of its existence, as an absolute model for all succeeding ages. Historians know that it has had its epochs of development, and that it is not now absolutely what it was in any of its leading evolutions already completed. In its earliest stages it was creative, taken up largely with the authoritative settlement of the dogmas and the cultus of the Church, over against the claims of the papacy, and standing withal prominently in the element of formal authority. Soon it ran out into dry scholastic orthodoxy, and all was forced to move in frigid, iron-bound grooves; and hence an epoch of supernaturalism came into sway, scarcely less hostile to the genius of progress than the blind obstinacy of the papacy itself. But scholastic orthodox fixidity, in its turn, was shaken into atoms by the rough hand of negative tendencies—Pietism on the one hand, and Rationalism and Infidelity on the other, made sorry work with the reigning orthodox angularity of the times. For a while it looked as if these destructive forces would sweep every vestige of the old confessional faith from the field, and as if nothing would be left to tell the sad story but the smouldering ruins of a reckless innovation. Happily it turned out to be but a whirlwind in the issues of the times, clearing away rubbish and dust, and thus opening the dawn of a new era in the triumphs of the faith. The theology of modern Germany, which has been more particularly affected by the ordeal of destructive criticism, now rests firmly in the evangelic orthodoxy of the Reformation standards, quite as much so, to say the least, as Protestant theology has ever rested on the same basis; still it is not troubled about some of the issues that figured so largely in the theological controversies of the Reformation era. It is indeed

strictly but progressively conservative. It holds fast to the confessional faith and traditions of the Fathers, but not in a mechanical style. It is broad, irenical, catholic, and by no means bound by rigid confessional grooves. If in any particular it differs widely from the hard angular methods of the scholastic era it is in this, that it is ruled pre-eminently by the personality of Jesus Christ as its soul and centre, thus naturally falling in rather with the beneficent tendencies of the Christian life than with the hard ways of logical abstractions and fixed traditions. In a word, it stands fairly and squarely in the life-current of historical progress; not of course in the sense of the reigning skepticism of our day, but in that of the historic life-facts and powers of the divine-human personality of our Saviour Himself.

American Christianity, we trust, does not fail to see that it is fully involved in the progressive life-process of our era. Much of the primitive orthodoxy of the churches of this land is identical with that of the old world, and is ruled by the same standards. The tendencies and conflicts here, if not always like those of Europe, are at least similar to them in some respects. Here like there, a breaking away from the confessional standards enters into the experience of the churches; and here like there, these same standards will reassert their authority in a less outward and formal, but perhaps for that reason all the more potent way, in moulding and controlling modern thought and manners. No country affords better advantages for a broad development of beneficent powers and resources, and here will come also with the free course of the popular religious mind a grand readjustment of the cardinal issues of evangelic Protestant confessionalism, answering fully to the wants of the true faith and the scientific culture of the age. There cannot therefore be a formal, unyielding, stationary, holding on to the Reformation or later standards, without intelligent reference to the present status of the popular mind. Neither the Form of Concord, nor the Westminster Confession, can carry with it now, as a confessional norm, all the peculiarities that enter into its construction, and the Heidelberg Catechism, which we may safely hold up as the most irenical and catholic of all the for-

mularies of its kind, will have to allow itself to be divested, in its practical bearings, of some of the side issues that have found their way into the body of its warm, fresh, live, evangelic theology. There must be a going forward here in the true genius of historic growth and freedom, in order that the old faith may be conserved in the full vigor of modern life, and that the wayward tendencies of modern thought and culture may be brought into willing subjection to the higher authority of the Creed. And if medieval Catholicism moulded the barbaric hordes of Europe into one mass of civilized Christian humanity, may we not expect a similar revolution in the ecclesiastical and theological relationship of our American churches, standing as they do in the full power of Christian institutions and ideas, and moving as they do amid the surroundings of the full tide of modern progress? Is there not a life common to all in the conflicts of their diversity, by the force of which they will be moulded into one harmonious whole, under the guidance of Him who is head over all things to the Church?

This process, it would seem, has already been fairly inaugurated. Evidently there is a growing tendency back towards the broader ecumenical creeds of the early Church, as a common confessional basis for all to rest on, and our reigning theological mannerism is being constrained to become less austere and dogmatic. Our ideas of church government will hardly be allowed to escape from the modifying agencies of the times, and the various ecclesiastical interests will likely be forced to abandon the notion of a *jure divino* form as a fixed norm for all ages, set forth either in the Bible or in the history of the Church. And so the order of worship is also coming in for its share of reconsideration and readjustment, at the bar of popular opinion. It is found not to be rigidly fixed either by divine or human authority; it must suit itself to the experience, the culture, the piety of the ages. Now it may rid itself from all set forms in the notion that these are incompatible with the movings of the Spirit, and now it may return again to the use of such forms as very proper and even necessary helps to the devotions of God's people. The same may happen with refer-

ence to the leading Christian festivals and the lessons of the Church year—it may be found, after a period of protracted alienation from the idea of any such conformity of Christian seasons, that the order of the Church year answers a normal demand of the Christian life better than any other scheme that can possibly be adopted, simply because no other order can so fully and naturally cluster around the central significance of the personality of Jesus. This may involve a going back in some instances, and may therefore look like retrogression rather than progression; yet in reality it is, or may be at least, in full harmony with the law of organic growth, in accordance with which the old is taken up in the life and progress of the new. Besides, any scheme or order of evangelic culture, well calculated to confront us continually in a practical way with the saving realities of the life of Christ, and to inspire us with His example, can only be old and dead to those who have lost the power in some way of dealing with the gospel as a historico-supernatural fact, really present at all times in the history of the world. Such a going back in the sphere of religious festivity as the order of the Christian year involves, would be no more retrogression in an unhistorical or mechanical sense, than the appropriation of ancient styles of architecture in the erection of modern churches is necessarily a return to the dead past in the same sense. This sort of going back is in order to going forward all the more effectually in the end; it is to be rooted and grounded in the life of the past, in order to be normally equal to the rising problems of the present, and hence it may be the very essence of historical advancement and the solution of the conflicts of the times.

Such are some of the questions and facts that present themselves to the mind, in the study of our American Christianity and the economy of the gospel generally. A wide range is thus opened to the eye on the arena of human progress, and the Christian philosopher is led to a clear view of the design and destiny of the present order of things. To some minds the change which the idea of historical progress involves, especially in matters of faith and orthodox confessionalism, can never fall

short of either destroying our religious certainty, or leading at least to disloyalty to the creed and customs of the fathers. One of the favorite arguments of Roman Catholic controversialists in their conflicts with Protestantism used to be—"*You change, and therefore you have not the truth.*" This logic, if it were true in the sense in which it was brought to bear, would of course prove too much for Rome herself, since any one with his eyes half open cannot fail to see that she does not present an unbroken unity, either in faith or practice, during the one thousand or more years of her Papal supremacy. With all her conservatism, maintained on the principle of infallible authority, she has changed in dogma and in policy, with a view to meet the issues of history, and whatever certainty she has been able to give relative to the destiny of man, is grounded more authoritatively in what may be called the philosophy, or the life of her history, than in the formal decrees of her councils and the bulls of her Popes. The Church of Rome has had within her bosom the elements of progress. During the eventful medieval period she wielded all the forces of Christian civilization, which she could not have done had she not been under the power and spirit of the gospel. And it was in her bosom that the Christian life and consciousness were so developed, that the Reformation of the sixteenth century was made both possible and necessary. She has tried to stop the onward progress of her life, it is true, when this demanded concession, at war with her own preconceived notions of her authority, but this does not go to show that she was not really progressive in her own way, and that her adaptation to circumstances was not one of the main secrets of her success. With all her errors and abuses she was an organized Christian power in the world, promising progress, and progressing herself with the flow of the ages, and her claim of a fixed unchanging uniformity is therefore a fiction without real historical foundation. Just in proportion as she has been mechanical in her conservatism has she failed to be a bond of unity, and nothing will perhaps lead more rapidly towards her ultimate downfall than her now authoritatively established Jesuitical narrowness towards the scientific progress and cultus of the times.

But if Rome is mad because she is mechanical, then all mechanical Protestantism is doubly mad. It is in accord with the recognized canons of the papacy to oppose progress on the principle of infallible supremacy, and in her case blind conservatism may, for that reason, be regarded as consistent. Protestantism stands professedly on a different foundation; however, it claims to be the representative and champion of individual freedom, and hence, if it becomes arbitrary and fixed, allowing no such change or improvement as the progress of ideas may dictate, it does not only fly in the face of progress, but it flagrantly violates its own fundamental law. And from this we may safely conclude, that, if ultramontane Romanism is having a lively time just now in battling with the genius of the age, backed up as it is by a powerful organization, having all the force of a long and eventful history, then those champions of Protestant orthodoxy who cannot get hold of the idea of historical development in a live way, are apt to be borne along somewhat unceremoniously on the waves of the times. Of all historical fixtures, those are the most objectionable that glory in the right of individual freedom, and then take to riding traditional hobbies to death with a view of holding matters down to a dead halt at a given point. This sort of conservatism is now clearly out of date, and those who still hold on to it are likely to suffer leanness of both brain and soul.

We have said that a reaction towards the ancient ecumenical creeds had set in, as a basis sufficiently broad for all to rest on. That such is really the case admits of but little doubt, when we carefully consider what is going on in the popular mind. We have noticed in a general way, that there is a tendency towards the festivals of the Church year and a liturgical worship, and we may now say more particularly, that this tendency is perhaps most marked and decided among those who have all along been characterized by extreme views against everything of the kind. Where but a few decades ago the Apostles' Creed was denounced as a fossil and a relic of Popery, we now have at least a dignified silence on the subject, if not, as is the case in some quarters, a growing Christological sentiment that can-

not fail to appreciate the genius of the Creed. And along with this Christological movement goes a feeling in favor of Christian festivals and liturgical worship, that involves a complete abandonment of the radical views that heretofore ruled our reigning American theology. Of course these developments are yet more or less chaotic, feeling their way in the dark as it were; but in some respects they are already remarkably clear and outspoken. We need but look into some of the leading religious journals to see that the personality of Jesus Christ is not to the American religious mind what it was in by-gone days—there is much less of scholastic abstraction now, and a vast deal more of the warm flow of the Christian life in the theological thinking of the day. And as regards festivals resting on the basis of the life of Christ, the current of the times is running strongly in that direction, and all are drawn into it either voluntarily or involuntarily. Surely the negative tendencies of the German mind did not more completely break the angular methods of the scholastic era, than the popular American mind is now destroying the rigid anti-Christian-festival notions of the past. And in the matter of liturgical worship, the revolution is going forward so radically and rapidly that we cannot help but inquire why this tremendous change comes with such haste, and comes among those, too, who had from principle repudiated set forms of worship as utterly at war with the true spirit of Christian piety and freedom. The "*Christian Union*," of the 14th of January, delivered itself thus: "The plainness of worship in Congregational and Presbyterian Churches has nothing to do with the principles of organization, and is merely an accident. It was, historically, a reaction from the excessive sense-worship which prevailed in the Roman and half-Reformed Prelatical churches in the day of Puritans. It may be changed without touching the essentials of principle. There may be a liturgy, an elaborate service of song, antiphonal choirs, responsive reading, or any other method of seeking edification, which the members of the church may deem wise." Taking this in connection with what has been lately done in the same direction by the leading Puritan divines, and with what is now

transpiring in the Presbyterian and other churches in reference to this matter, we may surely know the fact and the reason of this broad liturgical tendency. Prejudice ruled the thinking of the past, but reason is about to take its place, and hence the rapid growth of the movement among an intelligent and progressive people. The subject is to be dealt with on its own merits, and hence we need feel no surprise that blind prejudice is yielding so rapidly to the rising light and culture of the day.

Now all this is contrasting somewhat strangely with the temper of some, who had the advantage of a more conservative training. The Reformed Church had never committed herself to the radical anti-festival and anti-liturgical notions, that once ruled all Protestant Christendom of the Puritan type; on the contrary, it belonged to her original life and genius to move fully in the order of the Church year, and of set forms of worship. On this general subject there is and can be no intelligent difference of opinion, but the question of change in any way involving the liturgical customs and usages of the present or the past, has been to us the prolific source of misunderstanding and strife. Our Puritan neighbors, it would seem, are capable of getting over such difficulties in a much calmer and more peaceable way—they think they can change their usages without touching the question of fundamental principle. This is what may be regarded a practical common-sense way of settling matters of this kind, which seems to be altogether in accord with the genius of the New Testament, and with the historic tendencies of the Christian life. It is, however, clear that all people cannot see things in that light; to many minds a change in customs necessarily and absolutely involves a change in the essentials of principle, and hence they hold on to the customs of the fathers, as they think, because otherwise loyalty to the faith of the fathers cannot be preserved. New-England divines think differently. They seem to have discovered that experience plainly contradicts all such slavish notions of conservatism, and hence they propose to bring matters down to the rational conclusions of an enlightened Christian judgment.

And if once our reigning American Christianity comes in from all sides on the fears and notions of stolid conservatives, with a tangible common-sense solution of this vexed question, it is more than likely that they will be constrained to yield to the onward movements of the conventional powers that be.

We are happy to know that the Reformed Church in this country has been in the van of theological thought during the last two or three decades, and that she placed herself squarely in the path of historical progress. It is true, her course was in some sense reactionary and conservative; she was the first to sound the alarm against the negative unchurchly tendencies of the day, and to plant herself firmly on the broad Christological foundations of the ancient faith. She labored incessantly to restore confidence in her venerable symbol, and in the scheme of educational religion to which it belongs. And along with this she also endeavored to revive faith in the ancient ecumenical creeds and the mystery of the Holy Catholic Church, as a historic reality always present in the world. Her own people have thus been led to a more intelligent appreciation of her proper position as a main historical branch of the great Reformation, and others also who in the beginning were hostile to her views and endeavors in the mistaken notion that these were not truly evangelical, were brought to see the necessity of moving in the same line of thought, and to look towards the same general end. We have had our controversies, and these were often accompanied by an amount of personal bitterness that was both trying and full of harm, yet this was not without its corresponding good. The ordeal through which we were called to pass was indeed severe, but we are coming out of it, like the three men out of the burning fiery furnace, with scarcely the smell of fire on our garments, and all the better qualified now to fulfil our high calling as defenders of the faith. Local and denominational interests may have suffered temporary neglect, in some cases, from our want of harmony, but the general mind of our people, and the cause of progressive theological science, have been immensely benefited by our internecine war of ideas. And, therefore, that this conflict should suddenly

stop, and we should have a dead quiet for the sake of peace, is a consummation not devoutly to be wished. Better life at any time, with all its risks and inconveniences, than the sombre silence of the grave. Yet that reason and argument should rule our differences, rather than the shallow bickerings of blind prejudice and silly gossip, may well be the hope and prayer of all.

Nothing is plainer than that violent theological word-battles and bitter personalities cannot command the respect of the sober intelligence of our day, nor satisfy the deepest religious consciousness of the masses. Earnest evangelic orthodoxy is of course never out of date, nor will it fail to have weight and power whenever it comes with the force and dignity of true culture; but the vulgar deliverances of bigoted partizans are something very different from all this. And it would undoubtedly also be a serious error to allow theological controversy, however legitimate and beneficial, to become the all-absorbing question at any time. Injury may be done by forcing a rigid scholastic mannerism in the place of the warm spontaneous pulsations of the Christian life, as well as by obstructing and crushing these by the iron law of a mechanical traditionalism. If others have learned from us in the matter of a truly Christological theology and church consciousness, we may surely also learn from them in the equally important matter of a proper church activity. A live Christology ought to lead its followers to live measures in the cause of benevolence and popular advancement. The most profound theological movement of the most evangelic orthodox kind, if it rest but in theory and confessional standards, and comes not to practical fruits in the form of broad educational and missionary operations and other elements of modern progress, must fail to win the popular heart and to rule the tendencies of the times. Every consideration, therefore, that may enter into our confessional or broader evangelic Christian convictions, appeals to us with tenfold force to give special prominence to the cultivation of a most bountiful liberality in support of the most comprehensive schemes of literary culture and benevolent activity. To fail to fall in with

the progressive spirit of the age in practical beneficence, is simply to lay one self open to the charge of a species of conservatism, that may be regarded as mechanical in the poorest and most superficial sense, no matter whether this error is committed in the interest of dogma, or of cultus.

Now what we still need as a proper practical sequence of our theological activity and progressive energy is, more fully endowed educational centres, which may serve as rallying points for our local institutions, and give us a culture fully equal to the issues of the day; centralization and enlargement in this direction is progress promptly demanded by our honor, and our interest. We need men thoroughly prepared for the work, and we need means to aid them in doing the work, if we wish to make a lasting impression on the arena of popular thought, and to perpetuate the sacred memory of our confessional life and orthodoxy. There are epochs in the history of the world and of the Church, when the necessity to go forward is so plainly put that no one can remain stationary with impunity, and that necessity is now upon us all the more potently in a practical matter-of-fact point of view; just because our broad theological ideas dictate a decided advance along the whole line of benevolent propagandism, with a view to make full cause with the intellectual and beneficent genius of our day and generation. We have done well in the sphere of argument; let us not fail to do the same more and more in the sphere of practical munificence and well organized efficient denominational church enterprise. In these things lie our hope of success in the fulfilment of our mission. God grant that we may prove ourselves equal to the emergency.

Art. IV.—WINE AND ITS USE.

BY REV. GEO. H. JOHNSTON, EASTON, PA.

THE TEMPERANCE BIBLE-COMMENTARY: By Dr. F. R. LEES and the Rev. DAWSON BURNS. Lond. 1868. Amer. ed. with Preface, by Dr. TAYLER LEWIS. N. Y. 1870. 8vo. pp. 469.

THE Preface to this work by Tayler Lewis is short, in which he however commends it in general terms, on account chiefly of the philological interest of the subject, without giving the work or the discussion any specific endorsement as to its merits, for he says, "there may be dissent, just dissent perhaps from some of the writers' exegetical reasoning."

There is a "Preliminary Dissertation" of thirty pages, in which the authors give some reasons for undertaking the work; then follows a philological treatment on the principal Old Testament words relating to wine; after which certain arguments are answered, and objections anticipated against the positions taken.

The body of the book professes "giving at one view, version, criticism and exposition, in regard to all the passages of holy writ bearing on wine and strong drink." Accordingly the "Commentary" begins with Genesis, and gives all the passages referring directly and indirectly to wine, gives the exegesis, and then comments on each passage as seems called for. So throughout the whole of the Old and New Testaments. A number of appendixes are added to strengthen and confirm what the Commentary proper sets forth.

The book claims to be representative and authoritative on the subject of which it treats. In an article published in the "*Independent*" for July 9th, ult., in reply to certain criticisms, the authors affirm that the exegesis of Dr. Lees "has *greatly modified* all the current views of scholars in Great Britain,"

and elsewhere.* The "*Independent*" for May 7th, ult., also bears the following testimony editorially: "The bulwark and thesaurus of the teetotal exegetes has been a volume by Dr. F. R. Lees and the Rev. Dawson Burns, entitled, 'The Temperance-Bible Commentary.'"

The writers profess to be fair and impartial, freeing themselves from all undue bias in favor of the positions assumed, and so bring their learning and skill to the work in hand from an objective stand-point, that the result of their labors may carry with it true value and force for the subject under consideration. It is philological, exegetical and critical throughout, and it seeks to draw practical lessons as it proceeds, keeping on the alert to silence the batteries of real or supposed enemies, while it is industrious to fortify its own positions. It seeks to bring together the most reliable materials from sacred and profane sources, and from the less trusty archives of legendary lore,† it gathers such new and old things as are reckoned to add strength and beauty to this well-nigh new undertaking.

While the book is to be commended for calling attention to this professedly new field of inquiry, and its authors for the labor expended in bringing to view, concordance-like, all the passages and words relating to wine and its use found in the Scriptures, and expounding them according to an adopted theory of interpretation, though essentially at variance with the main current of exegesis in all ages to the present time, as touching this subject, we seriously question whether it will directly and positively further the work of sound biblical exegesis. Not that this particular branch of theology has been successfully and finally brought to a happy and peaceful issue and end. For it must be owned and maintained that here, as

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* The *Independent* denies the statement.

† See pp. 11, 13, 19, 25, 41, 276, etc., etc. There is no lack of industry in bringing together, from Jewish, Heathen, and Christian sources, ancient and modern, such evidence as seems to support the theory advanced. Much of this testimony is of the most fragmentary character, and entitled to little weight. Indeed most of it adds nothing to the argument, but is in truth against it. At any rate, the sense heathen writers put upon language has little critical value for determining the meaning of Scriptural terminology.

well as in every other department of biblical science, there can be, in man's limited and imperfect state, only "knowledge in part." If it represents sufficient strength, such strength of course resting in right and truth, it may negatively aid in conserving the truth which from its position it antagonizes.

In the preliminary dissertation decided objection is raised against the Authorized Version of the Scriptures, as being calculated in this case, as in others, to mislead those who accept it as authority by which to fix the sense of the original text. And with some truth. It is well known that our English text is not always a reliable guide for critical purposes.* But while this is allowed to be valid in the case of single words, and phrases even, it is doubtful whether there is in the Scriptures any article of faith, any matter relating to social, political, or religious life, mention of which is made in historical fashion all the way through the course of revelation, whose true sense and meaning is not to be gathered from the Authorized Version even. But this version is often greatly strengthened, and the full meaning and force of Scripture not unfrequently brought out with greater emphasis and clearness by reference to the original text. Upon the subject here brought into view, we doubt whether the English text is altogether such a perversion of comparative philology, and such a fatal missing of the intent and purpose of the sacred writers as is charged. It is not proposed to follow the book in the way of particular criticism. This would be an endless task. The gist of the discussion is summed up mainly in the interpretation put upon the two chief Hebrew words standing for *wine*, *Yayin* and *Tirosh*.† The hitherto accepted sense of these terms is, in the case of the first, materially modified, and of the last, an entirely new sense is put upon it. Yayin, the word oftenest used (it occurs about one hundred and forty times in the Old Testament), is according to Gesenius, who is still acknowledged by scholars to be the most reliable authority on Old Testament philology, a word of definite and well settled meaning. The term designates the

* E. G. The words Sheol and Hades, translated now by one, now by another term.

† תִּירוֹשׁ יַיִן

distinguishing characteristic of the element or thing named. The same is true of Tirosh.*

While the authors "allow only a secondary weight to the remote, vague, and uncertain element of etymology," giving the chief importance to "Text, Context, and Circumstance," thus apparently disparaging the derivation and definition of terms, and of yayin and tirosh in particular, they yet set about the matter of looking up their roots and define them, and then make the conclusions drawn the relative criteria of judgment all the way through the discussion.

Yayin, according to Gesenius, is "wine, so-called from its fermenting, effervescing," the root, יוֹר, yon, meaning "to boil up, to be in a ferment," as characteristic of the element; the fluid being meanwhile in a turbid, muddy condition, caused by the fermenting process. The Commentary admits that yayin means to boil, foam, spume, but asserts that wine is so-called, because when the grapes are pressed, as the juice runs into the vessel, it foams and boils.

The Commentary maintains that yayin is a broad generic term, meaning sometimes the grapes, and sometimes one sort of wine, then another, as well must, as wine proper. There

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* "New names, when first imposed, are always expressive of some *simple* and *obvious appearance*, never of latent properties or scientific relations; and hence, while the foaming appearance of grape-juice accounts for the original application of the term *Yayin* to it, it would be absurd to suppose that the idea of 'fermentation,' the nature of which had only been understood during the last century as a scientific process, formed any part of the original connotation of the word."—Prelim. Disser., p. xxv.

This statement contains an error and a fallacy. Is not the very object of language to give a true key to the nature and relations of the object or thing named? If this be not the original reason for naming persons and things, then what was the reason? What then does all this industry in the sphere of philology mean? What is it all worth?

The fallacy in this statement is, that yayin cannot embody the idea of fermentation, because this process only came to be scientifically understood during the last century. Had the Jews no conception of the nature of leaven in the time of Moses, and before? And, are there no rudiments of science to be found underlying Scripture terms? Is there no basis of science in the books of Moses? Not science proper, wrought out, systematized; but is there no basis of science in the terms used? Is there no ground-work in the Pentateuch for theology, anthropology, geology, astronomy? Words represent things, and their nature, whether scientifically understood or not.

are a few passages in which the word may stand for the fruit of the vine; but in the poetic imagery of the Hebrew Scriptures this is natural enough. That the word under any other supposition, or in a strict use of language, could have been used to mean the grape, or its juice, interchangeably, is not to be imagined. Whenever the word is so used that it appears to mean the vine, or the grape, such conclusion is modified, if not entirely dissipated by the association of words or phrases which fix its sense; as for example, wine-press, treading, gathering, vintage, shouting, cheerfulness, drinking; unmistakably refuting the notion that yayin could at all mean a *solid fruit.**

Besides, there is no passage in the Old Testament we believe which joins yayin with the act of eating. This is indeed not conclusive, but it must be allowed that where a word is used so frequently in connection with the customs and usages of every-day life, it is only natural that such reference should exist.†

The book assumes that yayin is a term having a vague uncertain meaning, even when it points to wine; that unless the context determines its sense specifically pointing to excess, it must not be concluded that it is fermented; for, says the book, "Not in one half of the one hundred and forty-one texts, however, can it be shown that such wine is the kind to which the word is applied, by anything in the context."‡

If the divinity of Christ is taught in fifty passages out of a hundred in direct terms, is it to be inferred that in fifty other passages relating to Christ in which His divinity is not directly taught, that these must be counted as against the doctrine? If excess in eating and drinking is spoken of and denounced in some passages in the Scripture and not in others, is such silence to be construed into a license for excessive eating and drinking? If alcoholic properties are so associated with wine in some of the passages of the Scriptures in which the word occurs as to amount to a demonstration that the wine was fermented, and such facts are found running through the Sacred Record from Noah to the death of the Apostle John, found in

* Deut. xxviii. 39; Ps. civ. 15; Judges ix. 13, etc.

† See Smith's Bib. Dict., Art. Wine.

‡ Prel. Dis., p. xxvii.

the first book of the Bible, and in the last, is it safe to conclude, on any sound theory of interpretation, in the absence of any reference whatsoever to an unfermented wine which the sacred writers alone approved, that in the remaining passages in which wine is mentioned, an unfermented wine is meant?

Tirosh, root yarash,* Gesenius says, is "*new wine*, so-called, because it gets possession of the brain and inebriates." . . . . "Often coupled: *corn and new wine*, Gen. xxvii. 28. . . *a land of corn and new wine, i. e.* abounding in them, Deut. xxxiii. 28; Isaiah xxxvi. 17; also more fully, *corn, wine and oil.* Deut. xxviii. 51. 2 Chron. xxxii. 28. Joel ii. 19 al. Of the juice of the grape, Isaiah lxv. 8." The root, yarash, means "to take, to seize, to take possession of, to occupy, mostly by force. That this, and not to 'inherit' is the primary signification is apparent from the derivatives," etc. Rev. Dr. Robinson, the translator of Gesenius' Lexicon, adds the following to the above: "All the passages go to show that tirosh is *new wine* of the first year, the *wine-crop*, or vintage of the season; and hence it is mostly coupled with wine and oil as a product of the land. That it was regarded as intoxicating is shown by Hos. iv. 11." The Commentary affirms confidently that "*tirosh* is not wine at all, but the fruit of the vineyard in its natural condition."† On this assumption the discussion proceeds all the way through.

Yayin is properly *wine*, that is, the fermented juice of the grape. *Tirosh* is *new wine* of the first year, including the processes through which the juice passes. The term is applied to the *grape* as containing tirosh. (Isaiah xxiv. 7, Joel i. 10, Judges ix. 13). It is applied to the *must*, as it is being expressed and running from the wine-press into the wine-vat. (Prov. iii. 10, Joel ii. 24). And it is applied to wine after it has undergone the process of fermentation, that is, to wine proper. (Hos. iv. 11). Only once is it stated how it was consumed, (Isaiah lxii. 8, 9), and then it was *drunk*, not eaten. The verb ‡ here associated with tirosh is the proper and leading one for *drinking*,

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* הירוֹשׁ (r. יָרַשׁ) † Prel. Dis., p. xxviii. ‡ שָׁתָה

and is always so translated. (Gen. xxiv. 22, Ex. vii. 21, etc.). Among the offerings and tithes appointed of God statedly to be offered, were wine (yayin), and sweet wine, or new wine (tirosh), not as fruit, as grapes, but as *drink* offerings, in connection with corn and oil, and the bloody sacrifices designated by the law. (Ex. xxix. 40; Num. xviii. 12; xv. 5, 7, 10).

The Commentary renders the frequently recurring triplet, corn, wine and oil, thus: "corn-fruit, vine-fruit, orchard-fruit."* There are two Hebrew words frequently translated oil,† and both supporting this sense. But whenever tirosh and yitzhar, that is, wine and oil, or the triplet, corn, wine and oil, are joined, the Commentary translates tirosh, fruit, that is, vine-fruit, and yitzhar orchard-fruit. This seems to be necessary to make it consistent. Yayin and tirosh, shemen and yitzhar, seem to be corresponding terms in the Old Testament. Yayin is wine proper, tirosh is wine of the first year, and may or may not be fermented, according to circumstances. Shemen is oil that has age; it is not new oil (olive oil). Yitzhar is new oil, and applies to the oil before pressing while yet in the fruit; or to the oil in the press and running into the vat; and to oil of the first year. Hence it is seen that the forced construction everywhere visible, and the arbitrary exegesis that goes along in a cramped and lawless style like one on stilts, apparent all the way through this Commentary, is of little force and value for bringing out the truth, but rather beclouds the exegetical and doctrinal vision at every turn.

The three terms daghan (corn), tirosh (wine), and yitzhar (oil), are generic, and in each case include the raw material as well as the manufactured article. They are terms of a wider range of meaning than the other terms used in connection with these products. Corn (daghan) in the Old Testament is often used as synonymous with bread; and wine (tirosh) as synonymous with drink, (Gen. xxvii. 28, 37); and indeed they are the synonyms of God's bounteous provision to His unworthy creature man.

The other Hebrew terms relating to wine, about eight in

* Prel. Dis., p. xxix.

† יִצְהָר שֶׁמֶן

number, are seldom used. *Ahisis*[1] occurs five times; is not as comprehensive a term as tirosh; represents new wine; the term meaning "that which is trodden out." It may be fermented. (Isaiah xlix. 26). It is also applied to the juice of the pomegranate.

Sobhe[2] occurs only a few times. It is a fermented, sour wine. The word does not occur until in Isaiah.

Chemer[3] is fermented wine, from the root "to boil, to ferment, to foam." It is found only three times. (Ezra vi. 9; vii. 22; Dan. v. 1).

Shekar[4] is strong drink, whether of wine, or made of barley, of honey, or of dates. It is distinguished from pure wine (yayin), probably because "spiced," or "mixed." (Lev. x. 9).

Chometz[5] is sour wine, vinegar. (Num. vi. 3).

Meseg, *mimsac*, *mesek*,[6] are mixed and spiced wine, their roots all being the same. (Cant. vii. 3; Prov. xxiii. 30).

These terms are only of secondary importance for the matter under consideration.

In the New Testament there are four terms[7] used to represent wine. *Oinos*, in the New Testament, is the term that corresponds to yayin in the Old. And *gleukus* corresponds to tirosh substantially. Oinos properly means the fermented juice of the grape, and is used almost exclusively in the New Testament. *Sikera* is used in referring to John the Baptist, who was to be a Nazarite, and allowed to use no wine, nor strong drink. *Oxos*, is vinegar, referred to only in connection with the drink given Christ on the cross. *Gleukus* is used once, namely, it is the new wine said to have been drunk by the disciples on Pentecost, when they spoke with tongues.

That the wine of the Old Testament, and of the New, was fermented lies in the terms used to designate it, and this fact is moreover supported throughout the Scriptures by the frequent references to excess, and indirectly, but conclusively, by an entire silence from first to last, that there was a wine which

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[1] עָסִיס, [2] כְּבָא, [3] חֶמֶר, [4] שֵׁכָר, [5] חֹמֶץ.
[6] מֶזֶג, מִמְסָךְ, מֶסֶךְ.
[7] οἶνος, σικερα, ὄξος, γλευκος.

was not fermented and in use, and which alone had the divine sanction. To apply the two principal Hebrew terms standing for wine to the *grape* as at all their legitimate sense, which in the case of the one (tirosh), is done systematically throughout the work under review, putting them now in the category of solids, and now of liquids, as the rule of interpretation here adopted seems to require, is, to say the least, hardly calculated to inspire confidence in the conclusions thus arrived at. If the Hebrew and Greek languages had principally generic, and but few specific terms to express the meaning of objects in nature, so that it had been difficult for the writers to make themselves readily understood in matters of detail, then there would be more room for doubt in regard to these terms. But it so turns out that the Patriarchs, Apostles, and Prophets of the olden time, by their manner of speaking and writing, sometimes went into detail almost painfully, using words with shades of meaning that comparative philology has not yet, with all its diligence and industry, been able to settle. Thus on the matter in hand there seems to be no want of terms to cover the whole case. The book tells us also what these terms are.* There are terms for vineyard, vine-dresser, vintage, vintager, vintage-gleaning, vine (used often), tendrils, vine-branch, vine-knife, vine-blossom, flower, bud, grape (used often), cluster, unripe-grapes, dried-grapes, wine-press, grape-treader, etc., etc.

There is no mistaking the sense of these terms in the Bible. They stand for solids. So a certain other class of terms are definite in sense. Tracing their roots, following their associations and connections in the text, there is only one conclusion possible; they stand for liquids. The character of the liquids is ascertained partly from the terms, and partly from the context. To rely solely upon the context for their sense would not be sufficient, neither would the term itself in every case set forth the whole truth clearly.

Wine is the fermented juice of the grape. But we are told that leaven or ferment was interdicted in the temple service,

* App. B. p. 419. See also, Complete Verbal Index to Gesenius' Lex. by J. L. Potter.

and that wine was appointed to be used, therefore it was unfermented wine that was used at the Passover and Pentecost, and in connection with the daily sacrificial services. This is the argument. Leaven was, according to the Law, to be carefully excluded from some of the sacrificial services, (Ex. xii. 15, etc.); but it was not entirely and absolutely prohibited as being unfit for use in any form in private life, or in the services of the sanctuary. In (Lev. xxiii. 16), and elsewhere, it is connected specially with the Pentecostal offerings. "Ye shall bring out of your habitations two wave loaves of two tenth deals: they shall be of fine flour; they shall be baken with leaven; they are the first-fruits unto the Lord." "The object of this offering seems to have been to present to the Lord the best produce of the earth in the actual condition in which it is most useful for the support of human life."* The loaves are said definitely to be "*the first-fruits unto the Lord.*" Leaven in the Old Testament and in the New is frequently used to illustrate the secretly penetrating power of sin, and the force of bad example. Not because it is in itself evil, but its nature serves to illustrate far-reaching truth. One reason why leavened bread and leaven were so decidedly interdicted in connection with the *Passover* festival was, that the Jews might be forcibly reminded from year to year of their extraordinary deliverance from Egyptian bondage by the hand of God. It takes time to make leavened bread. Leaving Egypt in haste, they had no time to bake *leavened* bread, and thus the interdiction of leaven at the Passover feast would be an ever-recurring reminder of their former abject condition. "And they baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt, for it was not leavened; because they were thrust out of Egypt, and could not tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any victuals." (Ex. xii. 39). "Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it (Passover); seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith, even the bread of affliction: for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in

* The Bible Commentary in loco.

haste: that thou mayest remember the day when thou camest forth out of Egypt all the days of thy life." (Deut. xvi. 3).

Our Saviour uses leaven to represent the secretly corrupting doctrine of the Scribes and Pharisees, and Paul uses it in the same sense. That it serves as a pointed illustration lies on the surface. Since in the Old Testament and in the New it is so used, has led some to suppose that it can properly and only symbolize corruption in the sphere of morals. Christ came to fulfil the law, and He set forth its symbolism in its true light. Leaven was used in the time of Moses in every-day life, and it was commanded to offer some new loaves at Pentecost baked with leaven, as an "*offering of the first-fruits unto the Lord*," a service which the Jews were to render "all the days of their life." The Saviour did not set it aside or condemn it, or its use, but He selects it as the basis of one of His beautiful parables. If leaven is only and always properly and truly the synonym of moral corruption in the Bible, how is the Saviour's parable then to be understood: *The kingdom of Heaven is like leaven?* Does then the kingdom of Heaven carry in its bosom the element of corruption only; and is this corrupting leaven-like power the *chief* one? Is it not the intent and purpose of the Saviour here to give a key to the understanding of the mystery of God in Christ by the Church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail? Leaven* is then a fit symbol of the secret, silent, sanctifying and glorifying life of Christ, by which, because of His two-fold character, He can apprehend man, as leaven, with its two-fold nature, apprehends the meal, and infuses its secret regenerating power into the mass, making it pleasant and healthful as food. By nature humanity is alien from God; in Christ it is generically apprehended; the old power of sin is in its root destroyed; and in as far as the race yields itself to the leavening process, by the agency of the Church under the figure of the woman, as set forth in the parable, it is made a new lump. Thus that which may illustrate a dark side of human life, is also a most fitting representative of a great truth—an expressive symbol of a fundamental mystery in the kingdom of grace.

* See Lange Com.; et R. Stier, Words of Lord Jesus.

The fermenting process carries with it a health-diffusing power in the bosom of the meal, making the bread pleasant and salubrious. Fermentation in grape-juice decomposes the vegetable matter, clarifies the liquid, carrying its impurities to the surface, and makes it a healthful drink.

Ferment is characterized all the way through the book as in itself bad, and its work as only to be reprobated, especially so far as wine is concerned. Where in the Old Testament the Jews are commanded to bring leavened bread as among the first-fruits unto the Lord, the book passes the matter in silence. On the parable of the Leaven, the gist of the Commentary, which on this text is unusually brief, may be quoted: "Yeast is albumen in a state of decay. The action of leaven in dough converts the saccharine particles into alcohol and carbonic acid gas, when the effort of the gas to escape (or rise by its levity), gives to the dough the porousness of light bread. But by pumping artificially made gas into the dough, as is now done under Dagleigh's patent for aërated bread, the same effect is produced,"* etc. One cannot help feeling a certain regret that Dr. Lees and Rev. Dawson Burns were not at hand in the Saviour's time with Dagleigh's patent; for who can tell but that He might have been induced not to give an apparent sanction to such a doubtful article as leaven.

But the Saviour did not only give leaven such an association in His parable as to dispel the thought that it must only and always be classed as evil. He also made wine, drank it Himself, and coupled it forever with the sacrament of His body and blood, the "innermost sanctuary of the whole Christian worship." Moreover, He told His disciples in connection with the institution of the sacrament, after He had blessed the cup, and while they were partaking of it, that wine would be an element in the heavenly communion.† "But I say unto you, I

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* P. 269.

† "The Lord's Supper points not only to the past, but to the future also. It has not only a commemorative, but also a prophetic meaning. In it we have not only to show forth the Lord's death *until He come*, but we have also *to think of the time when He shall come* to celebrate His holy Supper with His own, new, in His

will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom." (Math. xxvi. 29).

The vintage was gathered, and the wine made in the fall, commencing in September. The Passover was celebrated in April. Wine, flour, and oil were used in connection with the daily sacrifices, (Ex. xxix. 40, 41); and especially at the Passover and Pentecost. Must might possibly have been preserved from fall until spring, and so used at the Passover, at Pentecost, and at the daily services throughout the year; but there is no evidence that this was done. Neither is must as such commended, nor is it commanded to use it in the religious services; but wine (yayin), and new wine (tirosh), are specially continually and alone mentioned in connection with the temple services. The priests also are charged not to use wine while in the actual discharge of their duties (Lev. x. 8–11), which counsel loses its meaning and force if only must and not wine was in common use. So in the Saviour's time it seems apparent at every turn, that wine and not must, was used in public and in private life, in the family, and in the religious services. Any other supposition seems to be more or less forced in a general view of the Gospels, and in many instances the assumptions of the teetotal exegetes are absolutely inexplicable. The reference made by our Saviour to new wine, and to old wine, in association with new and old bottles, is such a case, where not only fermentation is referred to as a well known-fact, but where the Saviour, on the theory of these reformers, must, in the nature of the case, have spoken a word of disapprobation and condemnation, on the supposition that He disapproved the use of fermented wine. Job already (xxxii. 19) makes mention of this same well-known fact in his day.

Our Commentary devotes special attention to the miracle of Cana. It worries the authors much that Christ should make so large a quantity of wine, and particularly after the guests

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Kingdom of Glory. Every celebration of the Lord's Supper is a foretaste and prophetic anticipation of the great *Marriage Supper*, which is prepared for the Church at the second appearing of Christ." Thiersch, quoted by Alford, Gr. Test. 269.

had already been pretty well satisfied. That Christ should make wine is not so much a matter of concern here, as that He should exercise His omnipotent power to make one hundred and twenty gallons. But why such open distress at the quantity, if it is only must, and not wine proper? If it has not the characteristics produced ordinarily by fermentation, if it has no alcoholic property whatever, the anxiety of these authors ought to be dissipated. And it is maintained that the Saviour could not have made, and that He did not make such wine. But a tacit fear, nevertheless, remaining in the bosom of the writers that the wine might have been fermented with the dregs of alcohol, they are constrained to advance a somewhat novel, but to them a perfectly satisfactory theory, namely, that what was drawn out of the vessels by the servants at the Saviour's command, was *water when drawn*, but was transmuted in the cup "while the water was in transit from the water-jar to the governor," p. 302. There were six water pots, and these were all filled with water at the Saviour's command, but the servants at His direction drew from only one of these jars, and in this one there was not wine but water.* A conclusion is not to be condemned simply because it is new and bears squarely against the stream of exegetical tradition. The whole truth of the parables and miracles of our Lord has not yet been brought to the light. But the sense here attempted to be thrust upon the text in such glaringly arbitrary style, must unhesitatingly be rejected as meeting with no sort of support in the sacred narrative.

Dean Alford, having no doubt in mind such exegesis as we have here, uses the following language in commenting on this miracle: "The large quantity thus created has been cavilled at by unbelievers. We may leave them to their cavils, with just one remark,—that He who creates abundance enough in this earth to 'put temptation in men's way,' acted on this occasion *analogously with His known method of dealing.* We

* "So common is the impression that *all* the water in all the stone jars was converted into wine, that it is startling to have this traditionary interpretation called in question," p. 307.

may answer an error on the other side (*if it be on the other side*), by saying that the Lord here most effectually, and once for all, stamps with His condemnation that false system of moral reformation which would commence by *pledges to abstain from intoxicating liquors*. He pours out his bounty *for all*, and He vouchsafes His grace to *each* for guidance; and to endeavor to evade the work which He has appointed for each man, by *refusing the bounty to save the trouble of seeking the grace*, is an attempt which must ever end in the degradation of the individual motives, and in social demoralization, whatever present apparent effects may follow its first promulgation. One visible sign of this degradation, in its intellectual form, is the miserable attempt, made by some of the advocates of this movement, to show that the wine here, and in other places of Scripture, is unfermented wine, not possessing the power of intoxication.' *

The writers of this book make frequent reference to sweet wine, new wine, and put forward the notion that when wine is commended, as indeed is so often the case, as well in the New as in the Old Testament, it must have been in an unfermented state. The assumption is gratuitous. But if it were correct that new wine (tirosh) and sweet wine (gleukus) were alone or specially commended, it does not follow that these terms meant an unfermented wine. The juice of the grape expressed exposed to the air begins to ferment in half an hour after being expresssed, and in a few hours alcohol has been perceptibly generated. The new wine of the Old Testament, and the sweet wine of the New, were both alcoholic. Hos. iv. 11; Acts ii. 13. Hosea says that "whoredom and wine (yayin), and new wine (tirosh), take away the heart." Here is a climax, and the improper use of *new wine* forms that climax. So it is charged upon the Apostles that they are filled with new wine, (gleukus) on the day of Pentecost. Would that charge have been seriously made, (and it seems to be made from conviction), and would the Apostles have attempted in earnest to refute the charge, if the so-called new wine was not intoxicating? Besides, it was

* Dean Alford, Gr. Test. in loco.

Pentecost, and wine was made in the fall. The truth is, that the new wine, that is, wine of the first year, is more treacherous than old wine. The juice of the grape, raw, fresh, is not a wholesome drink, as the juice of the apple, raw, fresh, is not wholesome. New wine is more likely to intoxicate, and less wholesome than old wine. "No man also having drunk old wine straightway desireth new; for he saith, The old is better." (Luke v. 39).

The amount of alcohol in the ancient wines, especially in the best wines, bears no proper comparison to that generally found in the wines of our day. Yet in discussing the wines of the Bible this fact is either overlooked or set aside, as of small account. But there is such force in it as must not be set aside. "The ordinary wine of Palestine, even if it *did* contain a little alcohol, unknown to any science of the day—a question which is hardly worth discussing—what a vast difference between this and the fiery potations now manufactured for our hotels, our drinking saloons, and alas! too often, it must be said, for our holy Christian communion tables."* The best wine in its pure state contains only from six to ten per centum of alcohol. In this character it is spoken of in the most glowing terms in the Scriptures, being continually associated with bread, and so forming a constituent element of nourishment; and because in the highest degree adapted for the purpose, it is connected with the most joyous occasions of man's social life, and combined at the same time also with the most solemn festivities of divine worship. Bread is not only necessary to satisfy the appetite, but it infuses nourishment and strength, giving life and health to the physical constitution. So wine is not only adapted to slake man's thirst, and is thus refreshing and cheering as a drink, but it is also medicinal in its character, giving tone and health to the human system. It is twofold in nature and use. It quenches thirst, it strengthens, heals. Bread and wine, as the leading, distinguishing gifts of nature, are chosen, by divine wisdom, to represent the mystical food and drink—the body

* Tayler Lewis, in Pref.

and blood of Christ in the Holy Communion unto the end of time. The argument of the book culminates on page 281. The statement is correctly made that ferment was to be excluded from the Passover festival, and the dwellings of the Jews were to be rid of its presence. The ferment of grain, and the ferment of grape-juice are the same. If the one was forbidden, it would follow, says the book, that the other must be forbidden too. The conclusion therefore, is, that although the Jews were commanded to use wine (yayin) in observing the festivals, and in the daily service, and were to bring offerings of wine (yayin), and of new wine (tirosh), yet these must always have been unfermented. It cannot be supposed that ferment was interdicted, (as in bread), and the *product* of ferment (as fermented grape-juice, *i. e.* wine), could be allowed. "Did the Saviour *understand* the law, or did He not? Did He *observe* the law, or *break* it? If He used fermented liquor He must, either ignorantly or intentionally, have broken it," etc.* If wine was made in the fall, and the Passover was observed in the spring, in the time of Moses, and in the time of Christ, and wine was used by both, as it was, and used all through the year in the daily temple services, and leaven was excluded in some of the services, while it was to be used in others, it does not seem to follow either that the Saviour "ignorantly or intentionally" broke the law by using wine. If ferment is in and of itself bad, (is matter evil?), then the Saviour could not use it; otherwise He could. Wine was known and in use; it was commanded to use it, and there is no instruction against the use of that which was fermented.

If ferment is in itself to be condemned, then fermented bread is just as contraband of the divine intention as wine, both of which receive their distinctive character by fermentation. But the book endorses fermented or leavened bread, approves of its use as a healthful article of food, and unsparingly condemns wine as something to be shunned. To this it is sufficient to

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* P. 281.

remark, that false premises are sure to reveal weaknesses and inevitable contradictions, to which their authors, however, are generally blinded by a fanatical zeal. Errorists in science and religion are distinguished for narrowness of mind and spirit. They lay hold on non-essentials, rest themselves on the periphery, and imagine that they are securely poised upon the centre.

In appendix D. a recipe from Columella is given for making wine. The grapes having been exposed to the sun for several days, are then to be trodden in the press, and, after some days, when the must has fermented, the dregs are to be carefully cleared off, then a certain quantity of baked salt is to be added. We refer to this recipe here, because the word, *deferbuerit*, is translated "cooled down," instead of "fermented," the object of the writer being to make the impression that the must had cooled from the heat of the sun, and fermentation was not in the question! This is only one of many other instances to be found in this Temperance Bible-Commentary, in which the reader feels that the writers' minds must have been unduly warped to do full justice to the work they had undertaken.

This Commentary rests in a certain theory of philosophy and religion. What has thus far been brought to view of the contents of the book, will serve to indicate to an extent, its relative merits, and aid in forming a judgment of the work independent of the basis or stand-point upon which it rests. But the true test of its claim to confidence does not lie in the faithfulness or unfaithfulness with which single passages of Scripture are interpreted; not in the meaning of particular words, texts, and contexts, gathered together in an outward way, and all having reference to some one object, fact, or experience; but the character of the interpretation must be determined by the faithfulness of the exegesis to the underlying, moulding, organic basis of the Scripture itself. Revelation is not thrown together in any outward loose mechanical way, so that a part can be picked up here, and a part there, and its true sense determined in an independent way; but

continual regard must be had to the true nature of the Divine Record. Revelation is two-fold. It is divine: it is human. It is the supernatural in the sphere of the natural; the divine in the bosom of the human. God reveals Himself to man, touching man's spirit by His Spirit, and man speaks the divine mind freely in human language. To interpret this language, the interpreter must occupy a two-fold stand-point, a divine and a human, a divine-human stand-point. He must make account of the supernatural as well as of the natural, of the divine side as well as of the human, if he would be a true oracle of revelation. No outward external observatory will here afford a true glimpse into the regions of the supernatural heavens, so that the watchman may give a true answer to the cry: "What of the night?" All revelation enthrones itself in the Incarnate Christ, in whom dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily; in the divine and the human conjoined, which glorious mystery was so vividly adumbrated in deed and in word in the Old Economy. All Scripture stands in organic relation to Him, who is its first and last sense, and every exegete worthy of the name undertaking so great a work, must first poise himself in sweet repose in the blessed life of Christ. This is a first and fundamental condition to any right conception of God's Word. "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of ME. And ye will not come unto *Me* that ye might have *life*." (Jno. v. 39, 40). The sense of the Scriptures is gathered up in Jesus Christ. He is its sum. In order that the interpreter may apprehend its spirit and utter its true sense as a whole, *i. e.* be true to its main objective thought, and faithfully indicate its application for faith and individual Christian life, he must first of all himself be apprehended by the powers of the world to come at hand by the Church, and then, by his spirit thus brought into right relation with the life of Christ, whose Gospel, the last sense of which is always Christ Himself, he is about to interpret, he will be able to view it from the bosom of its own plane. This is necessary. "If any man will do His will, he

shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." (Jno. viii. 17.)

The writers planted themselves upon a certain notion or theory conceived and accepted as right and good, and then with this theory rooted and fixed in their minds and hearts of what ought to be taught in the Scriptures, they proceed to their task. The Commentary, such as it is now, a book of so many pages, made up of passages gathered all along the course of revelation, is in fact only so much testimony loosely thrown together, to give strength and beauty to a favorite scheme adopted beforehand. Everything is made to bend in more or less arbitrary style, so as to fit in as so much brick and mortar towards the erection of the proposed edifice. Instead of taking an objective position unbiased in the bosom of the Scriptures, and so seeking to discover its sense and utter the import of its contents, the judgment of what their sense ought to be is fully and definitely fixed upon beforehand from a subjective stand-point, and then the Word is approached and made to contribute its support to what is thus conceived to be God's mind and will in the case. The book abundantly sustains this statement. It is easy to see that such a mode of proceeding can do no sort of justice to the text of Scripture as a whole, but must convict itself of arbitrariness all the way, notwithstanding the professed earnestness and sincerity to do justice to the task undertaken. Honesty and sincerity of purpose cannot atone for the error committed in such a case. This fatal mistake is continually being committed. God's Word is made to contribute its countenance and support to all kinds of theories in the interest of reform in our day, as also in the past. The Bible is a pliable proteus in the hands of every species of errorists and fanatics, who, rejecting sound doctrine, and the faith once delivered to the saints, having itching ears, are continually going about to teach for doctrine the commandments of men. Every new movement in the direction of social reform, or for the purpose of bringing a new religious sect into life and being, must have the sanction of God's Word in some form, to give it character, and secure for it the public countenance.

But, mark you, the reform movement, the new sect, is conceived and brought forth in due form by the brain of some fanatic, independent of the "divine sanction," and then, afterwards, though the birth be illegitimate, it must now receive the baptism of the Word, so that it may have a chance to live. This is the universal mask of social reform movements and sects.

The stand-point of this book is not biblical, properly speaking. It does not represent the cardinal principle of the Bible, as we conceive. It is materialistic and rationalistic in principle. It sets matter and spirit against each other. It fails to recognize the harmonious union of the natural and the supernatural in revelation. It is subjective throughout, not only in word, but also in thought. It moves entirely in the sphere of the subjective. It is largely dualistic in the old sense. Matter and spirit are made to antagonize each other in the Manichean style. The old heresy is here revived, though the authors do not seem to be conscious of the fact. Leaven is the symbol of corruption, the book tells us. "*All* ferment was forbidden, and the ferment (yeast) of grain and grape-juice is chemically identical," etc., p. 281. The Saviour could not have used ferment; He could not have drunk fermented wine at the Passover; and apart from this, there is no evidence that He drank wine at all. Thus runs the argument. But why could not the Saviour use fermented wine, if matter is not itself evil? And if some matter is evil, where shall the line be drawn? But wine, fermented wine, according to the book, is not the product of nature, but the product of man,—an artificial product! Is man the Chemist of nature? Has he prepared the great laboratories in which the chemical combinations in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms are continually going forward? Are the materials by which various chemical combinations are brought about in their so-called simple state, in themselves *good?* Does the chemical process change their inherent character? The answer of these modern expounders of God's Word must be in the affirmative! It is admitted that wine may be taken as a medicine, though fermented. But why as a medi-

cine, if the "Saviour could not have used it?" Is it not sinful to use that which is evil, though it be used as medicine? Has a child of God a right to appropriate an "instrument of the devil" to heal the body even? "Hell and damnation" are not means of grace appointed of God for man's salvation; neither are their agents and instruments recognized as media of blessing to the bodies of men; and yet we read, "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine (οἶνος, the fermented juice of the grape), for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities." (1 Tim. v. 23). The apple is the *fruit* of chemical processes operative through a period of time, and fermentation of its expressed juice is not the result of the infusion of a foreign (evil) element, but only an additional process of the chemical relations made possible from the start by the laws inhering in the vegetable kingdom, whose author is God. The same is true of wine. To say that the fermented juice of the grape is no product of Divine Providence, is to say that the grape itself has no such parentage. If the fruit is disowned, the tree must receive the same malediction. If nature itself as a whole, and in its constituent individual parts, is the creature of God, then any, and all possible combinations, however brought about, whether by the laws of chemical affinity as these are constantly operative in the undisturbed regions of nature, or by the labor and ingenuity of man, can in no wise affect their character as good or bad; but that character which God gave them in the beginning must always remain their character. "And God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good." (Gen. i. 31). With this agrees another Scripture: "For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thankfulness." (1 Tim. iv. 4). And: "I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself." (Rom. xiv. 14). Man cannot by his wisdom, nor yet by his folly, change the *essence* of any of God's creatures. "By the instigation of the devil and his own wilful disobedience," man has brought about the perversion of his own nature, and set himself into wrong relation to God and the world of nature, so that the original peace

between them is broken, and a felt contradiction and antagonism is everywhere felt and seen, but this catastrophe does not affect the nature of the creature in its relation to man as good or bad, so far as its substance or essence is concerned. Man fell; nature fell. Man is sinful; nature shares in his sin, not in one part or direction, but as a whole. Nature is for man's use now as before. It was made for him; it is continued for his sake. The lesson of its wrong relation to God and to himself on account of his own arbitrary act, he is to use as a "schoolmaster to bring him to Christ." But the thought, that by the right use of any product of nature, whether gathered and appropriated immediately from the granaries of the natural world, or by his skill and handicraft first manipulated to meet his mind and so mediately made to serve him, he should be doing something displeasing to the Creator, is in direct conflict with the instincts of common sense, as well as flatly in violation of Divine Truth itself. We need not resort to quoting passages from the Scriptures to sustain so plain a truth. We would not know where to begin, what passages to select. The instructions to labor, to till the soil, to sow and to reap, to make bread, to use food and drink, this and much more, all look in the same direction.

The view of Christianity represented by these reformers, comes far short of the truth. With them it is not, so far as we see their position in this book, a system of objective grace and life resting in the person of Jesus Christ, which is by repentance, faith, and the use of the sacraments to become the power of a new life in the person of the believer, but it is regarded rather as a system of morals, a compact of precepts gathered together in the Bible, which man is to hear and accept for the regulation of his life. Christianity is not so much "grace and life," as it is a "system of morality;" not so much the power of a new and heavenly life by the Holy Ghost in the bosom of the Church, as it is a continual challenge in a more or less outward way, of God's word coming to men in the form of creed, precept, example, beseeching him to avoid all outward occasions of wrong-doing. It is the gospel of the pulpit, while it ignores the altar. It is the gospel of the letter, while it

lacks the spirit. It preaches for the mind and conscience, and does not insist also on the regenerating grace of the heart, as of primary and fundamental account. The Gospel comprehends both sides. It includes creed, precept, example, but these are not sufficient. First, a new creature in Christ Jesus. Christianity being in its first and deepest ground not law, but *life*, it insists on a radical work; it lays hold of the *life* of man, operates on the centre of his being, and, according to the nature of life universally, it reaches from the centre towards the circumference, from the heart to the outward life, bringing this last into felt-obedience with the spirit that reigns within. But the principle of this Commentary demands another and a different law. It speaks after this manner. Use your eye, exercise your senses. There you see things you must not touch. After this manner you must conduct your daily walk, and then all will be well. Here is a covenant: record your name: make a vow: swear solemnly before God and man that *you* will order your life after this rule: this vow recorded will be a means of safety. It is the subject, by the advice and instruction of others, reforming himself! It is man's work. It is a covenant between man and—man; between man and himself. There, do not you see that evil thing, that snare of the devil? A false issue is raised. Instead of perceiving that the real difficulty and danger lies not so much in the object or thing that may be made the instrument of harm to body and soul, as that the danger lies in the body and soul themselves, man thus deceived and deceiving himself takes a wrong step from the start, only to find out, alas! how often, that his attempted reformation is an utter failure.

Here is a false issue in this whole teetotal movement. It fails to see, or will not see, the plainest facts in the philosophy of life, and its efforts at reform must be mainly of the character of stumbling-blocks, caricatures and abortions, seeming to carry with them but little permanent good. Pruning, nursing, will not be sufficient in the case of a tree that is barren, or whose fruit is sour. It must be grafted. A new life is needed in the case. No amount of laws and precepts for the outward

life merely, no denunciations of this and that as "always evil," no amount of proscription of the gifts of nature will meet the demands of the case. The trouble chiefly lies in the heart of man. Let that be reformed; let that be regenerated; let that repose itself in confiding trust upon the bosom of Divine Love, and the question finds a better solution. A new creature in Christ Jesus is the first and only reformation required; and having this, and cultivating its possibilities and powers by means of the husbandry provided in the economy of grace, the gifts of nature can be used and enjoyed without hurt either to body or soul.

The authors call their book "The Temperance Bible Commentary." But the whole effort is not in the interest of temperance, but of total abstinence. The title is of one sort, the book of another. It sails under false colors. Temperance in the Bible, and out of the Bible, is one thing: total abstinence is quite another. The two are not related to each other as more and less, but in truth, as something and nothing. Why this dishonesty? for that is what it is in fact. It can bring the authors no honor, and the cause no good. Temperance is accordingly systematically ignored throughout the work, as if there could be no such thing. But the gifts of nature are, some, relatively wholesome and good, and other some, relatively unwholesome and bad. Man can use them for the purposes of life and health in different degrees. As moral and free, he uses them temperately. He limits himself. He practices temperance. He holds himself responsible for their right use: he is held responsible for their abuse. That is temperance. Teetotalism is the hand-maid of asceticism in one form or another, and this springs from an irreconcilable antagonism between matter and spirit, demanding at least in its fullest development, a renunciation of, and a separation from the world, because of its evil character. Here it is seen how the extremes of fanaticism meet and embrace each other in the end. Error, like the magnet, always seeks its true pole. Asceticism* has

* The errors of Romanism and ancient Heathenism here find their affinities in a measure.

an innate tendency to set aside God's order, to ignore the outward, the world, the body and its stated demands for food and drink, the Church in its true organized character, and it gives itself up to a kind of hyper-spiritualism, which is continually prone to end in the flesh. This also is the tendency of all fanatical reformatory movements. They are exclusive, separatistic, ready to set aside the divinely appointed order of things, because this lacks unction, spirituality, is too formal. The new movement stands professedly in the sphere of the spiritual, the ideal. There is great agonizing often; there are great spiritual throes to bring something to the birth. But the movement having its seat entirely in the bosom of the subjective and transient side of man's being, grounding itself rather in the feelings, the sympathies and antipathies of his nature, which are continually changing with the ebbs and flows of life, so every movement of this sort is destined to be of uncertain existence. Feelings and moods are unreliable, and so what seems bright and promises well to-day, wanes to-morrow, and soon passes away to make room for the repetition of some other phase of a grand effort to stem the tide of evil and save the world.

But the chief objection to the teetotal movement lies in its covert, if not open rationalism and infidelity. The Bible must square with its theory; and not unfrequently the word of God is handled deceitfully, so that it may seem to countenance the radicalism thrust upon it. And when the skill of the exegete fails to bring forth results satisfactory to his mind and heart the insinuation is made, if not the direct charge, that any other sense than that which he gives is not to be thought of—his sense of the Scripture must be accepted, else the Scripture itself is not worthy of credence. The argument runs thus: Noah made wine and drank it. He was a good man. He drank to excess. But he did not know that it would intoxicate. The patriarchs made and drank wine; but it must have been unfermented wine. God promised His people plenty of corn and wine and oil, but that which He promised to give was not such wine as could intoxicate. Wine was commanded to be used as drink-offerings in the divine service, but it was not fermented

wine. Christ made wine; was present at a wedding; provided a large quantity, some of them admit; others deny this, and say, He commanded the pots to be filled, but He changed only so much as was at first dipped out and carried to the governor of the feast, as a specimen of what good wine was; and of course it contained no alcohol, for the Saviour would not make that! Other some of these teetotal leaders, (for there is no sort of agreement among them, some saying one thing and some another), affirm that the Saviour did allow and countenance the use of wine, and used it Himself in the first part of His ministry, but that towards the end He gradually advanced in His views, and so finally in the institution of the Holy Communion He separated the fruit of the vine, once for all, from a common to a sacred use, by coupling it with the sacrament of His body and blood. In doing this, it is insisted He did not go back on Himself, but only rose to a higher plane, as His disciples were able to bear it. Moreover, these wiseacres also impudently and profanely say, that though Christ gave His sanction to wine-drinking in His day, if He had known the evils that would afterwards follow, He would have taken a different course.* He taught much that suited His age, and indeed all ages, but His teaching and example are not to be taken as an absolute rule for all time! This is the substratum of this modern philosophy, which some of the bolder ones follow out to its last results. It is boldly proclaimed from the pulpit and heralded from the rostrum, and published broadcast over the land, that Christ's example is not an example for our day. The age is beyond His teaching and practice. The times are wiser than He! It is time this outrageous infidelity were spoken out against. But who has courage to speak his sentiments? In some quarters, at least, it would incite persecution to vindicate the truth on this question. Is there not too often a disposition to compromise conviction, and so make friends with errorists and fanatics? To insinuate that Christ's teaching and example are not of universal significance and for all time, is to make a direct thrust at the foundations

* The same argument is used on the subject of slavery.

of the Christian faith. This is that spirit of anti-Christ which has no real love for the truth, but which constantly seeks to pervert the Gospel. The command of the Apostle: "Add to your faith virtue, to virtue knowledge, to knowledge temperance," etc., is prostituted to mean: "Begin with teetotalism, and,—no matter, if you leave faith out altogether." In the hands of this species of fanaticism the Holy Communion is disparaged; wine under any form is come to be looked upon and regarded with a degree of abomination; and thus the sacrament of the altar, the innermost sanctuary of the whole Christian worship, is come to be approached by not a few with a feeling akin to that of him who voluntarily commits sin. Some actually refuse to participate in wine, because they have been schooled to believe the element itself to be evil! This sentiment is growing. The number who refuse the wine because they will not be tempted of evil, is on the increase. In the first centuries of the Christian era, this same species of fanatical rationalism was found abroad in the Christian Church. Some, under the pretence of temperance, substituted water in the Sacrament. These were a class of Ebionites who denied the divinity of Christ, and were guilty also of other crude heresies. Some also substituted milk for wine; some honey and water; some heretics also substituted pulse for bread, and added cheese! Some in their fanatical zeal abjured the Church also, as an unnecessary incumbrance. But the fathers of the Church denounced and excluded these fanatical heretics, maintaining that "our Lord instituted the Sacrament with wine, and drank wine at His common table after His resurrection, to prevent the budding of this wicked heresy."*

There is a wide difference between fermented and distilled liquors. The former, in their pure state, are not only useful and healthful used in moderation, but they do not cultivate, as a rule, that morbid appetite for strong drink so common among those who habituate themselves for a time to the use of distilled liquors, especially of such as are drugged. This latter class is

* Bingham, Antiq. Book xv. ch. ii. sec. 5.

not only unfit for use as a regular drink, but it is sure to vitiate the taste, cultivate a strong morbid appetite, and bring speedy and inevitable ruin. The Scripture knows nothing of distilled liquors. Their virtue is their medicinal character. The wine of the Bible, in its unadulterated state, had but a small quantity of alcohol in it, and is commended again and again as among the good gifts of God. If wine were in itself evil, if teetotalism truly represented the letter or the spirit of the Gospel, Christ would never have associated wine with the holiest service in which man can engage in this world, nor would He have tolerated fermented bread, but He would have condemned both in unmeasured terms.

Intemperance is widespread, and on the increase. This is owing largely to the fact that the liquors in our time are almost all adulterated. Much that is sold and consumed is almost entirely made up of drugs of various sorts, and labelled as the pure article. The impure kinds create a morbid appetite much faster than the pure, and do their work of destruction much more speedily. But this is no excuse for the sin. Drunkenness is a sin, just as broad and as deep as other sins. Stealing is a wrong done to him who steals, to him of whom the thing is stolen, and a wrong done against God. So with lying, and swearing, and adultery. Drunkenness belongs to the same class of sins. It is a sin by and against the individual who gets drunk, a wrong done to any and all with whom he comes into relation, and a violation of God's law. Drunkenness condemns, it damns. "Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor *drunkards*, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God." (1 Cor. vi. 9, 10). The so-called temperance movements wrong the drunkard, and the community, and make the word of God of none effect with their traditions, because they virtually ignore the drunkard's sin, condone his crime against himself, his fellow, and his God, and weep over him as if he were only and always the child of misfortune, whose sad state was to be traced entirely to another's door. The rumseller sins. Of

that there is no doubt. But that does not clear the drunkard of his sin. He is just as much a sinner as the thief, the liar, the murderer, and God's word so declares. But teetotalism puts the blame on the drink, where it does not belong, and clears the drunkard who is guilty. Why not clear the thief on the same principle, for temptation is thrown in his way? And the adulterer? and the murderer? and the liar? Who taught these reformers to weep over one class of sinners, to ignore their crimes, and to insist on the uncompromising judgments of the law to be visited on another class and another, which God's word places side by side with the drunkard? The drunkard is a criminal as much so as other classes of sinners. Here it is seen again how unreliable these new teachers are. They wrest the word of the Scriptures to clear the guilty. Blind guides.

True temperance begins with faith in Christ, the Son of God. Christianity is the true ground of sound morality, of correct living. Here man must be rooted and grounded to save soul and body together, and no other reform movement can hope to succeed.

ART. IV.—THE FOURTH ARTICLE OF THE CREED, AND THE FORTY-FOURTH QUESTION OF THE CATECHISM.

BY REV. JOHN I. SWANDER, A. M., LATROBE, PA.

THE fourth article of the Creed was the last to take full form in the Ecumenical Confession of Christendom. Yet, if the article was late in its birth, it was, nevertheless, early in its conception. The twilight prophecy of a coming Conqueror tinged the dark horizon of an antediluvian world, and edged, with silver hue, the lowering clouds of a patriarchal age. The first arrow of prophecy was aimed with unerring certainty at the serpent's head. Gen. iii. 15. The fulfilment of this involved the negative part of man's deliverance from the curse. David breathed in the spirit of this primitive promise and ex-

pressed his hope of emancipation from the dominion of death. Ps. xiv. The prophetic part of David's partially unconscious utterance was fulfilled by Christ's descent into the realms of death, and the consequent resurrection of His body from the grave. Peter was, therefore, able, under the baptism of Pentecost, to draw more meaning from David's language than what was really clear and distinct in the inspired faith of the royal Psalmist, at the time of its poetic utterance. Neither did St. Peter, the disciple so susceptible of divine impressions, embrace this great truth at once in all its plenary significance. He continued to advance beyond himself and his former position, not leaving truth behind, but taking it with him into higher form, or rather was himself carried forward by its objective power, until his higher inspiration and deeper penetration could see David's Lord and Son invade the kingdom of the dead and proclaim to the "spirits in prison" His power to hold the "keys of hell and of death." Thus did the article start in the dawn of history and move forward in the central aisle of the ages, speaking in each subsequent utterance with a voice more distinct and clear, until it finally appeared to complement the family circle of the Creed, and fill a void which otherwise would have been painful and unsatisfactory to all the earnest inquiries of Christian philosophy and reasonable yearnings of an intelligent faith.

It is, therefore, claimed first of all, that the article under consideration was not joined mechanically to the Creed, but grew organically out of its common principle of life. The living light of God's presence does not shine into the mediatorial bush from without, but out from within. This is the reason why the bush is not consumed. Christianity, starting in Christ the absolute, personal Truth, and flowing forth from this perennial fountain as a system of organic powers, involves, not only the primary elements of doctrine, but also the necessity of doctrinal evolution. No given or accepted tenet of our holy Catholic faith is a truth because the Church confesses it, or the Pope proclaims it such, but because it is a verity in the essential constitution of things. As such, it appears in the

Bible by an authority behind the canonical throne, and crops out in the Creed as a leaf of the tree for the healing of the nations. The 4th article may be regarded as a leaf possessing more than ordinary healing virtue, growing from the Tree of Life as it stands in paradise to demonstrate the marvellous powers of His infallible antidote for sin and death.

The death of Christ, in the full scope of its meaning, when considered in its proper relation to the constitution of His person, must ever be regarded as a factor of central significance in the system of His mediatorial activities. No future developments in the objective continuity of the gospel; no new discovery in the field of exegetics; no startling achievements in the sphere of theological science; no latter-day confession of faith, can ever change the key-note of the sweetest, yet most plaintive music ever chanted to the ears of a truly Christological orthodoxy. Yet there is a way to make Mount Calvary appear unproportionately small by ignoring the deep valley of its shadow. Christ's death did not end when He gave up the ghost; by dying He only entered into death that He might pass under its most absolute dominion. It was this voluntary subjection to its pains and powers that extracted its sting and removed the curse. In this sense, by death the Redeemer put death to death. In this the individual Jesus prevailed because He was the personal Christ. It was the incarnate mystery of Bethlehem that moved on through the realities of the Cross to explore the lowest sphere, and taste the ripest fruit of the curse. It is, therefore, to Christ's person, rather than His death, and to His death, rather than His dying, that we are indebted for our deliverance from all the power of the devil. To bruise the serpent's head with permanent effect, the Prince of Life must needs have entered the serpent's head-quarters. These were in the domain of death (Todtenreich). Christ invaded this kingdom of the dead and unfurled the banner of His sovereignty in the capital of the empire. His dying upon the cross was a storming of the outposts and a mounting of the ramparts, but His "descent into hades" was a capturing of the Satanic citadel where the prince of darkness and death had

enthroned himself for ages amidst the trophies of his own unjust usurpation.

According to this view of the subject before us, it appears as an almost unpardonable infidelity to deny the article under consideration its proper place and meaning in the Creed. Yet this is virtually and in a great degree formally done by the reigning spirit of our most popular theology. A seemingly concerted silence upon this point awakens our commiseration for much of the theology of the popular pulpit. The same defect is predicable of many of the books and much of the current literature of standard religious periodicals. "Bodies of Divinity," "Systems of Theology," "Practical Expositions," and "Popular Commentaries," bear the ear-marks of the schools in which they were reared, and of which they are sadly and significantly exponential. Casting our eye over our limited, yet much appreciated library, we behold something less than "a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men;" and among these we admire for the sake of contrast, the amusing appendages of theological warfare collected in our little "armory." With reverence for the past and respect for the dead, we reach up and remove a single "buckler" from its peg, open it out before us, and find it labeled "*The Knowledge of God Objectively Considered.*"* We examine its contents in search of its theological position. We find, just what we expected from our limited knowledge of the school that gave birth to the book, many pages occupied with an elaborate dissertation on the "Humiliation of Christ," but no proper recognition of the distinct, yet inseparable, "descent into hell." We close the book, and placing it back upon the shelf of the library, we feel like asking pardon for the solemn levity of our intention to relabel it from our own stand-point, and acting upon the advice of Pope to

> "Laugh when we must; be candid when we can;
> But vindicate the ways of God to man."

The book above referred to is not unique in the particular

* By Robert J. Breckenridge, D. D., LL. D.

defect which has served to introduce it to this passing notice. It is only a sample of the great bulk and bundle of "divinity" manufactured out of similar material and less skill than was possessed and practiced by the late Professor of Theology at Danville, Kentucky. The doctrine of the descent into hell is too generally slighted. Its claim to a place in the Creed is denied; and when permitted to occupy its place in the outer court of the "formula," it is not so much the upgushing of a warm sympathy as the compliment of a cold toleration that extends to it the hand of heartless fellowship. The "hades" of the Creed receives the greetings of only a negative faith and affection, because it is commonly regarded as a mere negative echo from the imaginary regions of eternal silence. There is no use for "Hades" in constructing a "plan" of redemption. It is not popularly regarded as having any positive contents, except perhaps a sulphurous odor detected by the sensitive olfactories of mere sentimentalism. That which should be the head of a corner in the Redeemer's work, is virtually rejected. Rationalism rejects it for the same reason that it rejects the Creed as a whole. There is, however, this difference:—the other articles can be accepted in a sense that renders it possible and proper for them to be judged by the competent court of human reason, but this one, not being so convertible into a nose of wax, must either be apprehended by faith, violently torn from its historical connection, frittered away into negative emptiness, or rejected altogether. Honest rationalism rejects it in toto. False faith tries to gulp it down in a fragmentary way and chokes to death in the attempt. A reasonable faith apprehends it in its proper relation to the whole supernatural system in which it is organically comprehended. In the want of such faith, the article is either eliminated as to its form, or eviscerated as to its possible contents.

How different from this is the apprehension of the great mystery of godliness. The historical panorama of its successive and inseparable scenes, linked together by a common idea, passes continually across the gospel stage, in front of the audience of fallen humanity, revealing a supernatural power,

for the very purpose of creating and sustaining a supernatural organ, through which, alone, its proportions can be surveyed, its beauties admired, and its wonders adored. Such an exhibition leaves neither legitimate room nor relish for the side-show of disjointed abstractions. Faith cannot feast upon the husks of separation. If legitimately begotten, it will seek a comprehensive view of all the organic sections in the past, present, and future of the one progressive mystery. It can just as well expunge the promise of Heaven from the end of the Creed as to exclude hell from the middle. In the singleness of its eye, it sees the incarnate Redeemer coming "from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah," and "in the greatness of His strength" descending into hades for the accomplishment of a purpose belonging of necessity to the whole system of mediatorial agencies and achievements, that start in His person and flow on with the current of His perennial life, ever adding conquest unto conquest, "according to the power whereby He is able to subdue all things unto Himself." Such faith does not hear the dying Redeemer say: "The work of redemption is finished," but sees Him pass on through the gate of death to complete His victory over him "who had the power of death, that is the devil, in order to deliver them, who, through fear of death, were all their lifetime subject to bondage." Having followed Christ to this point in His mediatorial history and having witnessed the accomplishment of this purpose in His mediatorial work, faith exultingly sees the consequent lifting up of the everlasting doors to make way for His entrance into mediatorial glory. Thus did Christ get possession of the keys of death and hell. He did not merely pass through death to the door of hell and take the key from the door on the outside, but He entered into the inner court of its most awful reality, and wrested the keys from the grasp of the monarch upon the throne of his power. Thus "He overcame the sharpness of death," making it possible to open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.

What a world of wonder confronts us in the "three days" of transition from the cross to the Resurrection in its outward full-

ness and form! What a sublime mystery! The Redeemer was actually and really dead; yet while dead the "law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" was battling to make us "free from the law of sin and death." What a conflict with principalities and powers! What a victory without a parallel! A dead Jesus had more commanding power and influence over the surrounding elements of His abode than had a living Jonah when he "cried out of the belly of hell." Jonah implored the Powers above, but a greater than Jonah imprisoned the powers beneath. Jonah prayed for his own deliverance; Jesus "preached to the spirits in prison." His preaching was not an oral proclamation of a power beyond Himself, but an obvious demonstration of a power within Himself. The sermon in hades, on that last significant Sabbath of Judaism, was nothing more nor less than the consequent effect of His personal presence in the dark domain of death. Its silent eloquence told powerfully in breaking the manacles of captivity for the pious dead. Neither were its immediate influences and effects confined to the abode of imprisoned spirits. "The graves were opened, and many of the bodies of the saints which slept arose and came out of the graves after His resurrection." Matt. xxvii. 52. This was the immediate effect and natural result of the descent into hades. What an authentication of its own prophecy that all "the ransomed of the Lord shall return and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads." Isaiah xxv. 10.

According to the above, the descent into hades was more than a post-mortem passivity; more than a waiting for the schedule hour of prophecy, as one might be obliged to tarry for a homeward train to bring him back into a world of actual existence and a sphere of active reality; more than the mere abiding in the embrace of death until the reflux tide of His eventful history carried Him up the same stream that He had descended in the swelling current of His passion. The philosophy of intelligent faith has no fellowship with the postulates of such negative emptiness. Christ did not enter "the valley of the shadow of death" because there was no other way to

cross its mystic realms; and when He entered, it was not for the mere purpose of fleeing hurriedly from the sorrows of the cross to the victory of His resurrection, as one might be supposed to pass over a barren, unproductive waste of space, from a stormy latitude of affliction to a salubrious clime of health, happiness, and honor. Christ went into hell in a positive way and came out with the accomplishment of the positive purpose for which He entered. He passed, in a voluntary way, under the powers of death, exhausting its strength and extracting its sting, until it had no more dominion over Him, when He, with more than Samsonian strength, plucked up and carried away the gates from the city of the dead!

Under this view, the Resurrection of Christ appears as a *fruit*, rather than the actual achievement of His victory.* He "abolished death" and *therefore* brought life and immortality to light in the glorious sunrise of the Resurrection. The strong man was bound by a stronger than he, and the armor in which he trusted was taken away, and there remained, *therefore*, no power to dispute His triumphal march from the field of conflict. It was this victory over the head, and at the head-quarters of sin and Satanic authority that caused the consequent cure of the Redeemer's wounded heel;—the "body of sin" was destroyed and, *therefore*, the body of Christ was re-animated. Christ had "life in Himself," and "power to take it again," after He had laid it down. His mission in hades having been accomplished, the grave had no power to retain Him a single instant; the resurrection was the "necessary result"† of what passed on before—it was the opening of the bulb and the blooming of the flower of immortality.

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*We have no disposition to differ with the 45th Question of the Heidelberg Catechism. "By His resurrection he hath overcome (vanquished) death." When the 44th Question is permitted to carry its obvious meaning forward into its proper historical position, there will be no necessity for the 45th Question to reach back and supply a demand that should be met in a less arbitrary way. In the resurrection of Christ's body from the grave, there is a revelation of His victory, and an outward confirmation of what passed incipiently before. "Having spoiled principalities and powers, He made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it." Col. i. 15.

†Dr. Nevin's Sermon on "Jesus and the Resurrection," in "Mercersburg Review," pages 181 and 185, 1861.

This we call organic redemption. The apprehension of it, in its own proper character, brings into view the divine philosophy of the Christian system. Holding its proper place in this system, the death of Christ is more than a passive exanimation; it is a bruising of the serpent's head upon the Cross, a paralyzing of the serpent in hades; and a shocking of the entire system of Satan's empire, until the sceptre naturally fell from his palsied hand forever. Thus the Resurrection, following in its own order, instead of appearing as the completion of a mechanical prodigy, or colossal stride across a yawning chasm, fixing an outward seal to the Redeemer's Messianic claims, is the most natural and consequential mystery; and at the same time the most productive of all movements in the line of the world's history—the bringing out of the grave of one, who was really dead, the firmest foundation for Christian faith and the finest philosophy for the legitimate aspirations of Christian hope.

The necessity for such an organic and historical redemption is constitutionally in the nature of humanity as fallen. Man could not be redeemed by all the power of Omnipotence combined with all the pity of Infinite Benevolence exerted in an abstract way; neither could humanity be fully redeemed before death. The severity of infinite mercy drove man from the tree of life; otherwise he would have eaten and lived forever in the bonds of his own iniquity. Gen. iii. 22. The law of grace "appointed unto men once to die;" not that death was intended to be a part of his redemption, but a condition of his being, which affords the occasion for the final struggle between organic grace and organic sin. This was not only true of Christ, the generic man, in His relation to the race; it is equally true of each individual Christian in his relation to his own inbred depravity. Here we stand and admire one feature of the "wisdom of God in a mystery." Christianity is answerable both to the wants of human nature and the nature of human wants. This answerableness consists in the constitutional possibility of the remedy following concretely in the current of the malady. "*Where* sin abounded, *grace* did much

more abound." Both start respectively in their generic heads, and flow on by the law of history until they reach the kingdom of the dead, when "mortality is swallowed up of life."

The fact, nature and purpose of the descent into hades once settled, there will be no further occasion for the old controversy between theologians as to where Christ's glorification began. The cardinal turning-point will be too obvious for intelligent dispute. The "three days" must be regarded as a transition period. To fix the beginning of the glorification in the Resurrection of His body would be to withhold the laurels after they had been won; to locate the beginning of the exaltation and glorification in the instant immediately after the Redeemer had given up the ghost, would be to crown the victor before the battle had been fully gained.* This last postulate involves also the unnatural order and consequent impossibility of "leading captivity captive" before it had been really captured. The capturing was completed in "the lower parts of the earth." Eph. iv. 9. *Then* "upward our humanity triumphant passed the crystal ports of light." The descent into hades, with the purpose primarily involved therein, belongs, therefore, to the downward current rather than the rising tide of Christ's mediatorial history. It was the last significant movement in the mournful drama of His humiliation.

We are not to suppose, however, that this last was more humiliating than any preceding factor in the Redeemer's fruitful history of suffering and shame. In fact, no given section of His life previous to His resurrection, was essentially in deeper humiliation than another. We mention the reproach of the thorn-crown, and magnify the ignominy connected with the manner of His death, when the only act of condescension ever performed, and the only humiliation ever submitted to by the Son of God was the assumption of human nature; and even this involved no humiliation *per se*. God could have borne His own image without any reflection of dishonor upon the

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* This point is fully discussed by Dr. Ebrard in the II. Vol. of his Dogmatic Theology, § 419.

divine majesty of His person. But the image had been marred by the incorporate presence of a property not essential to the substance of humanity. This foreign element of sin rendered the mystery of the assumption a humiliation *by accident*. This one *act* of humiliation on the part of the Son of God, when He, in the "fullness of the time," was "made under the law," "once for all," involved all the subsequent *forms* of humiliation to which He voluntarily submitted. Although not yet actualized in the order of time, it was in the mystery of the assumption that the Son of God "humbled Himself unto death, even the death of the Cross." When He assumed our fallen nature, He, of organic necessity, assumed its generic responsibility before the law, and consequent sufferings under the curse; and when He died upon the Cross and descended into hades, it was but a final payment of the penalty previously nominated in the bond. In this sense He was "slain from the foundation of the world." What world? The world to come —already come—and still coming in the mystery of the Holy Catholic Church, as a supernatural order of objective "grace and truth," centering in the adorable person of Him who is the Foundation and Head of the whole creation of God. Rev. iii. 14.

The *person* of Christ is, therefore, the central idea and factor of the atonement. Because He *is* the Prince of Life, He was able to hurl the javelin of death into the very heart of death, and thus dethrone the personal monster who had gorged himself with the blood of millions. The logic of any other theory of redemption has its premises and conclusions in the narrow compass of sacred nonsense. However plausible they may appear in their respective systems of metaphysical and humanitarian theology, their syllogisms are full of fallacy, and their aphorisms full of emptiness. To make the death of Christ central rather than His person is a blind, and, fortunately, an infeasible attempt to sap the foundation for material to secure the safety of the edifice. The success of this popular theory would defeat the very object of its laudable zeal. Away with the cold and cheerless rays of all such iceberg orthodoxy. No wonder that such theology makes no

proper account of the descent into hades, when it fails to recognize the relative proportions of its antecedent mystery. —the descent into the manger. To apprehend the last clause of the 4th article, the disciple of faith must go back to the beginning of the 3d article of the Creed. The process of solution must start in the "conception by the Holy Ghost." The proper apprehension of "God manifested in the flesh" will go very far toward a more satisfactory settling of the question of Christ manifested to the "spirits in prison." St. John i. 14, must be permitted to shed more light upon 1 St. Peter iii. 19, before it can be clearly seen how "Hell herself doth ope her dolorous portals to the gospel's peering day."

While the article under consideration has been wrongfully and shamefully bastardized by the arbitrary rulings of incompetent courts, or studiously ignored by the mechanical compilations of humanitarian theology, its legitimacy in the family-circle of the Creed has always been acknowledged by all legitimate and intelligent faith. Many of the deductions of the Fathers, Reformers and most properly orthodox of Christian theologians seem to us illogical and unwarranted; but we owe it, both to them and ourselves, to distinguish between their faith in a mystery, and their opinions concerning it. Much of their exegesis appears ingenious and speculative, and much of their speculation visionary; but, perhaps, they were not such fools as not to know that God once revealed the mystery of human redemption in visions, and that the dream of one age becomes the science of the next. There were giants in those days. Instead of ignoring, as in modern rationalistic style, what they could not understand for themselves, and elucidate to others, they seem to have acted upon the evidently correct and truly rational principle that faith in a Christian mystery is the key to its final solution. How gracefully the child-like faith of such men as Origen, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Athanasius bowed before this great mystery; and how earnestly the great master-minds of all ages have struggled to apprehend, in a scientific way, its proper import and bearing upon the whole system of human redemption. If the unex-

plored wealth of "Beulah's" fertile "valley" is yet, to a great extent, behind the sombrous "shadow of death," it has not been for any want of earnest research, and anxious effort, on the part of positive theology and Christian science to develop its resources and utilize its productions. If the history of its attempted explorations is remarkable for its diversity of views, as well as clashing contradictions, we must remember that there is unity in diversity, and that contradictions among men are congruities with God.

Perhaps, however, there is not as much divergency of opinion concerning the 4th article of the Creed as there is in different interpretations of 1 Peter iii. 19, and other correlative passages of Scripture that seemingly bear upon the question of an intermediate state. The following may be mentioned as a few of the distinct positions, held by different commentators, theologians and representatives of various schools and tendencies, and noted for the sake of morbid amusement, as the subject has passed under the narrow range of our limited observation :—

1. The whole idea of "hades" is a relict of superstition, a creature of the imagination, and foreign to the rational conceptions of all sound theology.* 2. It belongs to the fullness of abnormal human history under the curse, and consequently to the completeness of historical redemption from the curse.† 3. Hades is a suspension of human being. 4. It is a condition of human being. 5. It is a place of human being. 6. It is both a condition and place. 7. Its inhabitants are conscious. 8. It has two departments. 9. Our Saviour had reference to it, under this view, in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. 10. Christ never entered hades or hell in any sense. 11. He entered it before His death. 12. He entered after death. 13. He entered as to His body. 14. His soul entered hades. 15. Both as to soul and body. 16. He entered as to His hu-

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* This may be regarded as the general utterance of theological sentimentality.

† This thesis is the property of *Positive Theology*, as advocated by the "Mercersburg Review" and the school of philosophy it represents.

manity. 17., As to His divinity. 18. He entered in the two-foldness of His nature. 19. He entered in triumph. 20. He entered bound by the cords of death, and came out in triumph. 21. Christ entered the "Paradise" of hades. 22. He entered the "Gehenna" of hades. 23. He entered the general state of the dead without special reference to any moral condition or local department. 24. While there, Christ was passive. 25. He was active. 26. His activity took the form of preaching. 27. Christ did not preach in hades, but "in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing." 28. He "preached" by the apostles after His resurrection. 29. He preached in hades. 30. He preached in a body which he took temporarily for that purpose. 31. He preached "by the spirit." 32. He preached by the human spirit (soul). 33. He preached by the divine Spirit (Holy Ghost). 34. He preached in the Messianic spirit. 35. He preached to vindicate His unsullied majesty. 36. He preached for revenge upon the devils. 37. He preached to "avenge His own elect." 38. He preached to confirm the death-sentence upon the reprobate dead. 39. He preached to sound the bugle-notes of His victory into the eager ears of the pious patriarchs. 40. In preaching, Christ offered pardon to all who had repented "in the days of Noah," after the ark of mercy had been shut against them. 41. He preached to offer pardon and salvation to all who would *then* repent. 42. Under Christ's preaching, some repented. 43. There is no repentance in the intermediate state or place. 44. To admit the existence of an intermediate state or place is to concede the correctness of the Roman purgatorial theory. 45. It is no purgatory, but a second place of probation for all who die without repentance. 46. It is the development sphere of deceased infants, and the gospel age for the heathen.*

The above specimens of divergent deductions from a single given point in the whole compass of revealed truth and field of

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*This doctrine of conversion and salvation in an intermediate state, for the heathen and non-believing here, is boldly advocated by Dr. Ebrard in his Dogmatic Theology, § 576.

theological science, present a view, under which there appears no flattering prospect of an early ecclesiastical millennium, unless, indeed, a mutual admiration of opposites should prove to be "the shadow of better things to come." This consciousness of disconsolate division, and a consequent attempt to discover some sovereign balm, is now the intermediate state of Protestant Christendom. The Evangelical Alliance is popularly claimed to be the great physician from Gilead. We love to record our respect for the piety, intelligence and zeal of that "number of men," who occasionally assemble to demonstrate to the wicked world of sect and schism how far they can differ without a quarrel, and how nearly they can unite without any positive ground of agreement. But, with all our respect for their ornamental characters, we expect very little, in a positive and permanent form, from the most successful operation of their inadequate contrivances. They may, indeed, help to mature the crisis, but can never meet it, with a reasonable hope of bringing down Philistia's haughty champion with such incommensurate armor It is claimed, that there is already an agreement in the essentials of the Christian religion. But there is not even a mutual understanding as to what *are* essentials. Until this question is met with something like a candor corresponding with its fundamental importance, all demonstrations of apparent progress in the way of ecclesiastical unification will amount to nothing more than the commemoration of sham battles and the celebration of imaginary victories. Such was, in our judgment, no small part of the entertainment at the Alliance recently convened in the metropolis of the New World. "The wolf and the lamb, the leopard and the kid, the calf and the young lion," dwelt together for about ten days upon the negative side of all questions so ably discussed and so charitably disposed of by that unsurpassed convocation of scholars and divines, yet the doings of that assembly did not, and its continuance from that stand-point will not, fill the aching void of our ever earnest and progressive Protestantism. The same future historian, whose impartial pen will make a record of its Christian spirit and commendable zeal, will also

chronicle the cause of its limited results in permanent good. It lacked positiveness and self-abnegative inquiry after first principles. Such inquiry, if honest, earnest and thorough, involves controversy no less dignified and Christian, but more searching and exhaustive than the most popular portion of the proceedings in the New York Alliance. Less of the complimentary and more of the controversial would have resulted in the more legitimate hope of ultimate permanent good on positive ground. In the absence of such controversial ingredients, the Alliance appears remarkable, especially when we remember that its predominant elements were the regular ecclesiastical descendants of a more uncompromising ancestry,* who according to Butler's humorous lines, were rather disposed to

> "Decide all controversy by
> Infallible artillery;
> And prove their doctrines orthodox,
> By apostolic blows and knocks."

The Alliance seemed to have but little faith in "apostolic blows." The majority of its members had seen the folly of the awful conflict between truth and error. It is no part of their Christian heroism to contend for the faith, even though the Creed should be emptied of all its positive contents. The faith of earnest minds may battle hard, and struggle on to apprehend the concrete truth in its historical sense, but such questions as "the descent into hades," and others of equal interest and positive importance will not be permitted to disturb the harmony, and interrupt the dreams of the *World's Evangelical Alliance*, as long as its leading spirits can discuss the more momentous problems of pulpit courtesies, and dissect the development theory of Darwin's monkey†

Of course, the Alliance repeated the Creed quite frequently during its recent sessions; but was it not, in great part, in the way of cold compliment? Or, admitting that it was re-

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* We think of the triangular religious feud between Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents, under Charles the Second of England.

† The consideration of these topics occupied a large portion of one day in the early part of the session.

peated with full, hearty consent to its historical meaning on the part of those who are in full sympathy with the old Ecumenical symbol, and an unqualified ratification of its orthodoxy by all the rest, is it not strange that no one's sense of the æsthetic was wounded by the consistent silence of those whose plan of salvation* required them to break pace with the sweetest music of Chrisdendom, and climb around some other way to avoid "the descent into hades." While one part of the assembly is presumed to have repeated the Creed in its true historical order, the other part would spring across the chasm to shake hands upon the other side, and then join again in the popular chorus of "one Lord," "one faith," and "one baptism," with a sort of tacit assent that it made but little difference whether our "one Lord," by His one bloody "baptism," had, or had not, descended into the kingdom of the dead to bring life and immortality to light in the glorious gospel of His resurrection, that our one subjective faith might not be in vain.

In full view of this disconsolate disjointedness in the doctrinal theories and practical workings of our most earnest and popular piety, it gives us great relief to know that, after all, subjective faith is something different from both objective truth and objectionable plans. The edifice of sincere piety, with neither the element of organic unity nor proportion in its mechanical parts, when built upon the "*Foundation-stone in Zion*," will be saved as by fire, while the hay and stubble of theological negatives and erroneous positives will only add so much combustible material to the moral conflagration by which every man's work shall be tried of what sort it is.

Even the Heidelberg Catechism will exhibit its relative merits to a better advantage, according as its claims for respect and admiration are based upon the prevailing unction of its earnest, practical spirit, rather than its doctrinal scheme, however favorably that may compare with anything in the wide world of confessionalism. It is now nearly a quarter of a century since the most ardent admirer and able expounder of

* We have before us the "Book of Discipline" for the M. E. Church. It contains a part of the Creed, but the Creed has no "hades."

the Catechism placed upon record his "regret" at the "turn" given (Q. 44) to the clause in the fourth article, *He descended into hell;* where the authority of Calvin is followed, in giving the words a significance which is good in its own nature, but, at the same time, *notoriously at war* with the historical sense of the clause itself.* Ten years ago, this same venerable *Nestor* of Reformed theologians, with the fellow-members appointed by the mother Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States to prepare a critical edition of the Catechism, published their work by the authority of Synod, together with an historical introduction † of the same, in which occurs the following: "We will not say that even this (the Catechism) is fully answerable, in all respects, to the genius of the Creed, or that the Creed finds in it everywhere its natural sense and right exposition. We can easily enough see, that a theological interest is allowed at times to bend the symbol from its true course; as in the arbitrary gloss, for example, on the descent into hades adopted in the 44th Question from Calvin."

Upon the above, we remark, that we "regret" not only the "turn" given to the 4th article of the Creed in the 44th Question of the Catechism, but also the inability of the Reformed Church, in this more advanced age, to give the answer a counterturn, and bring its evident meaning back to its proper historical moorings. At the risk of being regarded presumptuously arrogant and radical, we are almost tempted to say, in a somewhat suppressed undertone of cautious candor, that the Catechism is *not* "fully answerable, in all respects, to the genius of the Creed." And if (as the committee asserts, and as the Synod declares by its act of endorsement) the descent into hades is covered with "arbitrary gloss," why not remove the gloss and reveal the truth. If a "theological interest" was once "allowed to bend the symbol from its *true* course," it will

* Introduction to Williard's Ursinus.

† The old Synod endorsed this criticism upon the Catechism when in session at Lancaster, 1864. It adopted the final report, in which occurs the following: "The historical introduction is a masterly reproduction, . . . and may be regarded as a grand key to its proper theological genius."

certainly not be regarded as treasonable now to express a wish, or even make a lawful attempt, "to bend the symbol from its *false* course. We read in the "lively stones" of our recently erected *Tercentenary Monument* about the Creed being the "central idea," "ruling principle," and "animating soul" of the Catechism. Very good! Let all the people say, Amen! But then the consistency of all the people will say, that this "ruling principle" ought to be permitted to rule out of the body and off the surface all such "arbitrary gloss" as is alleged by the same authority to cling to and cumber it. If not permitted, the prevention itself becomes arbitrary.

We do not regard the turn in the 44th Question as affecting the organic structure of the Confession, but an unfortunate chronic lameness in one of its limbs; of which we would say, with Paul, "let it rather be healed." Our ordination vows bind us to its "confessional system," but not to its arbitrary gloss. For us, the little book is still the chief among ten thousand. Even a defective organism is higher in the scale of being than the perfection of mechanical clock-work. If the beauty of the Heidelberg Catechism is marred by a slip-joint malformation, it is still superlative in loveliness because the possibility and power of re-adjustment are constitutionally present in its own organic structure, whose ideal and essential outlines require and demand that the "whole body be *fitly* joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part." Eph. iv. 16.

We are mindful of the hazardous nature of any suggestion in the direction indicated above. We are also aware, that others have intimated as much, though probably not in this form. Such intimations have been made with caution, but not in cowardice. Caution is proper, but sealed lips is treason against truth. No given age in Church history has been anointed with the oil of infallibility above its fellows. While we reject the preposterous claims of Pope Pius the Ninth, we dispute the infallibilism blindly attributed to the Reformers. We are bound *to* the past, but not *by* it in such a way as to destroy the lawful freedom of the present, and lawful progress

of the future. More. We are also bound by the concrete law of conservative progression to attempt, in a proper way and at the proper time, the removal of all accumulated rubbish and "arbitrary" obstructions from the channel of historical redemption, that the onflowing life-current "may have free course and be glorified."

Any such change or adjustment, however, in the Catechism as would seem to be demanded by the evidently historical sense of the Creed, can never be brought about by any mere outward ecclesiastical legislation upon the subject; neither would any attempt at prohibitory legislation silence the audible yearnings of deep convictions produced by the holy spirit of legitimate inquiry and progress. The most ridiculous amusement of the age is the silly superfluity of arbitrary legislation in both State and Church, with little knowledge of first principles and organic laws. Neither will controversy of modern style contribute much toward such result. The most of the theological controversy now carried on in this country is little better than childish twaddle. There are a few earnest minds, who seem to have been born a century in advance of their age; the balance are either mocking parrots, or mechanical harpers in the market-places of ancient fossils and modern sensation. This being the case, the polemical axe, though swung with muscle and masterly skill, is seldom laid to the roots of the tree. The branches are sometimes fearfully barked, and the trunk actually slivered in the heat of paper conflicts, while the question in the back-ground is left almost entirely untouched.

What is that question? Answer. *Is Christianity historical?* Does the Church involve a process looking to a higher form of the same principle? Is there not in the very constitution of Christ's kingdom the necessity of organic advance, without advancing beyond the compass of its proper sphere? This is the question of the age. It cannot be popularly ignored forever. It challenges recognition, and will command respect. It offers the only and the same sovereign balm to Rome, Oxford, Princeton and Andover.

It is therefore, not proposed to lay a sacrilegious hand upon

the Catechism, or pay a vandal-visit to the graves of its youthful compilers. It is rather proposed to make their memories more fragrant by viewing them in their true character, and in right relation to their work. The Palatinate Reformers completed nothing in pyramid style, for all time to come; neither were they so insane as to dream that they had forged the fetters that would bind the consciences of all subsequent ages. They rather looked conservatively and correctively upon the past, and progressively upon the future. We honor them by imitating them. We dishonor both them and ourselves by the profession and practice of a blind servility, that would crazily attempt to build its creed upon their coffins, and pin its faith to their shrouds.

This servility, blended with the false freedom of religious individualism, is just what clogs the wheels of positive progress for the Reformed Church in her noble attempts to ascend the rising grade of her legitimate mission. And the trial of her patience will probably be prolonged for some time to come. Her tormentors will neither be reasoned out of false position, nor laughed out of false countenance, as long as they can resort to the *argumentum ad invidiam* mode of warfare, barricade themselves with false alarms, palm off fustian for facts, and minister to the craving appetite of disappointed ambition. Yet the end draweth nigh. For the elect's sake these days shall be shortened. The elements of humanitarianism now incorporated in the Reformed Church will continue to caress the deceitful Delilah of their enamored affection and excited passion, until the scissors of merited emasculation are thrust into their own sanctimonious locks. The spread-eagles of popular sophistry will leave the living organism of historical truth, and gather around the more palatable feast of rationalism undisguised, and the theological atmosphere will be consequently purified by the removal of its rotten carcass. Reason will then be too reasonable to usurp the throne of faith. The organic chain of correlative truths will not be so generally held in the unrighteousness of disjointed fragments. That which God hath exalted to heaven will not be thrust down to hell; neither

will "hell" be torn from its natural position in the ordinations of God, and thrust up to heaven, out of existence, or somewhere else, to meet some other "theological interest." "The faith once delivered to the saints" will be more fairly and fully apprehended in all its parts and proper proportions.

For a full realization of this, our darling dream, there must be a general advance along the entire line of modern Christendom to a more legitimate and advantageous position. No skirmishing party can accomplish the work. The twentieth century of Christian history must throw its centre to the front. Neither wing of God's embannered host can decide the crowning conflict of the coming age. The *branches* must be thrown in the way of ZION'S triumphal entrance upon the highway of the Lord's second coming. Blessed will be the age anointed of God to unfurl the one, holy, Catholic banner, before whose superlative majesty the polluted rags of sect and party will flee away. To say, that that great hereafter is close at hand is no prophetic utterance, but an anticipation of probable, if not inevitable history. Four hundred years after Pentecost the 4th article took its proper form in the Creed; and four hundred years after the Reformation it may be allowed its proper meaning in the Reformed symbol, and most Catholic of all subordinate standards within the compass of Catholic or Protestant Christendom. Should this be the case, the four-hundredth anniversary of the Heidelberg Catechism will either be made memorable by the merry music of millennial rejoicings, or celebrated amidst festivities more consistently held, and more convivially enjoyed than the significant ceremonies of its Tercentenary Jubilee.

ART. VI.—THE TENDENCIES IN MODERN CHRISTIANITY.

BY REV. J. W. SANTEE.

"CHRISTIANITY presupposes the fall of man, by transgression, from a state of original holiness and righteousness; a consequent general corruption of human nature, so radical and entire as to render salvation impossible by mere human power; and the dominion of sin unto death in all relations, social, civil, and moral. From this great misery we are delivered by Christ. Hence the Creed does not teach, but assumes the fact of the fall; the presence of the principle of sin; the prevalence of transgression; the reign of death; and the consequent necessity of a Redeemer who is very God and very man. It does not include anything that belongs to the kingdom of evil, the negative side of the world's life, but refers to it only by necessary implication. It includes only the positive side of the world's life,—that supernatural order of objects which counteracts and annuls the fall, supplants and destroys the principle of sin by the principle of life, takes away the guilt of transgression, and transforms death into a glorious Resurrection."

This fact simply set forth, presents in one view the whole field of human misery as well as its recovery to life. It is becoming the life question of the age, and challenges the earnest attention of every lover of the race, in view of the fact that it has arrayed against it science directed by genius and talent. This simple statement, clearly set forth, is to some extent becoming obsolete, or at least is so held as to become something different from what the statement asserts. There are those who would fain attempt to open the gates and allow the enemy to invade the heritage of the Lord.

It is frequently said that, generally, after a time of civil commotion, such as that through which we have but recently passed, a period of moral and spiritual declension follows, which it will take years to correct and to efface. Such seems

actually to be the fact now. We are cursed now with a race of vampyres in the political world, which is fast sucking the very life-blood of the nation. In high places as in low, we see corruption and this impure state of the national life, comes to the surface in the awful ulcers everywhere apparent. In a great portion of our country, at this present time, a state of society exists bordering on anarchy. The God worshiped now, by the nation in a general way, is the god of Mammon. Robbery and oppression, cheating and plundering, overreaching and fraudulent acts are now the order of the day. Then in the sphere of morality and religion, the very atmosphere is becoming sickening. The very air is impregnated with slander and scandal, and religion and morality seem to be put to the test, are on trial, and it appears as if the powers of the infernal world had been let loose, and are now holding high carnival. It seems that the fact in the quoted statement is wholly disbelieved, that the power of Christianity has lost its hold on men, and is unable to assert power, as in former years, over men and demons. In the face of facts like these, for facts they are, it is becoming to ask seriously and in all candor, what are the tendencies which have set in, and whither will these currents drift and carry us?

God rules in History. Not only does He govern in the heavens, but also on the earth. (Ps. xcvii. 1). Not only over and in His Church, but in the world as well, and His purpose is to bring all into subjection to Him, and make it obedient. He will make the wrath of man to praise Him. But all this by the employment of means and calling into exercise instruments to do His bidding, and to carry out His will. In this view the civil does not lie beyond His control, and there is a sense in which the spiritual and civil are closely related, and will possibly meet as the highest form of good, when God will be all in all. This end will be reached by the Almighty power of God in the sphere of Christianity.

THE NATURE AND OBJECT OF CHRISTIANITY.

In the fearful trial to which man was subjected in order to a

free determination of his will, man elected his own will in preference to that of God. Man fell from a "state of original holiness and righteousness," and brought himself into a relation to God, which is one of sin. He is now guilty; he becomes conscious of his guilt, and to hide it he attempts to conceal himself from God. In consequence "we have now a general corruption of human nature, so radical and entire as to render salvation impossible by mere human power." He is now fallen, and in his fall is involved, by some mysterious connection, the whole order below him, for

> "Earth felt the wound,
> And nature from her seat, sighing,
> Gave signs of wo, that all was lost."

He is now at enmity with God. But God's purposes are to recover this fallen race, and hence the promise of God in Gen. iii. 15. In this promise is comprehended the future of the race—its hope—its final recovery. There was a yearning for restoration. Man felt that his relation to God was unnatural, and hence the attempts to appease and to satisfy. This restoration was not to be effected by a solemn decree from God, but was to be made a work in the bosom of this fallen life, according to the law of history. Hence, these promises were repeated to the patriarchs, and the hope of future deliverance distinctly and clearly asserted. The same hope of deliverance is held up by the prophets until it completed itself in the Incarnation of His Son. This purpose now, is *one grand idea*, not made up of bits and parts, loosely connected, but *one grand promise*-purpose, expanding itself, unfolding itself, and stretching itself over the ages, always the same purpose, and will do so to the end of time. In this light we may see that Christianity, the end of this ancient promise, is more than a declaration, that it is a power, in every sense divine, in the world, operating for the high and holy purposes before,—the raising this fallen life, and restoring it to its original condition. The restoration could not be effected otherwise. It was felt at the very start of the race, that man was estranged, separated from God, and

that his condition was abnormal, involving death. In truth, this is death, separation, alienation from God; this is loss, is death. Hence the effort towards reconciliation, appeasing the offended Infinite and Eternal, by the offering of sacrifices, and in this way obtaining union with Him, destroying this separation, alienation, and coming into the source whence Life came, and thus live. Life *in* God, death *out* of Him. Now this idea of appeasing, expanded itself; it sought in some fixed way to keep itself before this fallen life, and accordingly we see it take shape in the tabernacle in the offerings and sacrifices, and afterwards in the ordering of the magnificent temple service at Jerusalem. What is to be steadily kept before the mind is the fact, that all along we recognize a power which is divine, and which is vital in the service of the devout worshiper, in which service and by the use of which, the devout worshiper was lifted out of this sinful, accursed order into a higher one, where he was enabled to commune with the Infinite, became joined to that higher world in which eternal life held for his soul. That was by personally, and in this appointed order, sharing in the *substance* of the promise,—it was a looking forward. Though made up of type and shadow, the devout worshiper, in this service, by God's help, could apprehend the very essence of faith, "the *substance* of things hoped for, the *evidence* of things not seen." This whole Old Testament service was looking forward, by faith was apprehending the unseen, laying hold on this Divine power from God, "as the power of God and the wisdom of God." It must be clearly held, that the restoration of this fallen life proceeded only by the power of God, and that in connection with the means He procured and ordered. The means employed were Divine, and by faith, the unseen hand of the Lord of Life is clearly seen joining itself mystically to man, and raising him up from the degradation into which, by sin, he had been plunged. It is a Divine power, and man is never left to himself to work out his own salvation, but always with this force assisting. Then, too, this scheme from God for man's restoration is but *one;* and this of type and shadow was to be taken up into a higher form—the type was to give way

to the reality, the shadow to the substance, and the true life, shadowed forth, was to appear. But ere this came, a long period of tutelage had to intervene,—an earnest and solemn preparation had to be made, before the fulness of time was to come in. It was when the Word was made flesh, that aged Simeon could say, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." The rays of light faded when the full glory of the Sun of Righteousness appeared. Now the hoped-for Redeemer is here,—the Mediator between God and man was constituted, the substance of the promise, towards which the ancient Jew so devoutly looked. This one scheme reveals the true Lamb of God, the true blood which cleanseth from sin. The substance is here, and this power, in the divine Redeemer, now joins itself to man, to the race, by bonds indissoluble. Redemption does not take place beyond this substance, but rather this power in union with this human life to be saved, joining itself with it, that thus constituted, sin might be counter-worked, defeated and destroyed, and this fallen nature restored and saved. It is still a Divine power, the same which had been promised to our first parents, now having become real in the person of the Incarnate Redeemer, where the Divine and human are forever united. This power, on which the regeneration of this life of ours depends, is in the world, and is the Life of the Undying Christ, having unfolded itself in the ages past, in shadow and type, but now in His Body, wherein is fulness. As God from the first chose from the nations of the earth a family in that of Abraham, to which He committed this Divine power for the regeneration of the race, so now, "the Son of God, from the beginning to the end of the world, gathers, defends and preserves to Himself, by His Spirit and Word, out of the whole human race, a Church chosen to everlasting life, agreeing in true faith," where He is ever present to the end of the world. In this order the unfolding of this Divine life is carried on, until it reaches completion, when the militant shall become triumphant. It is the development of the Divine, and is legitimate, according to the law of life, so that there is no running out, or

losing itself in some other form, distinct and separate from the original. That is, in the Old Testament process of unfolding, there is nothing in the history of the scheme which originally was not comprehended in it. And this is true in the New Testament order, that there is no addition, nor subtraction, but the whole grows from the Divine radix, as the source, comprehending the whole. Rev. xxii. 18, 19. This is true of all life. In the acorn is comprehended the future oak, and no one would say that the tree, in its development received additions from beyond it, but the whole is the result of a force or power originally in the seed. This Divine power, according to this idea, never can run out, neither can it develop into anything else. In other words, Christianity can never become anything else than this Divine scheme from God for saving men. Besides this, this scheme, this Divine power or life, ever preserves itself. That is seen in the Old Testament history. God always took care of His work. When it was supposed at one time that all had turned against God, and bowed the knee to Baal, the Lord had reserved seven thousand that had not, but continued faithful. So now in the New. When the life in this scheme was threatened by the formidable heresies which arose in the very bosom of the Church, and when at one time the despairing cry arose that the world had turned Arian, the Lord had reserved those that did battle for the right, and at last truth triumphed. It cannot be otherwise. Truth is of God, and is imperishable; so this plan, comprehending this Divine power, preserves itself amidst enemies and foes, seen and unseen. It is Divine, is in the world, the life of the Lord of glory in union with the life of the race, lifting it up and saving it.

Christianity, or this Divine power or force in the world, has a definite object. It meets a fallen life, a fallen humanity, and it meets it as hopelessly fallen. "Are we then so corrupt that we are wholly incapable of doing any good, and inclined to all wickedness? Indeed we are, except we are regenerated by the Spirit of God." Heid. Cat. To redeem and save this fallen life, required more than human power. This was felt all

along. It meets us in the sacrifices at the first, is seen in the mythology of ancient nations, indeed in all paganism, everywhere in the heathen world. Our nature to be redeemed, needs more than its own individual resources. By itself, unaided, it cannot develop a Christian life. Hence the help from God, the promise of God to our first parents, and keeping it alive for ages, until the heavens bowed and the true Shekinah was constituted, when the Lord Jesus Christ became incarnate of the Virgin Mary, by the Holy Ghost. In His person heaven and earth are united, Divinity and humanity inseparably joined, and peace forever made. Fallen humanity was to be raised up, this was the object, and was accomplished by joining His Divine power, His life to humanity, and raising the race into a state of salvation, and freeing it from the fearful bondage of sin and of death. This was accomplished by the Lord Jesus Christ, and in Him it is true, "that He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the world." In Him the race is saved, redemption is complete and full. In the application of this benefit, however, it limits itself to those who are inserted into this life, "and receive all His benefits by a true faith." The benefit is prepared and at hand in the Lord Jesus Christ, and is now, by faith, to be personally appropriated by the individual in order to life and salvation. This grace now in the world is at hand in an organized form, in which it challenges men, lying in sin, to a renunciation of themselves and the world. "Follow me," is the Divine injunction.

It is the order of the world that blessings come to men, not indiscriminately, but in an order, and by means constituted by a Divine hand as channels conveying them. So our daily bread comes to us. We have a case in point too, in the Government. It confers blessings in and by constituted laws, which demand obedience and submission. So in this case. God does not indiscriminately scatter graces and gifts, but they are comprehended in an order which likewise demands obedience and submission in the bosom of which they are dispensed. In the Acts of the Apostles we read that the reception of the gift of the Holy

Ghost depended on the condition of repentance and baptism. And is not this the promise of God universally, whosoever believeth shall find the love of God in Christ? Believe what, but the very substance itself, that Christ came to suffer and die, and so atone for sin. In our day there evidently has been a going down, and men will seek for and expect God's blessings and favors outside these constituted channels. We know this. And though ministers may pray and thank the Lord, that men may be converted without the use of the Sacraments and may be saved, yet in the face of this it is still true, that ordinarily God requires us to "repent and be baptized," or "to believe and be baptized in order to salvation." The tendency is to ignore and disown grace in the ordinances of God. But the fact is otherwise. What God may or may not do, He gave no authority to any of his ambassadors to annul or dispense with the conditions He affixed. The fact is otherwise and stands in this, that these blessings were comprehended in an organized order, and in it were dispensed to men. This is clear already in the Old Testament economy. One family was called—one people all the way through, to whom the promises were made, and among them we have one tabernacle, and afterwards one temple, with its magnificent and gorgeous service, in and by which, blessings were dispensed to the people. And it continued thus afterwards, not indiscriminately, but in the order of grace springing directly from the Lord Jesus Christ, and held up before us in the Gospels, as the "Kingdom of God;" and in the Epistles as "the Body of the Lord Jesus Christ," "the fulness of Him that filleth all in all." This is the form in which it is present, and challenges men. This Divine power or force, the life of the Lord Jesus Christ, is at hand in this order, and not in the world. It is in the Body of the Lord, "the fulness of Him," where this force is present for the holy purpose, the saving of the souls of men. In it only is fulness; but now this life must be apprehended, must be appropriated, and in order to that, the soul must be brought into a proper relation in which this appropriation may have place. When the fulness of the times had come in, and the Lord Jesus Christ

had become Incarnate, in His person, this Divine power joined itself to that nature to be redeemed, and after His triumphant resurrection and His glorious ascension into heaven, facts in His life evidencing the glorious, everlasting victory of this Incarnate Redeemer, over death and hell, and that now He is alive for evermore, we have immediately in the onward history of this life, the ascension gifts, in the coming of the Holy Ghost—the establishing of the Church, the mystical body of Christ, the home and theatre for the work of the Spirit in the great work of sanctification. Now Protestant Confessions recognize this order, this fact, as one springing directly from the Lord Jesus Christ, and as the form in which resides and dwells this Divine power for the purposes before the Lord. Say about it what you will, this was clearly the idea, and neither did you find that latitudinarianism and that accommodation to the whims and notions of men, and neither did you hear ministers publicly giving thanks, that men might be converted and saved independent of the use of means.

Now in this sphere we find certain facts which are essential, which challenge confidence and trust, which come before us as doctrine, expressing the peculiar life embodied there. We speak of doctrine, and then too of Christian doctrine; these again are summed up in Creeds and Confessions found in the Church. Some are vital; there may be some subordinate and not essential; but doctrine is essential, and the most general and universal form of all, no doubt is found embodied in the Apostles' Creed, the very ground-work of our own excellent Heidelberg Catechism. These articles are fundamental and essential, forming the very soul—the very substance of Christianity itself. Take any one of the Articles and deny it, and who would say that in this denial claim may be laid to this Divine power comprehended in His body? Deny the doctrine of the Father, or of the Son, or any of the Articles pertaining to the Son, or the Holy Ghost, or any of the Articles flowing from the descent of the Spirit, and who would say that taking such a position could be regarded as Christian? It belongs of necessity to this Divine life or power to assert and steadily to

hold these fundamental facts, giving tone to the individual life itself. As these are essential and fundamental, we never have a new Christianity, no new religion, no new power, or force, or life for man's salvation. These doctrines too possess vitality. They are not dead, unmeaning things, but unfold themselves in the consciousness of the Christian Church, so that they are apprehended more clearly in one age than the preceding. This is true of all of them. Who does not know with what industry the Second part of the Creed has been investigated and studied within the last half century, and the magnificent standard works produced as the result? In this view we have a History of Doctrine, admirable works have been prepared in that department, but a history or development strictly in accordance with the idea of all life. They develop thus, as we see in all history, developing by conflict, contest, controversy; eliminating what does not properly belong to the doctrine, and steadily holding on, with a death grip, to what is true, and what belongs to it as its own proper life. The unfolding is a legitimate, true and normal one, not a running out into something foreign or something spurious, but steadily preserving its own life and maintaining it. In this view no Christian doctrine can develop infidel; that is something different. This is seen in the history of the early Creeds, as the Athanasian, the Nicene. In these we have the full fruiting of the conflict of preceding ages, born as it was by going through heavy conflicts, but the result stands as the glory of the age, in the fixed, formulated doctrines of the ever-blessed and glorious Trinity. Now who will say that these facts are of no force for the individual life? They tell powerfully, and the life under their influence will develop positively, be affected, conditioned by them, and will not be of the sickly, milk and water type, presenting a curious phase of what passes for practical Christianity, specimens of which are at hand on all sides now, having no basis whereon to stand, as fruit of this strange but singular seed, unable to give a reason for the hope that is within.

It must be clear too, that formerly, there was a full and steady recognition of this Divine force or power, and that it

stood above and beyond the order of nature, in the supernatural, and that it was challenging men. Hence the account made of this order all along the course of history and the unyielding tenacity with which this power held on to the doctrines, as the form in which this Divine life expressed itself. There was no uncertain sound uttered then, but ever clear and distinct, and the ring was, "whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith." No stuff as you hear now of baptizing a person as often as he desires it, "but *one baptism* for the remission of sin." Then the Church knew precisely what was inscribed on her standard, and to this she demanded obedience and submission.

The charge has been made once and again, however, that a different tendency has set in. With material thrift, railroads, telegraphs, another current set in, entirely different. The age for Creeds and Confessions has gone by. Our age outlived them all, and you see now Conventions engaged in doctoring these stubborn things, trying to eliminate the knotty doctrines, and suiting the modern more to the advanced standing of the age and the reason and the understanding. The fact is, the human mind, of our age, does not want to be fettered by Creeds and Confessions. Under these fair heavens, in this land of liberty where we breathe only freedom, who would allow to have a straight jacket, such as these Creeds are, imposed upon his conscience, even though it be to reach the haven of rest in the bosom of the Church triumphant in heaven? That demand is denied and flung to the winds, and in that theory or tendency, every one may push out his own plank, squat on it and paddle for life, on his own hook, over this stormy ocean. It is regarded as a sign of our progressive, scientific age, that every one may thus become the architect of his future in more senses than one.

What now, in the face of this statement, is the tendency which has set in? In the history of the Christian Church we see that, from the beginning, tendencies arose in opposition to the true life of Christianity. We see this already in the New Testament epistles, especially those of the eagle-eyed John. So

also, immediately after the apostolic age, but while these tendencies grappled with the very life of the Church, the divine power or force comprehended in her bosom eliminated them, cast them out, and branded them as heresy, and then distinctly and clearly fixed the boundaries of the Christian faith. So the Athanasian creed. But, in our day, these limits are regarded as stiff, and, in many instances, as exceedingly hard utterances, that is, the Christian faith now-a-days is asked to accommodate itself, to a great extent, to the "many men of many minds." It cannot be denied that in our day there is a tendency to undervalue these formularies and doctrinal Confessions. If these Confessions were true in that early day, and if it was necessary that these truths should be thus held and confessed, on pain of losing life, then, according to our theory, allowing a legitimate development of these doctrinal facts, they must substantially be true now and essential to our salvation. If Arianism was a heresy then and deserved to be branded as such, it must be one now, even though it has developed and may now occupy a milder position. Heresy never, according to the nature of all life, can develop into truth. But the tendency is to accommodate itself to every phase which challenges credence, and it is painfully true, that on this score there is a degeneration, a retrograde movement in process, winnowing out what is supernatural in Christianity, and an attempt to bring the whole order down to the level of mere naturalism. Creeds and Confessions are thrown to the winds; why annoy people with them, fit only for easily duped old people. Our age rejoices in light, in being able to go out and breathe heaven's pure air, contenting itself with being in posession of the true philosopher's stone, and that all that is to be done is to open the Bible and read and interpret as he pleases. The tendency is not upwards, but downwards; not towards the mystical, the supernatural, but clearly towards the rational and the natural. This is the contest. On this field must be fought the battles of our age, for the Lord. Is there a supernatural world, full of reality, for apprehension, or is the whole rational and natural? That is the life question of the age.

That there is such a downward tendency, one in opposition to our statement, may be seen from the generally received idea of the Church of Christ. We have said that she comprehends this divine force or power in all history, and as such, by this, and in this order, the human soul, fettered by sin, and doomed to death, was elevated above the forces of this world of sin, and brought on the plane on which eternal life could be secured. This stands out in the Old Testament, but is specially clear in the New Testament. There she is *the Body*, possessing life, or divine power, for the purpose of salvation. Life was found by coming into fellowship with this divine life. But in our day of accommodation such a thought is beyond all endurance. Churches and ministers thank the Lord, that the way to life is free. In many cases, whole bodies entirely disown and repudiate this ancient fact. The communion of the blessed Eucharist is open to everybody that desires to partake of it. No account is made of Church membership, and to insist on it as necessary is scouted, against which holy hands are uplifted. All these restraints, or anything like confessional handcuffs or straight jackets, are avoided and left for silly people. Of course, in our enlightened age, people need not "repent and be baptized in order to be saved." Tell the Lord, that it is unmeaning, that that belongs to a former age, and that now-a-days people will come without complying with these terms of submission, and if that will not suit, quit, cast out the plank, and then, ho! for the haven on the individual's own hook. The truth is, in our age, the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ is not regarded as the Body in which is comprehended life—does not carry divine power or force for saving men, but individuals make it and make her, after they have been converted and have received the sealing of the Holy Ghost, then unite together in this order, which, for convenience' sake, they are pleased to style a society. In this theory, the Church is not needed for the soul's good; the individual commences the Christian life, moved thereto independent of her, continues the work independent, lives on without her and then dies and goes into—the future. As well as a person may live

without being a member of the order of Free Masons or Red Men, just as easily and conveniently may he live without being a member of the Body of Christ, in the sense of the ancient Creeds. No one will say that this tendency is old, or that it is not fraught with consequences which the ages to come will be called upon to reap.

If the Church is only such a society,—if she is what she is repeatedly held up to be, only a place for safe-keeping, and is not essential to salvation, as many ministers and individuals now assert—if the individual can find beyond her everything he needs to make him happy here and hereafter, then these doctrines to which she has tenaciously held as unchangeable truths, and for which the Church counts her martyrs, are not what has all along been asserted and firmly believed. On this point a current has set in, which has been sweeping away the ancient foundations so as to render many of the old doctrines insecure and, in some instances, have been given up. Take the doctrine of Original Sin, or Native Depravity—one of the essential doctrines as held in the old Confessions, and as believed in our day, and who cannot see the difference. If there is no seed to develop into actual sin, and if the race is not hopelessly fallen, then, one can scarcely understand why the wonderful preparation, as we have shown, should have had place for its recovery. This doctrine was essential always, and understood in its full sense, enabled the subject in the end only to see the greatness, and beauty, and glory of the grace of God which bringeth salvation. But the tendency now is painfully in opposition to this. It is openly asserted, that it is beyond endurance to have the mind settle in the idea that man, the race is thus hopelessly fallen. It is hard to have one to say that, and harder to believe it. And the theory in our day advocates and openly declares, that man needs no help from beyond himself; that all he needs is a proper development of his spiritual powers, by the use of appliances, such as education, civilization, and so on, contrived to develop and to draw out the hidden powers of his life, with the guarantee of a fully developed Christian character in the end. It is said at

times in certain over-enlightened quarters of our land, that it is so hard to have held up this old doctrine of original sin, but it is only what is to be expected from a system which denies grace as residing in the Church and in her grace-bearing acts. What can the Church be to which is denied divinity in her founder, and what can her acts amount to when she is shorn of her proper supernatural character? This doctrine in its history developed the tendency of running out, and, in a great measure, has been virtually surrendered, and now sin does not stand in its hideousness before the individual soul as in ages preceding. Take your socialistic—free-love schemes carried into the very portals of the sanctuary of the saintly and pure, and then the endless questionable subjects with which Christianity is insulted in its own domain, as examples. You need but recall former days, and even now, when the sanctuary became the theatre for selling out Sharpe's rifles—settling the question of women suffrage, and other ills, which have been afflicting restless humanity. No wonder that this tendency working thus, will say that the doctrine of Depravity is strange and hard to be believed. Only think of Paul, the Apostle, engaged in work like it.

Then further. This idea of the Church brings with it a corresponding idea of her power and grace. If she is only a society, then are her functions only like those of a society; and such is unfortunately the case, as this modern tendency clearly shows. Men are converted, it is true, but independent of the Church and her means. This tendency has the Holy Spirit ever operative, confining Him nowhere as His proper home, but in a thousand ways operating on the hearts of men for their conversion (which includes everything) when the theory used to be, that as the ascension gift of Christ, the Holy Ghost was sent down—the Church was founded, the Body of Christ, as the home of the Spirit, in which He works gloriously, by taking of the things of Christ and showing them to His people. True, the call comes to men from God, by the agency of the Spirit in a thousand ways, but comes to repentance in order to submission and obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ, by

being baptized into the faith, and thus added to the Church, in whose bosom the Holy Ghost carries on the great work of sanctification, and fits the soul for its heavenly home. In our modern tendency all this is independent of properly ordered means. Baptism is only a sign, and exceedingly empty at that. It conveys no grace, all the Creeds and Confessions of Christendom to the contrary notwithstanding. It is this that makes so exceedingly mad our modern Protestant Christianity. It is this doctrine of grace, supernatural at that, which has been agitating the Reformed branch of Protestant Christianity for some years past. It led other branches, more Protestant (?) than the Reformed, to withdraw from her and severely let her alone, and it came too, ruled by the tendency which denies grace to the institutions of the Church, which practically denies that she is the body of Christ. Witness the intemperate zeal which has been displayed on that side recently occasioned by the appearance of a "Tract on Baptism," issued by the Reformed Publication Board. In our own Church it was keenly assailed, bitterly and fiercely by religious papers in the interest of other denominations. The tendency could not brook the idea of grace in the ordinance, though the tract itself is, in spirit and life, in full accord with the Protestant confessions as well as with the Catechism of the Church as interpreted by Dr. Ursinus itself. But, possibly, that assertion of grace in the ordinance is the very "Mordecai which is sitting in the king's gate," and opposed to the tendency which ignores grace as associated with the ordinance and making it a useless, empty, barren sign of—nothing. Not so in the Confessions of the past; this shows a tendency to run out and produce strange fruit. That there is little faith, if any, in the ordinance as grace-bearing is manifestly clear, from the fact that little account is made of it in nearly all the Protestant denominations. Some have members in their communion who never were baptized; others say they would baptize an individual as often as he would desire it; others still who will re-baptize in case the party did not see water enough to plunge under "head over ears." All this shows the confusion about the subject,

besides the low views entertained, and furnishes an unmistakable tendency, which has set in, governing it. It will not do to say that the ordinance is grace-bearing, for fear of exciting alarm, and in this downward tendency it is not "the sign of an invisible grace," but of nothing. This is seen in the fact, that by some ministers no stress, whatever, is laid upon a proper connection with the Church, and by some, all persons are indiscriminately invited to the privilege of receiving the blessed means, comprehended in her bosom. Think of such an invitation in the days of Luther, with his "*hoc est meum corpus*," chalked on the table before him. The truth is this invisible grace with the outward sign, constituting the sacrament, is steadily ignored and gradually disbelieved, and hence the ordinance is reduced to an empty, unmeaning badge, indifferently used by members of the society. If this is so, then the Church and her means are not what they have been represented, but are institutions on the plane of nature and possess nothing supernatural whatever. Besides this, this same fact becomes apparent in the office of the ministry. If the Church is only a society, shorn of supernatural powers, and has been gotten up by men in the way of accommodation, then the ministry is to be regarded as being on the same plane and only natural; and the office is, in that case, no more than the Grand Worthy of some secret order of Masons or Knights of Pythias. But how totally at variance is not this with what is the fact? Vast account was always made of the ordination to the holy ministry, and no one could dispense the Word and administer the sealing ordinances of the Church, but only he who was truly ordained and so constituted the accredited ambassador of the Lord Jesus Christ. With that idea of the Church, it meant something, and the ambassador of Christ was held in great honor and esteem for the sake of his office. In everything pertaining to the minister you see something solemn—his deportment, with his ministerial garb—his proper vestments when dispensing the Word and Sacraments. This is in full accord with the idea of the Church, as the Body of Christ, possessing divine powers and forces for healing the woes and sorrows of fallen humanity,

with the living minister as the administrator of these solemn and sacred blessings to men. But the tendency now is different, and we are aware that we lay ourselves open to suspicion in writing this. This tendency sees nothing special in the solemn act of ordination, and the minister is no more than any of the lay members. They can preach and exhort, and as to the Sacraments, signs only of nothing, in this modern system, their administration is not essential, and why then the minister, and what is in ordination, that you have not without? On this point, again, much has been said and is still said, in the Reformed Church. The form for the ordination of the minister in the Order of Worship does not suit. It has connected with it, in its form, something which places the minister above the laity; which really and truly *ordains* him, accredits him, in a real sense, as an *ambassador* for Christ, placing him into an office possessing functions, which no unordained man can possibly fill or discharge. By virtue of their ordination and induction into office, ministers are made administrators of the Word and Sacraments, in a sense in which no unordained mortal ever can be; and this part of the office is what is so hard to be believed and accepted by the tendency which has now set in. It comes to this simply: whether there is a supernatural order of grace, in which are comprehended powers and forces for healing the sicknesses of this fallen life, and which are mediated to men by the living ambassador of Christ, solemnly set apart and ordained to that work; or whether these are not merely assumptions, arbitrary and idle—the offspring of diseased brains and unworthy of confidence and of trust. In this tendency, there is unquestionably an undervaluing; it is not a regular, legitimate growth, but rather a tendency from the higher downward towards the lower, and forcing the Church, with all that pertains to her, to go down to the plane of the natural and the sensible. It would be well to consider and investigate the charges which have been repeatedly made. Truth should be the object of investigation, eliminating error and endeavoring to bring into harmony and unity this disordered, confused state of things.

That there is a tendency different in spirit from the ages preceding, may further be seen in the toning down what, in doctrine, was formerly regarded as essential. In some of our denominations the confessional life is, to a great extent, given up—the distinctive features have been eliminated. Indeed, the tendency is now "no Creeds and no Confessions." What the age needs, and must have, is a broad, liberal Christianity —one in which the mind is not fettered by any clamps and bars restricting and fixing the articles of faith. This spirit prevails, to a great extent, where rigid, unbending Puritanism has been supplanted. Vast regions are found where little account is made of the institution of the Church of Jesus Christ —of her means—her ministry. In some portions of our country, at seats of learning of high standing, it is asserted by those who know, that when the claims of the Church as the Body of Christ were held prominently in position, and the necessity of union with her, in order to salvation, it was earnestly replied, "How can you advocate such a position?" Besides this, the flings which this whole field has been receiving from authors of articles in the widely circulated monthlies of our country, articles which are unfriendly to Christianity, especially as a supernatural order to men. Then, too, in the late attack of the leader of the scientists, Professor Tyndall, all these facts show clearly and unmistakably the tendency which has decidedly set in. You are sensibly made aware of this toning down by looking at our denominational life,—an example is at hand in staid old Presbyterianism, which made a merit of holding firmly such doctrines as predestination, foreknowledge, election, and which formed the burden of many a sermon. That is given up now and measurably lost. So, too the old staid Anglican organization became restless under some of the old doctrines comprehended in their Prayer Book, which are fundamental facts in the Christian religion; doctrines which have been teaching the world that grace *is* imparted in the act of holy baptism, or, in other words, that there is a spiritual ingrafting in that solemn act, by the agency of the Holy Ghost. This body of Christians is now sorely tried, and is in

great danger of disruption in consequence. You have there the high church and the low church party, in which, however, it is painfully true there is more concern for the party than in the real matter causing the difference. There does not seem to be the earnest disposition among these parties to grapple with the solemn truth involved in their difference, and seek to bring to the surface that which is the truth and essential to the Church's life. Indeed, in the Anglican Church tendencies have developed themselves, in connection with this toning down of doctrine, which are significant; as for example, the tendencies of such men as Colenso and his colleagues. This is a going down, a giving up of ancient landmarks, of the old faith which unwaveringly held to ordinances in the Church, as grace-bearing and as being above the region of the sensible and the natural.

It is manifest still further in the apparent weakness of the Church of our day, to cope with error and heresy. In former days the thunders of the Church meant something. It is true she could not kill heresy, but with no uncertain voice did she say what belonged to her life and what was foreign. And it is to be seen what the strength of this outwardly united Presbyterianism will be, when it shall be called upon to grapple with the great, earnest, living questions which will, in due time, be brought before the General Assembly, which involve grave and delicate points of doctrine. The same test is going on for Episcopacy, in the case of the new schism which recently took place from that branch, which Episcopacy was powerless to prevent. And who will say, whether that schism does not carry with it all the real elements of that body, and that it may have the promise for life, with this advantage, that it can model its Prayer Book as it sees fit, and in this way remove what is becoming, and for a long time has been, to that body, a burden grievous to be borne? The same is also true, to a great extent, in the Papal Church, in the secession and organization of the Old Catholic movement. *These are tendencies;* no one will deny that, which are seeking freedom for the human spirit, casting off the shackles of a faith now worn out and

unfit for this age of the world, an attempt to shear off everything that is supernatural and bring the human spirit to a plane where it may be free and untrammeled. Is it not, all the way through, an attempt to lower Christianity, to reduce it to the level of the reason and of the understanding, and in this way to deprive it of its supernatural character altogether? It cannot be gainsaid, that the modern tendency is in that direction, whether it is now right or wrong; and that it aims to winnow out what is mystical, and challenges faith, and then to go down to the low plane of nature, to ignore grace and all grace-bearing ordinances.

In order to show how these tendencies develop, we direct attention to the fact, that in England, in France, and in this country, what is called the Calvinistic system, steadily degenerated and ran down into Unitarianism, and fell into the hands of those who practically "deny the Lord that bought them." We quote from the Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, published in 1835.

In an article on Presbyterianism in England during the early part of the last century, the writer, speaking of the influx of Arian sentiments, says: "This deteriorating course issued, with many, in downright Socinianism. . . . . In this way upwards of one hundred and seventy chapels came into the hands of the present generation of Socinians." P. 966. In an article on Unitarianism, Prof. Palfrey, of Cambridge, Mass., speaking of the prevalence of the same heresy towards the close of the last century in England, says: "Of the old connection of the general Baptists, a majority are acknowledged Unitarians. The Presbyterian churches also, throughout England, are understood to be, with scarcely an exception, occupied by congregations of this sort. Their number is reckoned at more than two hundred." "In the north of Ireland, the Unitarians compose several Presbyteries. There are also congregations of this character in Dublin. . . . . The principal supply of ministers is from Manchester College, at York; others come from the Scotch Universities and from that of Dublin," p. 1136. Speaking of the Genevan church, the same writer says: "Now

the twenty-seven pastors of the Established Church of the canton are understood, with two or three exceptions, to hold Unitarian opinions." . . . . The principal sources of supply for the ministry of the French church are the schools of Geneva and Montauban, where the Unitarian system has the ascendency," p. 1136. "In America, Unitarian opinions appear to have been extensively adopted in Massachusetts, as early as the middle of the last century. . . . The number of churches organized, according to the congregational form, is reckoned at from one hundred and seventy to two hundred. Their ministers are chiefly furnished from the Divinity College of the University of Cambridge, Mass.," p. 1136. These quotations speak for themselves.

From this tendency, the Churches of the Reformation, the Reformed and Lutheran, have, to some extent, been spared, and though agitated and troubled, there is this old reformation power and life which is still preserved, and which has been battling for the old, well-tried faith of the Reformation. True, a good part of the Lutheran Chuch fell away from its confessional landmarks, and drifted into this tendency, but a great portion steadily refused, and though asking you to lie on the same Procrustean bed which was formed by Reformation hands it, notwithstanding this, holds to the old, well-tried faith and seems to be indisposed to yield to innovations and new inventions. And this is true, to some extent, also, of our own branch of the Church of Christ, but still, with all that, what a field is not opened here for these Churches to occupy faithfully, and to cultivate. Unquestionably on that plane, on that phase of doctrine and Church life as held by these branches of the Church of Christ, lies the future hope and the success of the Church. In our view our whole denominational arrangement is powerless. Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, Methodism, though vast bodies, are powerless in stemming the tide set in. Here it is true, as elsewhere, that "the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." These bodies, small tribes in Israel though they be, but historically true to the faith as it has been coming down in the long line of the ages, may, in

the end, prove the nuclei, around which the Protestant world will gather, and by the power and inherent divine force comprehended in them, may assimilate to this phase of life the world and at last present the Body of Christ as one, united in one common life, and thus presenting an organism in which the life of the glorified Redeemer is, and in which every child of God shall share, to the glory of the Father everlasting.

ART. VII.—MAN: HIS RELATION TO NATURE AND TO GOD.

BY THE REV. E. V. GERHART, D. D., PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY.

IN prosecuting the study of *man*, as in the investigation of any other concrete object, success depends on the validity of the standpoint of observation and thought. A false hypothesis respecting man's origin or destiny, or respecting the Divine idea embodied in his constitution, must vitiate reflection on all the phenomena of soul and body, whether pertaining to single individuals, or to nations and races. Given the correct point of observation, then, if the knowledge of phenomena be correct and broad enough, and the reasoning legitimate, we may construct a sound anthropology.

Christ being God and man, the true man as well as the true God, He is the revelation of the Godhead and the manifestation of humanity. The Christian revelation of God is a revelation to man and in man. This idea presupposes a corresponding aptitude in the nature and substance of humanity. The spiritual dignity of our race is asserted, and hidden susceptibilities, otherwise latent and unknowable, are brought to light by that mystery wherein man is assumed into organic union and personal fellowship with God.

The revelation of God in the Person and personal history of Christ being absolute, the same personal history is no less also

an *absolute* manifestation of man. The notion of an absolute revelation of God in the life of a man who is morally defective or perverted, and partially or abnormally developed, be the deficiency under any aspect never so small, is *a priori* self-contradictory. In a concrete revelation which is absolute, the form answers to the idea; the actual history of the human must be commensurate with the personal presence of the divine. Christ is the ideal man. What manhood is in its secret substance, its potential forces, and its ultimate destiny, is actualized in His life—in His earthly history, and glorified state.

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PRINCIPLE.

Christian anthropology is bound by the same general law that governs other sciences. Optics studies the light; botany, the plant. Every science investigates its own proper object. A scientific knowledge of man is acquired on the basis of the same general principle. While it is important to contemplate the facts of history under all its phases, and observe closely the data of consciousness, it is still much more important to study the mysterious constitution of man as this confronts us under its noblest and most perfect form.

Of man Christ is the standpoint of investigation, whether we consider our nature in its original and normal, or in its present fallen and abnormal condition. As the exaltation and glorification of Jesus of Nazareth exhibit the intrinsic dignity and ultimate destiny of the primeval man, so does the deep humiliation of our Lord, His intense sorrow and suffering, the bitter persecutions by His countrymen, the temptation in the wilderness, His crucifixion, death and burial, manifest the nature of the existing perverseness of mankind, the depth of the fall, and the diabolical spirit that breathes and works in the sinful history of our race. Sin being a thorough falsification as of the nature of angels, so also of the nature of man; being the violation of all law, and antagonism to every kind and degree of order in the domain of creation; men can do no more by their experience of the terrible evils of the fall, and by reflection on the history and phenomena of sin, than form a partial and ap-

proximately correct conception of our abnormal condition. For this defective conception two reasons may be assigned. One is that the consciousness of men in their abnormal and unregenerate state as regards their relation to the law of right and justice is dim and cloudy, and the power of moral judgment weak, misdirected, and falsely limited. The other, that the mind does not discover the real significance of the fall, (of which all nations, civilized or uncivilized, have some just sense, as their myths attest, by beginning with the sense of the false and the wrong, and then from this sense as the point of departure endeavor to think upward to the true and the right. The reverse process is the scientific one. Truth conditions falsehood. The idea of right conditions the idea of wrong. To arrive at a valid conception of moral evil, and of the fall from which moral evil arises, thought must begin with the positively good in the nature and relations of man, and in the light of this idea pass to the consideration of the evil.

As Christ is the personal truth, marred by no flaw; as He is the Second Man, spotless and perfect; the only One who in living, personal form, has actualized the Divine idea of manhood, He has by virtue of His presence among men in the flesh, and through the power of His Spirit, generated a new ideal of piety toward God, and of moral rectitude as between man and man, an ideal that conditions a proper insight into the awful depths of the fall, into the enormity of transgression, and the extent of moral corruption.

Christ taken as the absolute principle of scientic reflection on the nature of man and his fallen condition, implies that the account of his creation given in the first chapter of Genesis is, when considered by itself, inadequate to the demand prevailing under the Christian dispensation. Waiving the question whether the Mosaic account is symbolical or strictly historical, or historical under the form of the symbolical; and accepting, as we do, the representation as not only true and inspired, but also immeasurably higher than any pagan myth or any hypothesis based on metaphysical speculation or the researches of natural science; still the record is in the nature of the case

rather a prophecy, like Old Testament teaching throughout, of the dignity of man than the ultimate fulfilment of God's purpose, a faint outline of perfection rather than a full and complete image. Adam in his state of innocency is the beautiful aurora of humanity, not the noon-day sun. His being as fashioned by the hand of God, and His moral status as depicted by that ancient record, realizes the idea of man normally on the first and lowest stage of history, not on the highest plane of manifestation. This original status Christ resumes and reasserts. Beginning human life in the womb free from the taint and perverse tendencies of sin, He occupies, in one respect, the very position that Adam occupied in Eden; but developing and maturing the nature of Adam according to the Divine idea, and advancing it normally from one stage of life to another, He carries it forward to its last and highest status, and thus exhibits the constitution of man before the contemplation of faith under a form and character that is absolutely perfect. The reality is, at every epoch of its progress, identical and commensurate with the idea. The record given in Genesis, if we would penetrate into the depths of its interior import, must be investigated by Christian anthropology in its subordinate relation to the complement of that record which Jesus Christ furnishes in His earthly history and in His state of exaltation.

As regards the nature of the fall, the Mosaic account is likewise to be regarded as an inadequate representation. This assertion does not mean that the account fails to represent historical truth, or that it is partly true and partly false, but that it is partial and incomplete. Sin has a history in the life of individuals, of nations, and of the race, and in the progress of this history it asserts and manifests its intrinsic sinfulness. Of this direful history Genesis contains the first chapter; and as the first chapter setting forth the fact of the introduction of sin into the world, it is sufficient; but for the mystery of sin as such it is not; not at least for Christian anthropology. A more perfect exhibition of the significance of the fall appears by means of the Christian economy. What sin really is; its

direct antagonism to God; its divisive, corrupting and disorganizing power; its strength in the form of temptation;—all this appears in a new light when it stands out as the dark background of the absolute revelation of the Good in the Person of Christ. The conflict of Christ with Satan; His extreme suffering during the whole of His life in the flesh; and His victory by the resurrection from the dead; these facts exhibit the reality of the powers of darkness, reveal their attitude relatively to God and man, and manifest the diabolism of the Devil, as these powers were never manifested before.

The Mosaic account represents the historical fact that man, created by God in His own image, fell by transgression through the instigation of the Devil; but it does not, taken by itself, afford an insight into the full import of the historical fact. Considered by itself, it is only a partial exhibition as of the original constitution, so also of the sinful state of man. The life of Christ being the perfect actualization of the Good, and thereby the perfect exposure of the Evil, furnishes the complement. Genesis is illumined by the Gospels. The first Adam must be studied in the light of the second Adam; and the temptation in the garden in the light of the temptation endured and the victory achieved in the wilderness. The glory of the resurrection proclaims the depth of the fall. The Devil destroying man must be studied in the light of Man destroying the devil.

Pursuing an inquiry into the constitution of man, guided as well by the ultimate status of humanity at the right hand of God as by the first stage in his history described in Genesis, we may develop the divine idea of man; the idea which, falsified and perverted by sin, has never become a reality in the sinful history of the race, but which actualized in the life and exaltation of Christ, is now through His Spirit in process of fulfilment in the communion of the Church.

MAN'S RELATION TO NATURE.

The constitution of man occupies a two-fold position, and sustains a two-fold relation. He is directly connected with

nature and with the entire natural world below him. He is also directly connected with God, and with the supernatural world as a whole. Connected with nature and the natural world, man possesses a material organization, natural life, and a mundane character. He lives according to a mundane law and mode of existence, and according to mundane conditions. Connected with God and the spiritual world, man possesses an immaterial organization, a spiritual life, and a character in the likeness of God. He lives according to a spiritual law and mode of existence, and according to supernatural conditions. The human constitution as fashioned by the creative word thus unites in itself organically two opposite elements or factors, the cosmical and the divine, the sensuous and the spiritual. This general statement requires more particular consideration.

That man is a member of the natural cosmos; that he lives his life in a corporeal organism, resembling the structure of the animal; that his natural life is bound by the same inexorable conditions of air and light, food and drink, motion and rest, that rule the animal and vegetable kingdom; that the earth is the external foundation of his existence, and mineral substances compose the basis of the individual organism; that the same mechanical and chemical laws which prevail in inorganic matter, and the same vital energies which operate in the inanimate plant and the irrational brute, also underlie and are active in his physical frame-work;—that these things are facts, is so commonly admitted that they call for no argument. Some of these facts are affirmed by consciousness; others are the result of observation and scientific inquiry.

Theologians being by their vocation obliged to consider the ethical and spiritual capacities and needs of mankind and their exalted destiny in the world to come, have sometimes fixed attention upon the moral law and upon human freedom so exclusively as in appearance to ignore natural limitations and natural necessities. In reality however the connection of the human spirit with a material body, and the connection of the body with the natural and material world, if not always emphasized with due force, has nevertheless not been overlooked,

much less not been denied. The Christian doctrine of man has ever recognized this connection, however diversified the views of its nature may have been. In some respects the Church is indebted to the investigations of natural science. The results serve the purpose of illustrating and verifying the Scriptural statement that "the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground." At the same time they intensify our sense of man's internal and organic connection with the operation of natural laws. But Natural Science in asserting the cosmical factor in the constitution of man, has not set forth a new truth. The facts brought to light only enlarge and enrich our knowledge of man's corporeality, and of his organic connection with matter and nature.

The organic connection of man with nature is plainly taught in the Scriptures. The passage just quoted affirms it: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." (Gen. ii. 7.) The "ground," that is, the material substances composing the earth are taken up into his bodily organization. The principal teaching on this subject is given in the first chapter of Genesis. The six days of creation represent, on the one hand, a series of closely connected acts of the divine Word; and on the other, they reveal the operation of a teleological law, extending from the beginning of the creative activity of God, on through all the successive stages of His work to its conclusion. The operation of this law connects the human constitution internally with every kingdom below man down to lifeless matter in the state of chaos. Man is the result and end of a formative process, embracing distinctly marked stages and orders of existence. Every stage of the process, and every new species of existence presupposes all that precede it, and at the same time conditions one and all that succeed it; but the force and design of the entire movement from below upward is gathered up and becomes complete relatively in man as an existence generically different and higher than any belonging to the antecedent kingdoms. Light and darkness; the waters and the firmament; the solid earth

and the growing plant; the lights in the firmament; the seasons, years, and days; the moving creature in the waters, and the fowl flying above the earth; the beast of the earth; cattle and creeping things;—each one in its measure, and all as connected parts of a process of development and progress prepare the way and call for man; who was thus predestined to come, not merely according to the counsel of the Divine will, but also according to the power of a concrete law immanent in the hidden processes of nature. When the ages were ripe the predestined one did come. Man came in the fulness of time as the perfect fruit of the advancing ages. He was thus, in one respect, the product of the same plastic forces that successively formed the plant and animals, and in another he was the goal of the creative Word that was evoking and fashioning all things with reference to him as the last æon of the progressive series.

The human constitution accordingly embraces all the elements and forces of the natural world. The inorganic matter of the mineral; the vitality and growth of the plant; the animation, instincts and sensuousness of the animal; all enter into man's corporeal organization. Yet neither one, nor all taken together, make the manhood of man. A man is not a man by virtue of the fact that, like the beast of the field, he is an animated organism; nor much less because, like the oak, he lives and grows according to the laws of nature. Gross materiality, vitalized and animated corporeality, are in man mysteriously conjoined with rational and ethical life. Matter and individuality exist in conjunction with spirit. They are the momenta of a *personal* being, a being possessing will, reason, and conscience. It is by virtue of this entity, his personality, that material substance, vitality, and animate existence become in him, not an animal, but a distinctively human organization.

MAN'S RELATION TO GOD.

Internally connected with all lower kingdoms of nature, and moulded by the operation of natural and cosmical laws, man is at the same time also connected immediately with the supra-

mundane and spiritual world. The life of his spiritual being stands in the divine life. Man possesses kingship with God. This is the other side of the human constitution, the principal and characteristic factor in the being and history of man.

Says the sacred record: "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man in His image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them." (Gen. i. 26, 27). The same fact is taught under a different form in the passage already quoted: God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." From all other creatures in the ascending series, diverse as they are among themselves, man differs in this that he is a spiritual being formed in the image of God. He is like God. Man is a living soul; and he becomes this, not by the operation of the mechanical forces of matter, not as the effect of organization or organic action, nor by the mere fiat of the Almighty; but by a direct inbreathing from the bosom of the eternal life of God.

The language of Genesis is remarkable. When God is about to complete the work of creation by a crowning act of love, He does not merely exert His will in the form of a direct imperative, as in the beginning, when He said: "Let there be light." Nor does He, as on the third day, call into requisition pre-existing forces, and thus employ intermediate agencies, as when God said: "Let the earth bring forth grass." When all the conditions of organic life were at hand, the divine word was not: Let there be the fish and the fowl; but God said: "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life." The *earth*, by virtue of the quickening energy of the divine word brought forth grass; and by the energy of the same word the *waters* produced the moving creature that hath life. The inorganic is the medium through which the creative word constitutes the organic. But when after matter has been brought into existence, and the manifold classes

of vegetable and animal organisms have been quickened, God does not assert His will in the form of word, nor does He challenge the generative capacity of the earth and the waters. On the contrary, God communes with Himself, and as it were challenges the fullness of His own life: and God said, *Let us make man in our image.* This purpose He does not fulfil as He fulfilled every antecedent purpose in the economy of nature; not by wisdom, not by the might of His word. This purpose He fulfils by an act of self-communication. God makes man after His likeness by imparting to him a spiritual gift proceeding from the mystery of His own infinite existence. Thereby man becomes a two-fold constitution, being really connected on the one side with the infinitude of the divine as he is on the other with the finitude of the cosmical.

The teaching of the Mosaic record respecting the godlikeness of man is sustained and illustrated by the spiritual intuitions and religious phenomena of our race. In every age and on every plane of civilization, (the very lowest stage of moral and social degradation perhaps excepted,) man affirms the existence of the divine and supernatural, and the reality of the divine presence; he affirms a continuous relation of the divine activity with human life, and of human activity with the authority and power of the divine; moreover, he affirms, under some form, the divine as the complement of the human. For the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead. (Rom. i. 20). So strong does this intuitive affirmation become, and so intense is the sense of the close connection between the divine and the human, that both faith and thought, mythology and philosophy, identify the being of God with the nature of man. Either God descends to man from a supernal domain, and takes possession of him, so that he becomes the shrine of the divine presence, as Hindoo avatars claim; or, reversely, man ascending from the earthly into the supernal domain is transmuted and deified, as the notion of an apotheosis held by the Greeks and Romans maintains.

Now, although the myths of ethnic religions dishonor the

divinity; and although pantheistic systems of philosophy involve a monstrous confusion of opposite necessary ideas, yet neither myths nor pantheistic systems are unmixed error. Underlying them there is a fundamental truth which they struggle to utter and grasp. They fail indeed in both. They neither lay hold of the truth by reason, nor possess it by faith. Nevertheless the continuous vain struggle of the pagan mind bears witness to the presence in our spiritual being of a divine impulse. Monstrous as are the beliefs of pagan nations, and false as are their metaphysical systems, these beliefs and systems are nevertheless not purely visionary; they are the perversion of profound spiritual truth. This truth continually felt and dimly seen by the pagan mind, sustains the grotesque form of apprehending the reciprocal connection between the divine and the human.

We possess accordingly the unconscious and undesigned testimony of all pagan nations to the scriptural truth, that there is in the depths of the human constitution a divine element, or at least an element other than the merely natural and mundane. The history of ethnic religions shows that man is, by virtue of an organic law, as really connected with God as he is with the material world; that he can no more eradicate from his soul the sense of a supra-mundane Power than he can destroy the consciousness of himself; and that he can separate his individual and social existence from the influence of the one as little as he can separate his existence from the other.

But neither the Mosaic record nor the intuitions of mankind are sufficient to establish conclusively the mystical relation of the spiritual being of man with the life of God. A more forcible argument is furnished by the consummation of the relation in the fact of the incarnation of the Son of God.

That God in the Person of His Son was made true man, and that man in this mystery was assumed into God, argues a profound sympathy and a necessary connection between these two terms, God and man. There must be a positive fitness for this mystery in the Godhood of God and in the manhood of man, a fitness in both anterior to the reality of the fact. We

may safely affirm, on the one hand, that God cannot become truly man unless the infinite life of the divine essence is eternally adapted to the normal life of man, and to the normal human mode of existence. The personal union of God and man, or the fact that in Christ dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, cannot be a false limitation or a defective manifestation of God as the infinite and absolute Being. In the act of creating man after His own image, God must have endowed humanity with a divine aptitude, an aptitude qualifying man to become the bearer and perfect manifestation of His own essence.

On the other hand, we are safe likewise in affirming, that man cannot be assumed into God unless the finite life of mankind, as originally constituted by the creative act, be adapted to the divine mode of existence. The assumption of man into God cannot do violence to man as a finite and relative being. On the contrary, as the hypostatical union of God with man is the most glorious manifestation of the divine nature, so must the organic union of man with God in the person of Christ be the highest perfection of human nature.

The incarnation of the eternal Logos in Jesus Christ presupposes accordingly that the sympathy and connection holding between God and man stands in (what, for want of a better word, we may call) an *homoigeneity* of being. Man is not identical with God; his being is not an efflux of the divine essence; yet by virtue of the crowning act of creative inbreathing, the force of which is continuous and unchangeable, the spirit of man possesses substantial affinity with the Spirit of God. As through his corporeal organization man is connected with and an integral member of the mundane order of things, though a constitution generically different from every kingdom of nature below him; so through his pneumatic life, is he, though a *creature*, allied to the Godhood of the Creator and made a member of a higher economy, that is, of a spiritual and supramundane order of things.

The force of the argument derived from the incarnation is strengthened by the glorification of Christ. Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Mary, a man like unto us men in all things, sin ex-

cepted, not only rises from the dead, but ascends up far above all heavens. (Eph. iv. 10). God has set Jesus Christ at His own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come, and hath put all things under His feet. (Eph. i. 21, 22). The figurative expression of sitting at the right hand of God, language common to all the writers of the New Testament, can mean nothing less than that Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Man, shares the sovereign authority and transcendent dignity of the divine existence. For, exaltation and glorification are not predicated of the Logos. There is no occasion for such an assertion. The figurative representation would possess no special significance; the Logos as such being incapable of exaltation. Coequality with God in essence and will, in wisdom and power, is eternally His prerogative. The exaltation so unequivocally taught by the Evangelists and Apostles, and affirmed so emphatically by the Christian Faith, is the predicate of the manhood of Jesus Christ, or rather it is the predicate of the God-man, the Word made flesh. The finite being of man assumed into organic union with God in the Person of His Son;—this finite humanity is translated from the mundane into the heavenly state, and is made a partaker of the eternal glory of the Godhead.

Like His conception and birth, the glorification of Christ argues an original capability in the nature of man of being thus translated and exalted. As the mystery of the holy nativity does not suspend or violate the laws of human life, so neither can the mystery of the glorification contradict, nor in the least degree trench upon, the divine idea of humanity. Just the opposite principle is to be asserted. The session at the right hand of God is the *true destiny* of man. This exaltation, this communion with God in the domain of His own glory, must be the actualization and fulfilment of that spiritual life, that concrete aptitude for fellowship with God, with which man was endowed when by an afflatus from the bosom of the Divine being he, in distinction from other creatures, became "a living soul."

The ultimate status of human existence is the development and perfection of the beginning. On no other principle of thought can we maintain consistently the scriptural testimony to the fact of the ascension and glorification of Jesus Christ.

The fact of the glorification of human nature in the Person of Christ interprets the religious phenomena of our race, and imparts proper force to all other considerations by which the doctrine of the Godlikeness of man is supported. The divine intuitions of men prevailing in every age, and the religious history of all nations, have never been interpreted by natural science or by any system of philosophy; and for the logical understanding the religious sentiment and religious worship will remain an unsolved problem; but when we contemplate the history of pagan nations from the stand point of the Mosaic record, we can account satisfactorily for the universal phenomenon of religion and religious worship. Genesis illumines heathenism. Accepting the revealed fact that man receives the life of his spiritual being from an immediate afflatus of his Creator, we can readily see that it is but the spontaneous tendency and the legitimate effect of such a life, a life akin to the life of God, that every nation, however depraved and corrupt, should feel the presence of the Divine on every side, should discern the fact of God's existence, and affirm an internal and abiding connection between its welfare and the benediction of God.

Whilst the teaching of the Mosaic record accounts for the religious phenomena of mankind, this record is itself in turn illumined, and its full import unfolded, by the incarnation and glorification of Christ. The profound significance of God's act is seen when, by a new creation in Christ, man is made partaker of the divine nature. What the breath of life proceeding from the mouth of God means is developed and perfectly manifested, when God conformably to the law of humanity adopts man, notwithstanding his fall, into personal fellowship with Himself, and translates him from his present cosmical connections to His own right hand in Heaven. The Divine breath is immanent in the essence of man, and possesses eternal significance.

Then, too, may we see the true ground and the deep meaning of the wonderful phenomena that appear in the religious life of all nations. Taking the glorification of Christ as the final standpoint of observation, in other words, the perfection of human nature in our ascended and glorified Lord as the norm of judgment, and looking back into the religious character of every age and condition of the human race, we see in the entire history of the world, pagan no less than Jewish and Christian, an unmistakable manifestation of the fact that in the constitution of man as such, there is a divine as well as a cosmical element, or an immanent relation to the life of God corresponding to his organic connection with the life and substance of the material world.

The Christological principle enables us to proceed one step further, and give an answer to the question: What is the Divine image in man? or wherein does the likeness of man to God consist?

But this branch of the general subject we will reserve for a second article.

ART. VIII.—BOOK NOTICES.

CHRISTIAN DOGMATICS: A Text-Book for academical instruction and private study. By J. J. Van Oosterzee, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht. Translated from the Dutch by John Watson Watson, B A, Vicar of Newburg, Lancashire; and Maurice J. Evans, B. A., Stratford-upon-Avon. Vols. I., II. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1874.

This is the second large work brought out by Henry B. Smith, D. D., and Philip Schaff, D. D., who are publishing a Theological and Philosophical Library. It is published in unform style with Ueberweg's History of Philosophy.

From what appears, or rather, does not appear, in the preface, we infer that Drs. Smith and Schaff adopted the English translation from abroad, and had it issued in this American edition. So far as we can judge without the original, we should judge that it would have been well to subject the translation to a careful revision. If the translation is correct, then the original must be obscure in style. As examples of this faulty and obscure style, we select a few passages in the first volume. "It is, then, the continuing duty of Dogmatics to main ain against all these attacks its right to existence and to action." We would prefer, as better English, "constant duty" to "continuing duty." Its right to existence and *assertion* sounds better than "to existence and action," page 3. On page 4 occurs the following sentence, which is awkward

and obscure: "If the empirical philosophy from its standpoint only knows that which comes within the reach of experience, yet until now the proof has never been given us that in the domain of the spiritual sciences the same method exclusively and unconditionally applies as in the domain of natural science." These instances are, however, rather exceptional. In general, the translation is quite readable. From a study and use of the author's Theology of the New Testament, as well as from an examination of this larger work, we cannot regard his style as lucid, though it possesses considerable vigor.

If we were to pass judgment on this work of Dr. Van Oosterzee in general, we should say that it is written with caution and modesty, manifesting a winning Christian spirit. The author shows himself to possess learning on the subject of theology, yet he is not pedantic, nor boastful, but humble. Where there are difficulties, he freely confesses them, and looks trustingly to a fuller unfolding of the science and a deeper study of God's Word to explain them. While he keeps himself carefully on Calvinistic Reformed ground, he is yet not one-sidedly partizan, but liberal in the spirit he every where manifests.

He approaches his subject through an elaborate and carefully prepared historical introduction or *prolegomena*, which occupies over two hundred pages of the first volume. In his outline of the history of dogmatics he gives expression to his high appreciation of the labors of Schleiermacher, the German Plato. Dr. Van Oosterzee classes himself with the *modern* Supranaturalistic school, which "calls itself *Supranaturalistic*," he says, "because it starts from the belief in a God, who is Lord over His own creation, and has revealed Himself in Jesus Christ in a mode which cannot properly be explained as the merely natural result of merely material causes: and *modern* Supranaturalistic, because it will not continue to stand immovably by the old, but strives to advance, in such wise that it (as distinguished from an earlier Supranaturalism) does not start from a deistic, but from a theistic concep ion of God; and places, not the doctrine but the person of the Lord in the foreground, and wishes to do full justice to the ethical as well as the metaphysical and historical character of revealed truth."

It can be plainly seen here where Dr. Van Oosterzee stands. Referring to another position, he says: "In England and America the spirit of the older time wrestles still, with ever varying chances, against the spirit of the later period, under the undeniable influence of what is done in Germany and elsewhere. Among the literature of the latter country, Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, three vols., is specially deserving of attention." The position of Dr. Hodge belongs rather to the old Supranaturalism, we think.

But while Dr. Van Oosterzee professes to observe a Christological standpoint, or to regard true Dogmatics as Christo-centric (the term used by Dr. Nevin years ago to characterize the theology of the Order of Worship), it is quite another thing to produce a system that shall be moulded at all points by the Christ-idea. We think he has not entirely succeeded in this. His system is largely ruled by the old Supranaturalistic standpoint, while Christological thinking reveals itself also. It is to us somewhat like a new piece put on an old garment, or new wine in old bottles.

We say this, not merely because he cannot find a place for the Christ-idea in the beginning of his work in a formal way. There may be truth in what he says: "The claim that Christian Dogmatics shall be Christo-centric, does not denote that the Christology must therefore be treated

first of all." We know the Apostles' Creed is Christo-centric, though the article of Christ does not stand first. We believe there is room for the Christ-idea to assert itself in the beginning of theology, in developing the idea of God, but still a theology may be Christological which may not do this in a formal way.

But in other portions of his work Dr. Van Oosterzee reveals the power of the old Calvinism as somewhat hindering the utterance of his Christological ideas. His chapter on the *Plan of Salvation*, though briefer and less varied, is, to our thinking, richer and profounder than the corresponding section in Dr. Hodge's Theology. He does not sunder the plan of God and the will of God from Christ. "The centre of this plan of salvation is Christ. In Him God has elected the believing, and in Him the plan of the world must attain its completion. He Himself is, *par excellence*, the Elect and Beloved of the Father; and in Him redeemed humanity is regarded, and, as it were, included, as under its spiritual head ..... The extent of this plan of salvation is consequently *universal*. It reaches not merely to a few, but to the sinful world in its entirety, as is constantly declared in the Gospel."

But the execution of this plan is conditional. The condition, of course, is obedience to the claims of faith and repentance. Here it is that God, in carrying out His plan of redemption, elects individuals unto life, but there is no decree of reprobation. The author thinks no such decree can be found in Scripture, except "as a result of inexact exegesis, and an inadmissible consequenzmacherei." Here, of course, he parts from Calvin, and the extreme view of those confessions—Dordt, 1618, and Form. Cons. Helv., 1675—which hold to such a decree. The subject is acknowledged to be difficult. It must receive new light in the future. "Yet will this future doctrine, we dare conjecture, just as much hesitate to accept the Calvinistic theory in all its details, as the accurate expression of revealed truth, and as the last words of Christian science in this mysterious domain."

This is both moderate and modest, and breathes a different spirit from Dr. Hodge's treatment of the subject, who makes an abstract plan or scheme on the part of God the *source*, and Christ in His revelation and redemption the *means*, of man's salvation. But Dr. Van Oosterzee still fails to give us any theory of election from the Christological stand-point. Though the election is *in Christ*, yet he still allows himself to think of it, in his treatment at times, as *out* of Christ; that is, as the abstract will of God. We have not space to indicate here a different method of treatment, which proceeds not from the divine will or decree, abstractly considered, nor yet from the human, as in Arminianism, but from the union of the divine and human in the person of Christ. Perhaps we would be unsuccessful in stating it, but that there is such a method of treating the subject of predestination, which will relieve it of many difficulties, we feel assured. Dr. Van Oosterzee, while endorsing in general the Calvinistic theory as the best, as announcing "a glorious truth, taught in the Gospel of the Scriptures, but of which it is not, at any rate, given to *us* to denote the harmony with other equally undeniable utterances of Scripture and conscience, so satisfactorily as to have no single difficulty remaining," says: "Gladly would we look for this indication from others who scarcely can find words enough to praise the Calvinistic Particularism—provided they express themselves clearly and plainly, and employ no church flag to cover a cargo of wholly Unreformed, and, what signifies more, Unscriptural, ideas." The solution is to be found, he thinks, in following the historico-empiric path, rather than that of mere speculation.

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